WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE
HEFT 17,1

DAVID P. JACKSON

THE ENTRANCE GATE FOR THE WISE (SECTION III)

SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA ON INDIAN AND TIBETAN TRADITIONS OF PRAMĀṆA AND PHILOSOPHICAL DEBATE



ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

WIEN 1987

Preis (Vol.I und II): OS 620,-

zu beziehen von:

Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien
Maria Theresien-Strasse 3/4/26
A - 1090 Wien
Austria

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. I

Vol. II

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my thanks first of all to my revered Tibetan teachers who gave me the benefit of their unrivalled understanding of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's works, the result of their many years of scholarship both in the seminaries of Tibet and, since 1959, in India or abroad. In particular, I owe a great debt of gratitude to the Venerable Khenpo Appey (Mkhan-po A-pad Yon-tan-bzang-po), principal of the Sakya College, Rajpur, for his painstaking explanations of Sa-paṇ's Mkhas 'jug and Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, and for his generous hospitality and kindness. I must also record here my special thanks and gratitude to the Venerable Dezhung Rinpoche (Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan) and the Venerable Chogay Trichen Rinpoche (Bco-brgyad khri-chen Thub-bstan-legs-bshad-rgya-mtsho).

The present study is a revision of the disseration I defended at the University of Washington in April of 1985. I am deeply indebted to my teacher Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg for encouraging my interest in this field and for his unflagging support and assistance. I am also truly thankful to the reading committee members, Professors T. Ellingson, Chr. Lindtner, K. Potter and R. Salomon, for their valuable comments and criticisms.

Most of the research and much of the writing up of the present study was done in Japan and India, and I am particularly grateful to Professor K. Mimaki and Mr. E. G. Smith for their friendships which made my work in those countries immeasurably more pleasant and fruitful. I would also like to record my thanks to the Venerable Migmar Tsering for his very useful comments on the translation of KhJ III, and to Mr. Tashi Tsering for his help on several literary and historical problems. In addition, I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for the research fellowship which made possible my studies in India from the fall of 1981 to the spring of 1983 and to Professor S. Sengupta of the Department of Buddhist Studies at Delhi University, my research supervisor during that period.

While I was revising this study for publication, several friends and colleagues helped me clarify a number of points through their comments and suggestions, or they supplied additional references or identifications of sources. Here I would like to acknowledge in a small way my considerable debt to them by mentioning their names: Dr. L. van der Kuijp, Prof. N. Aramaki, Mr. S. Onoda, Mr. S. Matsumoto, Dr. H. Eimer, Dr. T. Much, and Mr. John Tate.

Learn everything; you will find nothing superfluous; a narrow education displeases.
--Hugh of St. Victor[1]

Disputation is the wall in this building of study, for nothing is fully understood or faithfully preached if it is not first chewed by the tooth of disputation.
---Peter the Chanter[2]

INTRODUCTION

The intellectual history of traditional Tibet is largely the story of how the Tibetans translated, penetrated, assimilated, and finally refined and worked into elaborate scholastic systems the great religious, philosophical, and other technical writings of Buddhist India. These were tremendous tasks, though they formed just a part of the massive expansion of Indian Buddhist thought in Asia during the first and early second millenia C. E.[3] The job of translation alone consumed the best efforts of many of Tibet's greatest scholars from the 8th to 12th centuries, and the two immense Tibetan canonical collections--the Kanjur and Tanjur--are eloquent witnesses to the zeal and success of these early Tibetan scholars.

One of the most influential figures in the transmission of Indian Buddhist religion and learning to Tibet was Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (Sa-paṇ) (1182-1251), a savant who is counted among the very greatest Tibetan scholars of all time. As a young man he learned Sanskrit and executed a number of translations, but by his time the work of translating the basic religious scriptures and philosophical treatises was nearly finished. Therefore his main tasks were to consolidate the doctrinal and philosophical advances of his predecessors and to enrich further the scholarly and literary resources of Tibetan Buddhism. Through his doctrinal treatises Sa-paṇ contributed in an important way to the continuing penetration and systematic interpretation of Indian Buddhist philosophy and doctrine. But he also made great contributions indirectly through his efforts at introducing into Tibet the tools and methods of advanced dialectical and literary

scholarship. He reestablished in Tibet the full Pramāṇa (logico-epistemological) tradition of Dharmakīrti, including the Pramāṇavārttika. He also expanded the possibilities of Tibetan literature by adapting and introducing suitable aspects of the Sanskrit literary arts. In these ways not only did he singlehandedly raise the standards of Tibetan scholarship in general, but he also bestowed on his countrymen the tools by which future generations could carry forward that work.

The subject of the present study is Sa-skya Paṇḍita's treatise the Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo (KhJ), which was one of his main means for introducing the methods of traditional Indian Buddhist scholarship into Tibet and thus putting Tibetan scholarship on a sound methodological footing. This work, whose title could be translated "The Entrance Gate for the Wise," was one of Sa-paṇ's five major works (the other four being his Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter, Sdom gsum rab dbye, Legs bshad, and Thub pa'i dgongs gsal). Its subject matter was the three main activities of the traditional scholar: composition, exposition, and debate. Each of these three activities reflected one of the main thrusts of his own career. His teaching of the methods of composition was the outgrowth of his own pioneering studies of Sanskrit grammar and the Sanskrit literary arts such as poetics, metrics, and lexicography. His explanation of the principles of debate was the fruit of his intense study of the Pramāṇa tradition of Dharmakīrti. And his teaching of the principles of correct exposition and interpretation was linked to his deep involvement in propagating the Buddhist doctrine through discriminating the Buddhist traditions of authentic Indian origins from among the numerous Tibetan traditions current in his day.

Sa-paṇ's immediate motive for explaining these topics was either to fill a real gap in current knowledge (as in the case of grammar and poetics) or to rectify already established traditions (as in the case of some aspects of exposition and debate).[4] In his own introduction to the KhJ he states that he was trying to benefit those Tibetans who, though claiming to be learned, were in fact ignorant of many aspects of Indian and Buddhist scholarship.[5]

There was also a deeper, religious motive for the work. By teaching the methods of scholarship, Sa-paṇ hoped to lead others ultimately to enlightened wisdom, the highest goal of Buddhist practice.[6] Near the end of the treatise he characterized his work as a "gate by which persons of bright intelligence enter the city of the Great Liberation."[7] And in one of the concluding verses (KhJ III 73), he states that he opened the "entrances for the wise" who uphold traditions of scholarship "so that the doctrine of the Sage (muni) will increase in all directions and may long remain in the world."[8] He therefore hoped ultimately to propagate the Buddhist doctrine and to encourage the attainment of a wisdom which was not a merely intellectual understanding, but which was a liberating

realization.[9]

Thus when he called his treatise an "entrance" or "entry gate" (<u>'jug pa'i sgo</u>)[10] for "scholars" or "the wise" (<u>mkhas pa rnams</u>), he meant it to be a guide that was conducive to the realization of the highest religious goal. In his introduction (KhJ I 4-5) he furthermore specifies just what he means by "wise person" (<u>mkhas pa</u>) and what the objects of such a person's knowledge should be:

> What is a wise person? He is held to be one who understands, just as they are, the real facts about knowable things.[11]

In his autocommentary, Sa-paṇ indicates that ideal wisdom is nothing short of omniscience:

> What is a "wise person"? He is one who knows without error all objects of knowledge.[12]

The Tibetan word <u>mkhas pa</u> ("wise"), however, also has a narrower meaning, viz. "expertise" or "learnedness" in a particular field. Sa-paṇ himself specifies this in the next lines (I 4cd):

> One who knows the subject of a particular study is also wise in that.[13]

And in the autocommentary:

> Moreover, a person who knows a particular thing that he studied also gains the designation "one who is learned in just that."[14]

Sa-paṇ next explains the proper subjects for the wise man's study (I 5):

> The objects [of learning] are said to be grammar, dialectics, healing, and the "outer" and "inner" sciences.
>
> Grammar is [the study of] words, dialectics is logico-epistemology, the "outer" science consists of manual arts and techniques, the "inner" science is the doctrine of the religious scriptures, and the science of healing is medicine.[15]

Thus the wise or truly learned man had to be a comprehensive, encyclopedic scholar, a master of all theoretical and practical subjects. This ideal lay at

the heart of the treatise, and Sa-paṇ's immediate motive for composing the work was to help his fellow men attain it.

Sa-paṇ could not of course teach the contents of each and every branch of learning within a single treatise. Instead, in the KhJ he taught the methods and principles which were presupposed by true scholarship in any field. Above all, the wise man had to be able to communicate accurately his knowledge to others, and the three main means for that were composition, exposition, and discussion or debate. These three then were the "entrances" through which all who desired proficiency in scholarship had to pass.[16] This treatise was accordingly divided into three parts, and in each part Sa-paṇ taught one of the three "entrances" for the wise.

Sa-paṇ was uniquely qualified among the Tibetans of his time to teach the methods of Indian scholarship and the ways of Buddhist wisdom. He had himself mastered all the subjects that his Tibetan teachers could teach, and he had also studied very assiduously at the feet of four great Indian Buddhist scholars. He had become, in fact, the first Tibetan who was acknowledged to be a paṇḍita, a title reserved in Indian Buddhist scholasticism for a scholar who had mastered all five major fields of knowledge.[17] The KhJ in particular was one of the pioneering treatises that established his reputation as a paṇḍita.[18]

Sa-paṇ was also one of the first Tibetan religious teachers to have been widely honored by later generations with the eulogistic appellation "Lord of Dharma" (chos kyi rje: dharmasvāmin).[19] This title shows that in addition to his specifically scholarly attainments, he was recognized to be one of the very greatest upholders of the Buddhist teachings in his day. His eminence as a spiritual teacher was founded upon a careful discernment of and adherence to genuine Indian Buddhist tradition. He was a resolute traditionalist, acknowledging as genuine only those works that he was satisfied could be ascertained as being the word of the Buddha or the explanations of the Buddha's great followers. Sa-paṇ articulated this basic principle in the KhJ and elsewhere:

> One must study and teach that doctrine which the Buddha proclaimed, which has come down through a succession of learned masters, which was realized by the adepts (siddha) through meditation, which was expounded by learned men (paṇḍita), which was translated [from Sanskrit to Tibetan] by translators, and which is widely recognized by all Indian and Tibetan learned adherents of the scriptural traditions. If [the doctrine that one teaches] is not like that, the learned masters of India will deride it, and they will feel repelled, saying, "The Buddha taught no such doctrine. It harms the [Buddhist] Doctrine to

teach a doctrine of one's own fabrication."[20]

Sa-paṇ also enunciated in the KhJ the principle that doctrinal error may be appropriately refuted because the Doctrine may be harmed if error is allowed to proliferate, just as the desired crops in a field will suffer if weeds are allowed to spread unchecked.[21] He carried this principle into practice in some of his treatises, and this earned him no small notoriety as a polemicist.[22]

Of the three main sections of the KhJ--composition, exposition, and debate--in the following study I have concentrated on the third section, that on debate, and have presented the edited text and an annotated translation of this section below. His treatment of debating is important because debating remains a typical and essential part of Tibetan scholasticism, though the Indian Buddhist origins of that tradition and its early development in Tibet have only now begun to be investigated. For Sa-paṇ, "debate" meant a formal philosophical discussion between two scholars who maintained differing tenets and attempted to express them in sound logical form and to defend them from the criticisms of the opponent. In later Indian Buddhism, debate belonged basically to the branch of Pramāṇa which dealt with "inference for the sake of others" (gzhan don rjes dpag : parārthānumāna). He accordingly discussed many points of debating proper included within that topic, such as how to start and conclude, what constitutes victory or defeat, and the identities of the participants. But Sa-paṇ's treatment was not narrowly restricted, for he also dealt with such diverse peripheral questions as the place of scripture and tenets in debate, whether a debator must maintain tenets or a thesis, how to resolve apparent contradictions of scripture, and what constitutes reasoning that is objectively validated.

In India, formal debates held before an assembly of witnesses were a sort of intellectual duel. A loss in debate meant not only a great loss of prestige, but it also commonly entailed the repudiation of one's original doctrine and the forced adoption of the opponent's creed. Given such high stakes, some Indian debators (e.g. some Naiyāyikas) held that it was permissible to use any means--fair or foul--to gain victory and to defend one's school. The Buddhist tradition following Dharmakīrti (and upheld by Sa-paṇ) insisted to the contrary that winning or losing was entirely dependent on the soundness of the two opponents' statements of proof and refutation. Thus for this tradition, tricks and other dishonest means had no place at all in a genuine debate. A real debate was a confrontation between two scholars who held different tenets and attempted to defend them sincerely and honestly.

In the Tibetan seminaries of Sa-paṇ's time, however, debating and dialectics were mainly an academic exercise. In the schools descending from the

traditions of Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab and Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, dialectics was one of the core subjects that every student had to study and master. A number of peculiarly Tibetan ideas and practices became incorporated into the pedagogic debates of the seminaries, and Sa-paṇ, who had received some early training in these lineages, later devoted much effort to attempts at correcting them. Much of the debate section of the KhJ must be understood as being directed against these earlier Tibetan traditions.

For Tibetan scholars from the 12th century on, dialectics and its mother discipline Pramāṇa were extremely important subjects. This was because in Tibetan seminaries Pramāṇa had become the ideal and fundamental intellectual discipline: it was the standard against which all other scholarly endeavors were measured and evaluated. Pramāṇa shaped the thought of Tibetan scholastic writers, and it determined how they dealt with other subjects, something like Aristotelian logic did for medieval European scholastics. For their actual dialectic practice, however, Tibetan scholars were most influenced not by the Pramāṇa of Dharmakīrti, but by the indigenous introductory handbooks from which they had learned the habits of logical argumentation in their youth. These Tibetan introductory handbooks, the Bsdus grwa texts, by and large represented the earlier tradition of Tibetan dialectics founded by Phywa-pa, and they were the targets of Sa-paṇ's criticisms not only in the KhJ but also in his great treatise on Pramāṇa, the Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (RT).

The present study describes for the first time some of Sa-paṇ's contributions to the development of dialectics and Pramāṇa in Tibet. It also attempts to clarify the historical context of his contributions and to trace some of the related doctrinal or philosophical issues. The study has three main sections, the first of which consists of ten introductory chapters. Chapter 1 gives a chronological sketch of Sa-paṇ's life and lists the sources upon which biographical studies must be based. Chapter 2 reviews the previous modern research on the KhJ and the other works of Sa-paṇ. Chapters 3 and 4 survey the writings of Sa-paṇ and describe a number of lost or apocryphal writings. Chapters 5 and 6 describe Sa-paṇ's career as a scholar of Pramāṇa, detailing his studies, translations and writings on this subject, and also tracing some of the Pramāṇa lineages that he founded. Chapter 7 investigates the question of how Sa-paṇ and the earlier scholars Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab and Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge classified and interpreted the thought of Dharmakīrti. Chapter 8 describes the content and structure of the KhJ. Chapter 9 surveys the known commentarial writings on this treatise. Chapter 10 completes this first main section, describing the textual sources for the critical edition. The second main section of this study consists of the edited text and annotated translation of KhJ part III. The third and final

main section includes the bibliography and several appendixes.

Sa-paṇ's KhJ or "Entrance for the Wise" is not an easy gateway to pass through. The work apparently never became a part of ordinary monastic curriculums, probably precisely because its contents were judged too specialized and difficult. Even in Sa-paṇ's time there were seemingly only a very few students who seriously took up the study of its subject matter.[23] Indeed, one of Sa-paṇ's basic motives--the teaching of wisdom to others--was something that was very difficult to be realized. It has been said that true scholarship cannot be communicated,[24] and surely this can also be said of the wisdom of the sage.[25] But Sa-paṇ did succeed in influencing those who mattered most: the greatest Tibetan scholars of subsequent generations. Though they occasionally criticized the KhJ on points of detail, later Tibetan savants also recognized the KhJ as a great landmark in their literary and intellectual history, and as a never-superseded guide to the methods of scholarship. As such, it continues to be studied today by numerous scholars of Tibetan nationality, both in Tibet and abroad.[26]

The KhJ was thus a fundamental work in the development and transmission of many Tibetan literary and scholarly traditions. As a description of the principles that guided the thought of Tibet's greatest scholars and writers, it is also an extremely useful introduction and guide for foreign students of Tibetan Buddhist literature.[27] This was the initial reason I decided some years ago to begin studying it, and for my own education I could not have made a better choice. When I began, however, I did not suspect that in addition to the basic difficulties of its subject matter, it also contained quite a few textual and doctrinal conundrums, several of which have for centuries baffled even some of the greatest savants of the tradition. The present study records my findings and solutions to date, but I do not pretend to have solved every problem in it, not even in part III which I studied most intensively.

Tibetan Buddhist studies have made considerable progress in the last two decades, mainly because of the greater accessibility of both the texts and the living tradition. Given Sa-paṇ's crucial importance, it is not surprising that his works too have been attracting increasingly more attention and interest. The speed of further progress in doctrinal and philosophical studies, however, will depend on the availability of a sound textual and historical basis. More thoroughgoing and penetrating analyses of Sa-paṇ's ideas can only be safely founded upon careful critical editions of all his seminal classics and upon a more detailed knowledge of the ideas of his predecessors and opponents. But until those needs are met, I hope that the present study will be found useful as an

"entrance gate" of sorts--a small portal into the vast intellectual dominions of one of Tibet's greatest geniuses.

D. P. J.

Kyoto
January, 1985

New Delhi
December, 1986

Notes

[1]Hugh of St. Victor, Didascalicon : de Studio Legendi. Quoted from B. Smalley (1978), p. 86.

[2]Peter the Chanter, Verbum Abbreviatum. Quoted from B. Smalley (1978), p. 208.

[3]See also L. Renou (1964), p. 128.

[4]Many of Sa-paṇ's contributions in the KhJ had no precedents in Tibet. See for instance Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, pp. 119.4-120.7.

[5]KhJ (D), p. 81.3.4-6 (tha 164a.4-6): mkhas pa khas 'che ba 'ga' zhig . . . . gangs can gyi khrod 'di na legs par ma [164b] sbyangs pa'i skye bo phal cher 'khrul par mthong nas/ de la phan pa'i don du mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo 'di bshad do//. Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 69.4: bye brag tu bod 'dir bstan bcos rtsom pa'i sgo dod byung ba'i tshe na/ rtsom 'chad rtsod pa gsum char/ 'phags yul du grags pa dang shas cher mthun pa nyid bya dgos pa'i yan lag tu mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos 'di mdzad do/; and Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 119.6: gangs can gyi ljongs 'dir bstan bcos 'di ma byon pa'i gong rol tu rtsom pa dang/ 'chad pa dang/ rtsod pa'i tshul gsum legs par mi 'chad pas/ bstan bcos 'dis ni mkhas pa'i bya ba gsum la ji ltar 'jug pa'i tshul gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du 'chad pa ni bstan bcos 'di'i dgos pa'o/.

[6]This religious motive could be said to be the underlying motive or "motive of the motive" (dgos pa'i dgos pa) of the KhJ. This was one of four topics by which Tibetan and Indian Buddhist scholiasts commonly introduced and explained the purpose of the text which they were about to expound. In the KhJ (I 12, autocommentary, [D] p. 83.1.5; tha 167a.5 = 5a.5) Sa-paṇ lists these four:

(1) the subject matter (brjod bya)

(2) motive (dgos pa)

(3) motive of the motive (dgos pa'i dgos pa)

(4) connection [between the above three] ('brel pa)

See also his Byis pa, p. 118.2.6 (tha 238a.6 = 14a.6). Cf. the four similar introductory topics mentioned by Conrad of Hissau (d. ca. 1150), as described by A. Piltz (1981), p. 85. Cf. also the four anubandhas or "requisites" discussed at the beginning of the exposition of Indian śāstras as described by G. S. Huparikar

(1949), p. 121f:
  (1) the competency of the student to understand a work
  (2) the subject matter
  (3) connection between the subject matter and the work to be studied
  (4) the motive of inducement to enter into the study

[7]KhJ (D), p. 111.3.3 (tha 224a.3 = 62a.3): blo gros gsal ba'i skye bo rnams thar pa chen po'i grong khyer du 'jug pa'i sgo.

[8]KhJ III 73

[9]Sa-paṇ considered religious or moral learning to have value only insofar as one put it into practice. As he said in one of his famous aphorisms (LSh 448):

> If learned people while very easily understanding all aphoristic sayings do not practice their meanings, what use is it even if they know the "sciences" (lit.: treatises, śāstra)?

Cf. J. Bosson (1969), p. 294.

[10]Sometimes the word 'jug pa (Skt. avatāra) in a title can be understood as "introduction." See A. K. Warder (1971), p. 200. Cf. the similar Japanese nyūmon, which is used in book titles for "Primer of . . ." or "Elementary . . . ."

The image of an "entrance gate" or "portal" was already employed before Sa-paṇ by his uncle Bsod-nams-rtse-mo in the latter's major treatise the Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo. Sa-paṇ himself also referred to the "three entrances of the wise" (mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo gsum) in one of his earlier works, a commentary on Bsod-nams-rtse-mo's Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa. See Sa-paṇ, Byis pa, p. 118.3.1 (tha 238b.1 = 14b.1). See also ibid., p. 122.3.5 (tha 246b.5 = 22b.5): mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo. Cf. Sa-paṇ's Tshig gi gter, p. 131.4.5 (tha 265b.5 = 13b.5) where he speaks of the fields of knowledge as "mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i yan lag."

[11]KhJ (D), p. 82.1.2 (tha 165a.2 = 3a.2):

mkhas gang shes bya'i de kho na//
ji bzhin rtogs par yin par 'dod//

[12]Ibid: mkhas pa zhes bya ba gang yin ce na/ shes bya thams cad phyin ci ma log par shes pa yin la/. Cf. Sa-paṇ's Snye mo sgom chen gyi dris lan, p. 418.3.5 (na 248b.5): de'ang paṇḍita bya ba phyi nang gi shes bya'i gnas la mkhas pa la zer.

[13]KhJ (D), p. 82.1.2 (tha 165a.2 = 3a.2):
bye brag sbyangs pa'i don shes pa//
de yang de la mkhas pa yin//.

[14]Ibid.: gzhan yang bye brag gang bslabs pa shes pa de la'ang de nyid la mkhas pa zhes bya ba'i ming thob bo/.

[15]Ibid., line 3:
de yul brda sprod rtog ge dang//
gso ba phyi nang rig ces gsungs//
brda sprod pa sgra dang/ rtog ge tshad ma dang/ phyi rol rig pa bzo dang/ nang rig pa lung gi chos dang/ gso ba rig pa sman dpyad do//.

[16]Indeed, according to Shākya-mchog-ldan's commentary, those three are the activities which engage the objects to be learned and which create mastery or proficiency in them. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 102.5: bstan bcos 'di'i lus rnam par bzhag pa la mkhas par bya ba'i yul bden pa gnyis shes tshul dang/ mkhas par byed pa'i yul can rtsom 'chad rtsod gsum la mkhas dgos par bstan pa ste/.

[17]On the title paṇḍita and its threefold classification into (1) paṇḍita chen po or mkhas pa mkhas pa or mkhas pa'i rab, (2) mkhas pa'i bar ma, and (3) mkhas pa'i chung ngu, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, pp. 101.5f. According to modern usage, a paṇḍita is one who knows the five major fields of knowledge, though one may become a "lesser paṇḍita" (paṇḍita chung ngu) by mastering just the five lesser fields of knowledge. The five lesser fields are:
(1) sgra (Sanskrit grammar)
(2) snyan ngag (poetics)
(3) sdeb sbyor (metrics)
(4) zlos gar (drama)
(5) ming gi mngon brjod (lexicon or synonymy)
To become a "great paṇḍita" (paṇḍita chen po), one has to master all ten fields of knowledge. But cf. R. K. Mookerji (1969), p. 569, where the title paṇḍita is said to have been sometimes reserved for the head of a Buddhist "university" in India, and sometimes applied to all "graduates." Cf. also D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale eds. (1957), p. xxxvi:

"These vihāras [Vikramaśīla, Uddaṇḍapuri, and Jagaddala] gave the title paṇḍita (of the institute in question) by royal command . . . . To judge from survivals in Tibet, the official title paṇḍita must have involved long study leading to a formal examination in the Buddhist scriptures by the leading scholars

of the particular vihāra; the successful candidate would, presumably, be granted a royal stipend along with the title, or Tāranātha's references have no meaning."

Sa-paṇ was the first Tibetan who studied the five lesser fields of knowledge intensively. See for example Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 69.3: kha ba can 'dir de las sngon du ma byon pa'i rig gnas lnga mkhyen pa zhes/. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 466.1

It is not clear when Sa-paṇ first acquired the title "Paṇḍita." He is said in one source to have been so called first by Śākyaśrī and the latter's retinue after Sa-paṇ demonstrated his knowledge of Sanskrit at the time of their first meeting (in 1204). See the account of Go-rams-pa as quoted by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 100 and note 290.

Sa-paṇ seems in fact to have claimed the title for himself when still a young scholar. In the colophon to his Rol mo'i bstan bcos written perhaps in 1203 or 1204 (but in any case before 1209), he styles himself "a paṇḍita who has made most of the commonly recognised fields of knowledge the object of his cognition, who although youthful in years possesses an old [i.e. mature] intellect." See his Rol mo'i, p. 80.2.5 (tha 161a.5 =74.5): shes bya'i gnas yongs su grags pa phal mo che la blos yul du byas pa'i paṇḍita lo gzhon yang blo gros rgan pa shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis . . . .

An earlier teacher with the title paṇḍita is mentioned in the biography of 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-mgon-po (1143-1217). He was one Mgo-pa Paṇḍita, who flourished in the 1160s. See Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 9, p. 206.

[18]The KhJ demonstrated his knowledge of Sanskrit poetics, which he did not begin to study in earnest until about 1205. His knowledge of metrics and lexicography were shown by his Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po and Tshig gi gter, respectively.

[19]Sa-paṇ commonly used the title chos rje when referring to his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. For the later Sa-skya-pa tradition, however, the title--especially in the form chos rje pa--became identified almost exclusively with Sa-paṇ. Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 467.3: chos kyi rje zhes bya ba'i mtshan yang sngon bod du ma grags pa 'di pas thob pa'o/.

[20]KhJ II 3, autocommentary, (D) p. 94.4.6 (tha 190b.6 = 28b.6): mnyan bya'i chos kyang sangs rgyas kyis gsungs/ mkhas pa las brgyud/ grub thob kyis [191a] bsgoms/ paṇḍitas bshad/ lo tsā bas bsgyur/ rgya gar dang bod kyi sde snod 'dzin pa mkhas pa thams cad la legs par grags pa'i chos la nyan bshad byed dgos/ de lta ma yin na rgya gar gyi mkhas pa rnams kyis brnyas par 'gyur te/ sangs rgyas kyis

de lta bu'i chos gsungs pa med/ rang bzo'i chos bshad pa bstan pa la gnod ces khrel bar 'gyur ro//.

See also the ThGS, p. 3.3.2 (tha 7a.2). Cf. the similar statement in Sgra-tshad-pa's biography of Bu-ston, p. 13b.5. Sa-paṇ in his Skyes bu dam pa, p. 332.4.2 (na 74a.2 : 5a.2), credits Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan with teaching him the necessity of conforming with what the Buddha taught.

[21]KhJ III 41, autocommentary.

[22]He was not by any means the first Tibetan to criticize his countrymen through religious polemics. The great translator Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) was one of several early Tibetans who wrote refutations of erroneous religious practices, as Sa-paṇ mentions near the end of his Sdom gsum rab dbye. See also the early refutations of erroneous Tantric practices listed by Bu-ston near the end of the canonical catalogue section of his Chos 'byung (S. Nishioka [1983], p. 118, nos. 3061, 3064). One important aspect of Sa-paṇ's critical doctrinal studies was his exclusion of apocryphal Sūtras and Tantras from those accepted as genuine by the wider Indo-Tibetan tradition. On this see for instance Lho-pa, p. 47b.3; Bu-ston's Chos 'byung, catalogue section (S. Nishioka [1980], p. 78); and Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 106b.

E. Gene Smith (1969b), p. 63, asserts that another target of Sa-paṇ's criticisms was the Rnying-ma-pa: "Sa-paṇ [and Chag-lo] (like 'Gos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas, 'Bri-gung-pa Dpal-'dzin, and Bu-ston) were 'reformers' who attacked the Rnying-ma-pa on the grounds that Sanskrit originals could not be found, and the tantras differed in form and phraseology from the 'new' tantras." Sa-paṇ's attitude toward the Rnying-ma-pa, and the extent to which he participated in Rnying-ma-pa practices, requires further investigation.

[23]KhJ III 73d:

bdag gis 'bad kyang gzhan gyis 'dzin pa nyung//.

[24]E. M. Forster (1962), p. 28: "Genuine scholarship is one of the highest successes which our race can achieve. No one is more triumphant than the man who chooses a worthy subject and masters all its facts and the leading facts of the subjects neighboring. . . . If his conclusions could be as valuable to us as they are to himself he would long ago have civilized the human race. As you know, he has failed. True scholarship is incommunicable, true scholars rare."

[25]Cf. Sa-paṇ's statement in KhJ I 34 (D p. 84.3.4 [61a.4]) and KhJ III 37 autocommentary that ultimate truth is not "knowable," which implies that it is also not transmittable. See also below, KhJ III translation, note 95.

[26]The third section of the KhJ has recently been included within the compulsory curriculum of the Sa-skya-pa students at the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, following the recommendations of a committee of leading Sa-skya-pa scholars in India.

[27]The rationale for the study of such works as the KhJ has been aptly expressed by G. Makdisi (1981), p. xiii: "The form and content of intellectual works are intelligible in the extent to which the methods of instruction, study and composition are understood in their essential details."

Chapter 1

THE LIFE OF SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA: SOURCES AND CHRONOLOGY

Because Sa-paṇ was universally acknowledged as one of the key figures in the religious, political and scholarly history of Tibet, accounts of his life or mentions of his accomplishments are found in many places within Tibetan literature. Brief accounts can be located in the standard political and religious histories, as well as in commentaries on his writings and in various other works. There also exist a number of independent full-length biographies that were written by his disciples or by later followers of the tradition. Indeed, probably no other Tibetan of the 13th century is the subject of so much biographical writing. Yet when one reads these accounts, the first thing that strikes one is the relative dearth of hard dates and personal facts. The eulogistic element predominates in many places, and so far nobody has gone through these sources with the aim of critically discerning the historical kernel by removing the eulogistic and sometimes legendary chaff.[1] Here is not the place to attempt that in any detail. It may, however, be worthwhile as part of an introduction to his works to list at least the main sources on his life and to extract from the most important of them a brief outline of his career.

Biographical Sources

What follows is an enumeration of the main biographical sources, grouped according to their nature as witnesses, i.e. according to whether they are autobiographical or biographical, or whether primary or secondary. In addition, the secondary sources are divided into different groups according to the type of literature to which they belong.

I. Autobiographical Sources

The sources that must be given the most weight in any study of his life are those that date from his lifetime, and of course a very great importance must be assigned to those works which issued from his own pen. Sa-paṇ did not compose an autobiography as such. But he did sometimes record details of his early studies

and development, or set down his thoughts and feelings in an autobiographical vein. For instance, he gives in the following works details about his studies:

(1) *Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa* (pp. 148.3.4-154.4.6)
(2) *Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan* (pp. 411.3.3-412.1.3)
(3) *Mkhas 'jug* (KhJ) (pp. 81.4.2-82.1.1)
(4) *Sdom gsum rab dbye* (DS) (pp. 320.3.1-6)

Other sources give more intimate views of his personality, for instance on his indebtedness to Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan for his intellectual flowering, on his assessment of himself and his own accomplishments, and on his feelings of disillusionment because of the hostile reception his works received. To list just a few:

(5) *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig* (p. 327.3.4, *et passim*)

(6) *Rje btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi bstod pa* (p. 321.3.5)

(7) *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor* (p. 340.4.4)

(8) *Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po* (p. 141.1.2)

II. *Biographies by His Students*

The next group of primary sources consists of those accounts that his own disciples set down in writing. These fall into two groups: (A) those that were written while Sa-paṇ was alive, and (B) those that were composed after his death.

A. *Contemporaneous Accounts*

Two of Sa-paṇ's students wrote biographies of him when he was still living but after his debate with Harinanda (c. 1240). They and their works are:

(1) Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal, *Dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyis mdzad pa*, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (*ka*), pp. 38b.1-57a.1.

(2) Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, Dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa, SKKB, vol. 5, pp. 433.2.1-438.4.6.

Lho-pa's work in particular was composed in the last few years before Sa-paṇ's departure from Tibet in 1244 since he mentions Sa-paṇ's debate with Harinanda, and specifies that at the time of composition Sa-paṇ was dwelling in Dbu-ru'i Klungs Skyi-shod.[2] One cannot date the second work as precisely.[3] Both consist for the most part of records of Sa-paṇ's studies, and the former is the most detailed and definitive.

B. Posthumous Accounts

Three works survive which seem to have been written by his younger disciples:

(1) 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, Chos rje pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa, SKKB, vol. 6, pp. 31.3.3-32.1.2 (pa 62b.3-63b.2).

(2) Yar-klungs-pa [Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan?], Bla ma chos kyi rje dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus pa.

(3) Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa 'bring po, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 32b.1-38b.1.

The first, which is by his nephew 'Phags-pa (1235-1280), was written in Liang-chou and is mainly useful as an account of Sa-paṇ's final years. The second work is a short versified eulogy. Commonly called the Chos rgyal ma, it is found in Sa-skya-pa chos spyod texts.[4] In it too the account of his final days is predominant. According to the colophon it was written by "rigs par smra ba Yar klungs pa" at Liang-chou in the lunar month after Sa-paṇ's passing.[5] The third is also a versified eulogy, though much longer and with many more details. Its proper title seems to be Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa. More than half its length was devoted to telling of Sa-paṇ's last years and death. Its author appears to have been a disciple of Sa-paṇ, though this is not definitely established.[6]

C. Lost Biographies by His Students

In addition to these, one reads in later sources that other disciples also wrote biographies. For instance, the A mdo chos 'byung of Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas (vol. 1, p. 21.5 [11a.5]) mentions a biography by 'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge. The Gsung sgros ma biography printed in both the Lam 'bras slob bshad and Ngor-chen's collected works lists in its colophon (Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 [ka], p. 67a.5) not only the biographies by Lho-pa and Zhang, but also by the following:

Dmar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po
Bi-ji Rin-chen-grags
Dam-pa Kun-dga'-grags [=Sga A-gnyan-dam-pa]
Bar-ston Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan

The same colophon is found in a manuscript of this Gsung sgros ma from Glo-bo (Mustang) published in Selected Biographies of Sa-skya-pa Lam 'bras Masters (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1985), p. 173 (kha 33a). A-mes-zhabs in his biography of Sngags-'chang Kun-dga'-rin-chen (Srid pa gsum, p. 26b.3) does mention a Gsung sgros ma biography by Bi-ji, though it is now unavailable. Biographies by the remaining three authors, however, are otherwise completely unknown.

III. Full-length Biographies by Authors of Later Generations

Among the secondary sources at least three full-length biographies are known:

(1) [Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po? (1389-1456)], Dpal sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar gsung sgros ma, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 57a-67a; SKKB, vol. 9, pp. 30.3.4-36.3.5.

(2) Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523-1596), 'Jam dbyangs bla ma sa skya paṇḍita'i ngo mtshar rtogs brjod dpal gyi 'khri shing yal 'dab nyer gcig pa dang de'i 'grel pa.

(3) Rin-spungs-pa Ngag-dbang-'jig-rten-dbang-phyug-grags-pa (1542-1625?), 'Jam dbyangs mi'i srid pa sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang

po'i rtogs pa brjod pa bskal pa bzang po'i legs lam, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 67a-145a.

The first is a work which purports to combine the contents of six biographies listed above, all but two of which are now unavailable. The colophon does not specify the name of its compiler. It is included in the Derge edition of Ngor-chen's works and is attributed to Ngor-chen by A-mes-zhabs in his biography of Sngags-'chang Kun-dga'-rin-chen (Srid pa gsum. p. 20b.4) and by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen in the latter's gsan yig (Dpal ldan, vol. 1, p. 613.4 = ka 307a.4): rnam thar gsung sgros ma rje rdo rje 'chang gis mdzad pa. Its basic content, however, is similar to that of the Lam 'bras history by Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375) and to the Lam 'bras history included in the great De nyid 'dus pa compilation of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1451) (Encyclopedia Tibetica, vol. 106, pp. 540.3-557.2). Probably both the Gsung sgros ma attributed to Ngor-chen and the work in Bo-dong's compilation derive from Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan's history. The second work listed above is unfortunately not yet available. It is included in the list of Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho's works in a modern bibliographical compilation.[7] Probably it consisted of a versified basic work with a prose commentary. The third later biography, the one by Rin-spungs-pa, is a very long work in verse with many small explanatory notes (mchan bu). It was completed by its eminent author in 1579.

IV. Genealogical Histories

Accounts of Sa-paṇ's life are also found in the family histories of the Sa-skya 'Khon. Several such histories existed in the past, but the most famous is that of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597-1659), which was structured around the versified gdung rabs by Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557). A-mes-zhabs's work has the ponderous title 'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung. In the recent reprint of this work in its Derge edition, the biography of Sa-paṇ is found on pages 93.6-170.6.[8] A-mes-zhabs copied this biography almost verbatim from Glo-bo mkhan-chen's Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad.

V. Religious Histories

Sa-paṇ's life story is also briefly told in various religious histories, including both general works and those that relate the origins of particular lineages. In the completion (rtsom 'phro kha skong) by Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs (b. 1649) of the Ngor chos 'byung, for instance, there is an important biographical sketch (pp. 314.6-321.7). Also in the histories by the Sa-skya-pa scholars Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523-1596) (Bstan rtsis pp. 79b-82a) and Rta-nag-mkhan-po Chos-rnam-rgyal (fl. 17th c.) (Bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin gyi lo rgyus, pp. 75a-76b, 81b-85a) one finds biographical accounts. Sa-paṇ was also a transmitter of seemingly every Sa-skya-pa lineage that has a separately recorded history (chos 'byung) and his life story is accordingly found for instance in the different Lam 'bras khog phubs, such as those by Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375), by Gnyan-ston 'Dul-ba-seng-ge (mentioned in KhJNSh, p. 26b.2), by A-mes-zhabs,[9] and by the unidentified author of the Lam 'bras history in Bo-dong Paṇ-chen's De nyid 'dus pa collection.[10] He is also mentioned in the chos 'byungs of Bde-mchog,[11] Mgon-po,[12] and Rdo-rje-phur-pa.[13]

VI. Political and General Histories

In the political and more general histories too one finds brief accounts of Sa-paṇ's life and deeds. He is mentioned, for instance, in the following:

(1) Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje (fl. 14th c.), Deb ther dmar po, p. 49.[14] Composed in 1346.

(2) Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa Dpal-'byor-bzang-po (fl. early-15th c.), Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo (U. of Washington MS), p. 194a (= Chengdu, Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1985 ed., pp. 322f.). Composed in 1434.

(3) Paṇ-chen Bsod-nams-grags-pa (1478-1554), Deb ther dmar po gsar ma, pp. 49b ff.[15] Composed in 1538.

(4) Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1503/4-1566), Mkhas pa'i dga' ston, vol. 9(3), pp. 760f, 794f (ba 5b, ma 19a-20a).[16] Composed in 1565.

(5) Dalai bla-ma V, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1617-1682), Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb

ther rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs, pp. 113-115.[17] Composed in 1643.

VII. Commentaries on Sa-paṇ's Works

Tibetan commentators sometimes prefaced their compositions with a biographical sketch of the author whose work they were about to expound. Three noteworthy examples of this are found in the following texts:

(1) Spos-khang-pa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan (fl. early-15th c.), Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa, vol. 1, pp. 9.1-24.3. Composed in 1427.

(2) Go-rams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge (1429-1489), Sdom pa gsum rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs gsal, vol. 14, pp. 125.4.2-130.1.1 (ta 14b.2-22a.1). Composed in 1463.

(3) Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532), KhJNSh, pp. 47b.4-77b.5 (94.4-154.5). Composed in 1527.

VIII. Biographies of a Great Lama's Previous Embodiments

Sa-paṇ was said by some to have been one of the previous embodiments of the Paṇ-chen Rin-po-che, and accordingly there existed the following biography in the series of biographies of those incarnations. The author was Paṇ-chen I Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, and the work was entitled Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rtogs [par brjod?] pa dri za'i glu dbyangs.[18]

IX. Miscellaneous

One can find references to Sa-paṇ in various works, such as in accounts of the histories of the various branches of literary scholarship, guides to places of pilgrimage, lists of teachings received (thob yig), and supplicatory prayers to lineages. Verses of praise addressed to him can also contain interesting historical information.[19] In addition there are the following two works that contain

fairly long accounts of events from his life but which do not fit neatly anywhere in the above classifications:

(1) Gser-mgog paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507), Chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i rnam gzhag ji ltar grub pa'i yi ge gzu bor gnas pa'i mdzangs pa dga' byed, Collected Works, vol. 16, pp. 465-469.

(2) [Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen] (1700-1769?), Dpal sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig, SKKB, vol. 7, pp. 315.1.2-316.2.6 (ba 419b.2-421b.6).

The first gives good information on the great convocation of 1216 at which Sa-paṇ presided, probably based in large part on the biography of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan by Sa-paṇ. The second contains a biographical sketch that seems to be based on the Ngor chos 'byung.

X. Recent Compositions

Recently there have also appeared a number of treatments of Sa-paṇ's life by living Tibetan scholars. Here I will list only the following four:

(1) Mkhan-po Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, Legs bshad 'dod dgu 'byung ba'i gter mdzod [Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter gyi don 'grel blo gsal bung ba'i bsti gnas], pp. pp. 3-25.

(2) Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, A-mi-pa, Rgyal bstan spyi dang bye brag rje btsun sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin dang bcas pa byon tshul gyi rnam par thar pa shin tu mdor bsdus pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i chu thig, pp. 37-42.[20]

(3) Gdong-thog sprul-sku Bstan-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, Byang phyogs thub pa'i rgyal tshab dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byung ba'i lo rgyus rab 'byams zhing du snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs, pp. 93.1-99.4 (47a.1-50a.4).

(4) Dge-bshes Thugs-rje-dbang-phyug, 'Phags bod du rgyal bstan spyi dang bye brag dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan pa rin po che'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar nor bu'i bang mdzod, pp. 136-153.[21]

These recent studies do not have the historiographical importance of the earlier sources, and I have not relied upon them. In the following biographical sketch, except where specifically noted, the information derives from either the autobiographical passages or the earliest biographies. Before beginning that sketch, however, I should conclude this survey by putting the main biographical sources in a different perspective, listing twenty-two of them consecutively in their approximate chronological order. The Roman numerals in parentheses refer to the sections above where each was described.

* * * * *

Table 1

<u>The Main Accessible Accounts of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Life</u>

<u>Listed in Chronological Order</u>

1. Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal. Composed early 1240s. (II.A.1)
2. Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal. Composed early 1240s. (II.A.2)
3. Yar-klung-pa (Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan?). Composed 1251. (II.B.2)
4. 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. Composed 1250s? (II.B.1)
5. Yar-klung-pa (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan?). Composed late-13th c.? (II.B.3)
6. Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. Composed 1344. (V)
7. Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje. Composed 1346. (VI.1)
8. Spos-khang-pa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan. Composed 1427. (VII.1)
9. Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa Dpal-'byor-bzang-po. Composed 1434. (VI.2)
10. Bo-dong Paṇ-chen [?]. Composed before 1452. (V)
11. Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po [?]. Composed before 1457? (III.1)
12. Go-rams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge. Composed 1463. (VII.2)
13. Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub. Composed 1527. (VII.3)
14. Paṇ-chen Bsod-nams-grags-pa. Composed 1538. (VI.3)
15. Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba. Composed 1565. (VI.4)
16. Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho. Composed 1578. (V)
17. Rin-spungs-pa Ngag-dbang-'jigs-med-grags-pa. Composed 1579. (III.3)
18. Rta-nag mkhan-po Chos-rnam-rgyal. Composed first half 17th c.? (V)
19. A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams. Composed 1629, based on no. 13, above (VII.3). See also the other works of A-mes-zhabs in (V).
20. Dalai bla-ma V Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho. Composed 1643. (VI.5)
21. Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs. Composed late 17th c.? (V)
22. [Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen]. Composed 1736. (IX.2)

Chronology of the Main Events in Sa-paṇ's Life

Sa-paṇ was born in the spring of 1182.[22] He was the first son of Dpal-chen-'od-po, and was at birth the likely heir to the spiritual legacy of the Sa-skya-pas. The monastery of Sa-skya was then a religious establishment known throughout Tibet. Founded in 1073 by 'Khon Dkon-mchog-rgyal-po, it had in the following century won great eminence as the seat of Dkon-mchog-rgyal-po's son, Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158), who was one of the greatest Tantric scholars and adepts of his age. Sa-chen was succeeded mainly by his two sons Slob-dpon Bsod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182) and Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216). Both had adopted the celibate life and were famed religious teachers. Sa-chen's first son had died as a young man while studying in India.[23] His fourth and only remaining son was Sa-paṇ's father, a lay meditator and doctor, whose duty it was to perpetuate the family line and look after their secular interests.

The year of Sa-paṇ's birth had already seen the premature passing of his uncle Bsod-nams-rtse-mo; thus there must have been special rejoicing at the birth of this first son of the next generation.

Early Studies

The infant was given the name Dpal-ldan-don-grub ("Glorious Siddhārtha"), an indication of the high hopes placed in him. He was a remarkably--or even miraculously--precocious youngster, if we can believe the accounts of his disciple-biographers.[24] As an infant he is said to have written Indian characters in the dirt while playing on the ground and then to have carefully avoided crawling over them. In any case, there is no reason to doubt that he was exceptionally intelligent and that this became apparent from his very early childhood.

Sa-paṇ (as I will anachronistically call him) began his formal education by the age of five or six. One of his main early teachers was his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and the other was his father.[25] The most important subjects of these childhood studies were the numerous Tantric rituals followed in his family, and the Tantras on which they were based. He had to memorize each text and give proof of his understanding at a public recitation and explication. His memory was good; already at the age of seven or eight he correctly recited Saroruhavajra's sādhana of Hevajra and other sādhanas.[26] At age ten or eleven he recited and expounded the Hevajramūlatantra. After that he recited the Pañjara and Sampuṭa, and by the age of fourteen (1196) he is said to have received and understood all the central ritual practices that had come down from his ancestors. From his father he also

learned medicine and prognostication, while at the feet of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan he continued to receive more and more of the great corpus of tantric teachings that Sa-chen had gathered and transmitted to his sons. In the meantime he also learned various practical subjects such as calligraphy, drawing, painting, and astrological calculations.

Auspicious Dreams

In the year 1199 when Sa-paṇ was seventeen he had two dreams that presaged his future greatness as a scholar. One dream was that a saffron-clad monk named Vasubandhu was expounding the Abhidharmakośa before the great A-phyi stūpa at Sa-skya, and Sa-paṇ himself was seated there, listening reverently to the exposition. In the second dream he dreamt that he was at a very pleasant place called "Dignāga's Cave" at *Cakranagara [?] ('Khor-lo-can), a district in *Vijāyakṣetra in eastern India. There he was given the key to many volumes of scripture on Pramāṇa, including the Pramāṇasamuccaya and the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti. Sa-paṇ's later biographers attached a great significance to these dreams, as Abhidharma and Pramāṇa were indeed two subjects in which he excelled and which he propagated widely as a mature scholar.[27]

Youthful Travels and Studies

When Sa-paṇ was in his late teens it was decided that he should be sent to other parts of Tibet to pursue further studies under renowned scholars. He was to study the Madhyamaka, Abhidharma and the Five Dharmas of Maitreya, but above all he was to learn Pramāṇa. Though Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was one of the finest Tantric and general Mahāyāna teachers in all Tibet, as a youth he had been deprived of the chance to study at one of the great seminaries of Dbus or Gtsang. Instead, he had learned the scholastic treatises from his older brother or from other scholars who came to Sa-skya. Now Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan must have felt satisfaction seeing that his promising nephew was about to follow in the footsteps of Sa-chen and Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, who in their youths had both left Sa-skya to study at great seminaries in Central Tibet.

Sa-paṇ left Sa-skya in 1200 at the age of eighteen and journeyed to 'Phrang in the upper Nyang valley.[28] There he joined the monk-scholar Zhu-ston Rdo-rje-skyabs, who was also a disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Under Zhu-ston at 'Phrang (and later at Sa-skya), Sa-paṇ studied the Five Dharmas of Maitreya

with their commentaries, four of Nāgārjuna's "Yukti-corpus" (rigs tshogs) treatises, the Satyadvayavibhaṅga of Jñānagarbha, and the Madhyamakālaṃkāra of Śāntarakṣita.[29]

Then, sometime in the next year (1201),[30] Sa-paṇ left Zhu-ston to study with the illustrious scholastic master Mtshur Gzhon-nu-seng-ge, who was teaching at the temple of Rkyang-'dur which was nearby in Upper Nyang. This teacher was the student of the famed Gtsang-nag-pa and of the latter's foremost disciple. He taught Sa-paṇ two new subjects: Pramāṇa and the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka. For the first his text was Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya (PVin), and for the latter he taught the Prasannapadā of Candrakīrti.[31] These studies were interrupted in 1203 by the serious illness and death of Sa-paṇ's father; because of this, Sa-paṇ had to return to Sa-skya. Later, however, he was able to return to Rkyang-'dur and give a formal exposition of the PVin, his first formal scholastic teaching. In the years 1203-1204 during his home visits Sa-paṇ also pursued his interests in grammatical and musical studies, and he even seems to have learned some Sanskrit from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

Studies with Śākyaśrībhadra and the Other Three Pundits

In the following year (1204) when passing through Gtsang Chu-mig on the road between Rkyang-'dur and Sa-skya, Sa-paṇ met an Indian master who would have a great influence over his development as a scholastic philosopher.[32] This was the Kashmiri paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra, who had recently arrived in Tibet through the invitation of Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba. He was then teaching the PVin, and Sa-paṇ joined these lectures. These studies together, however, did not last long because Śākyaśrī left for Dbus by the summer of 1205. Nevertheless, Sa-paṇ was able to continue his studies under an Indian paṇḍita because he arranged for one of the other scholars in Śākyaśrī's entourage, Sugataśrī, to act as his tutor and to accompany him back to Sa-skya.

Sa-paṇ seems to have spent most of the next three years (1205-1207) at his home temple of Sa-skya, assiduously studying Sanskrit texts with Sugataśrī. The works they studied included treatises on Sanskrit grammar, poetics (alaṃkāraśāstra), kāvya, lexicography, and drama.[33] As for philosophical and doctrinal studies, Sa-paṇ and his tutor mainly covered Pramāṇa and Tantra. Within a short time Sa-paṇ was translating from Sanskrit to Tibetan; the biographer Lho-pa Rinchen-dpal names some seven works that Sa-paṇ worked at translating under the guidance of this paṇḍita.[34]

Sa-paṇ rejoined Śākyaśrī by 1208, and it was then at Nyang-smad Rgyan-gong that he took full monastic ordination from the great Kashmiri upādhyāya, assisted by two of his Tibetan teachers and in the midst of a great assembly of monks.[35] From then until about 1213, Sa-paṇ spent much time with Śākyaśrī, studying Sanskrit grammar, Pramāṇa, the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, the Mahāyānasaṃgraha, Abhidharma, various minor works of Vasubandhu, Prajñāpāramitā, Vinaya, and Vajrayāna.[36] In 1210 Śākyaśrī spent the rainy-season retreat at Sa-skya.[37] Perhaps at this time Sa-paṇ worked with him on retranslating the Pramāṇavārttika.

During these years the paṇḍitas Saṃghaśrī and Vibhūti accompanied Śākyaśrī at least part of the time, and Sa-paṇ was able to receive certain teachings that they requested from Śākyaśrī.[38] In addition, Sa-paṇ sometimes studied individually under Saṃghaśrī. They worked mainly on Pramāṇa, but also on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, Madhyamaka, and Tantra.[39] He also studied with the paṇḍita Dānaśīla some minor works of Pramāṇa and part of the commentary on the Amarakośa.[40]

Later Studies with Tibetan Teachers

Even after his extensive studies under the four paṇḍitas Sa-paṇ seems to have continued to cultivate more learning through studies at the feet of two more outstanding teachers of Tibet. These were Brtsegs-ston Dbang-phyug-seng-ge and Spyi-bo-lhas-pa Byang-chub-'od. With the first he studied Madhyamaka, Pramāṇa, and the Dharmas of Maitreya.[41] With the latter, a disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan who had assisted at Sa-paṇ's ordination, he studied Prajñāpāramitā, Abhidharma, and various major and minor instructions from the lineages then existing in Tibet, such as the Phyag rgya chen po, the Rdzogs pa chen po, and the precepts of the Bka-gdams-pa.[42] Spyi-bo-lhas-pa gave some of these teachings to Sa-paṇ in Sa-skya itself. During this period Sa-paṇ too probably gave some instructions, either as a teaching-assistant of his masters or on his own.[43]

The Death of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan

In 1216 Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan passed away.[44] This event marked the end of one era and the beginning of another. Now, with no other male member of the preceding generation remaining, Sa-paṇ came into his own as *the* great religious master of Sa-skya. In this same year he presided at a large memorial convocation in Sa-skya.[45]

Noteworthy Events from His Later Career in Tibet

Sa-paṇ's activities during the next twenty-eight years are nowhere recorded in detail. But these were his most productive years as a scholar, and his most active years as a teacher. In about 1219, when Sa-paṇ was thirty-seven years of age, he is said to have composed his masterpiece on Pramāṇa, the Rigs gter.[46] This was but one of quite a number of major works that issued from his pen in this and the following decades. In the year 1225 he is recorded to have been in Samye, for it was there and then that he met the 'Bri-gung-pa hierarch Dbon Shes-rab-'byung-gnas.[47] He was also teaching actively elsewhere during these decades, and it was probably during this period that he lived and taught for some time at Shangs Sreg-shing.[48]

In about 1232 he is said to have composed his great doctrinal polemic, the Sdom gsum rab dbye.[49] Three years later in 1235 there occurred the happy event of the birth of Sa-paṇ's first fraternal nephew and ultimate successor, 'Phags-pa. But then only four years later in 1239, Zangs-tsha, who was 'Phags-pa's father and Sa-paṇ's only brother, died. The latter left behind five wives and some eight young children, including three sons. Sa-paṇ would seem to have taken responsibility for 'Phags-pa from about this time.

In about 1240 Sa-paṇ and the five-year-old 'Phags-pa travelled to Skyid-grong near the modern border of Nepal.[50] This was apparently the occasion when Sa-paṇ accomplished his famous defeat of the Brahmanical paṇḍita Harinanda in debate. Then, sometime in the next two or three years, Sa-paṇ was back in Dbus, staying for some time at Skyid-shod Dga'-ldan.[51] In 1243 he presided at a great religious convocation in which 'Phags-pa gave his first public exposition of a religious text.[52]

Sa-paṇ's Departure from Tibet and His Death

Sa-paṇ's career as a great religious teacher in Dbus and Gtsang came to an end in 1244, for this is when he received a summons to the court of the Mongol prince Ködän for the purpose of negotiating the submission of Tibet to the Mongols. In the same year, perhaps just before leaving Central Tibet, he ordained 'Phags-pa in the temple of the Jo-bo (Jo-khang) in Lha-sa.[53] He then travelled slowly and with great dignity through Eastern Tibet, giving many religious instructions along the way. He finally reached Liang-chou, the capital of Ködän, in the fire-horse year (late 1246?),[54] and he had his first audience with Ködän in the first lunar month of the following fire-sheep year (1247).[55] His mission to

the Mongols was a great success. Tibet was spared an invasion, and the Sa-skya-pas received a grant of supremacy.[56]

Sa-paṇ did not live to see Tibet again. He passed away at Liang-chou in late 1251 on the fourteenth day of the eleventh lunar month, amidst many auspicious portents.[57]

Table 2

A Chronological Chart of the Main Events in Sa-paṇ's Life

Year	Age	Event
1182		Birth in Sa-skya
1189-1195	7-13	Early studies and examinations in the main sādhanas and the Hevajra Tantras
1196	14	Completion of the basic ritual and scriptural studies of his family lineage
1199	17	Auspicious dreams presaging greatness in Pramāṇa and Abhidharma studies
1200	18	Goes to 'Phrang in Nyang-stod, studies with Zhu-ston
1201	19	Goes to Rkyang-'dur in Nyang-stod, studies Pramāṇa and Prāsaṅgika with Mtshur-ston
1203	21	Illness and death of father. Returns temporarily to Sa-skya. Then gives first formal exposition in Rkyang-'dur.
1204	22	Meets Śākyaśrībhadra in Gtsang Chu-mig
1205-1207	23-25	Studies at Sa-skya with Sugataśrī
1208	26	Rejoins Śākyaśrī. Takes full monastic ordination at Nyang-smad Rgyan-gong
1210	28	Śākyaśrī stays at Sa-skya for the rainy-season retreat
1213	31	Śākyaśrī leaves Gtsang for Mnga'-ris (and eventually Kashmir).

(Table 2, cont.)

Year	Age	Event
1216	34	The death of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. A great memorial convocation at Sa-skya.
c.1219	37	Composes the Rigs gter at Sa-skya
1225	43	Meets the 'Bri-gung-pa master Sher-'byung at Samye
c.1232	50	Composes the Sdom gsum rab dbye
1235	53	Birth of 'Phags-pa
1239	57	Death of brother, Zangs-tsha
c.1240	58	Journey to Skyid-grong and debate with Harinanda
1241-1242	59-60	Stays some time in Dbu-ru Skyid-shod Dga'-ldan
1243	61	Presides at a great religious convocation
1244	62	Mongol summons. Ordains 'Phags-pa at the Jo-khang in Lhasa.
1245-1246	63-64	Travels through Khams and A-mdo
1246?	64	Arrival in Liang-chou late in the horse year
1247	65	Meets the Mongol prince Kődăn, first lunar month of the sheep year
1251	69	Death in Liang-chou, 14th day of the 11th lunar month

NOTES

[1]The first modern account of Sa-paṇ's life was given by S. C. Das in his "The Lives of the Paṇ-chen Rinpoches or Tasi Lamas," which appeared as part of his Contributions on Tibet, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Bengal, vol. 51 (1882), pp. 15f. See also the reprint by Mañjuśrī Publications, New Delhi, 1970. Das's account was based on the biography that appears in the First Paṇ-chen Rin-po-che's 'Khrung rabs, on which see below. Cf. G. Tucci (1949), pp. 412-414, 416f. This succession of lives was also the subject of a series of blockprint illustrations. For the depiction of Sa-paṇ, see ibid., p. 431, fig. 95.

The next account to appear was that of G. Huth (1892-96), pp. 76f and 123f. This was the text and translation of the biographical sketch contained in the Hor chos 'byung of 'Jigs-med-rdo-rje. Some fifty years later G. Tucci (1949) published a part of the Fifth Dalai Lama's history, including (pp. 625f) the passage on Sa-paṇ. The next significant biographical sketch was that of J. Bosson (1969), pp. 2-7, who used the above-mentioned studies as well as the general historical sources then available.

A recent study of note is that of D. Schuh (1977), who investigated especially the last years of Sa-paṇ's life. On p. 16 he analyzed the biography of Sa-paṇ found in A-mes-zhabs's 'Dzam gling [=Sa skya'i gdung rabs chen mo], which ultimately derives from Glo-bo mkhan-chen's KhJNSh.

A list of some biographies of Sa-paṇ has appeared in A-khu-chin, MHTL, nos. 10912-10915. Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas in his A mdo chos 'byung, vol. 1, p. 21 (11a) lists five biographies of Sa-paṇ.

[2]Lho-pa, p. 56b.6: chos kyi rgyal po nyid dbu ru'i klungs skyi shod kyi dben gnas [57a] dga' ldan na bzhugs pa'i tshe/ . . . rin chen dpal gyis bsdebs so//. For mention of the debate, see p. 53b.3. See also below, chapter 5, note 22.

[3]Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p. 437.4.5: deng sang gi bar du gzhung lugs du ma rgyun ma chad par 'chad pa nas/. For the mention of the debate, see p. 438.1.6. Note that Tucci (1949), p. 680, note 35, wrongly attributes this biography to Sa-paṇ himself.

[4]The version I have had access to is from a recent Indian blockprint Sa skya chos spyod. In it this work appears on pp. 19b.1-24a.4.

[5]This is supported by Zhu-chen, Gsan yig (=Dpal ldan bla ma), vol. 1, p. 608.4 (ka 304b.4): sa skya paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar bstod pa chos rgyal ma chung ba yar lung pa byang chub rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa. But according to Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 320, the brief biography (rnam thar bsdus pa) was by Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, as is explained in the following note. Yar-klungs-pa Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan is found among a list of seven junior disciples who had the final name "rgyal-mtshan." He apparently participated in the full-ordination ceremony of 'Phags-pa in 1255. According to Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, ibid., Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was sometimes added to the above list of seven to make the group of "eight junior disciples with the final name 'rgyal-mtshan.'"

[6]The colophon ascribes this work to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, though the colophon itself was probably added later by someone else (it uses the honorific verb mdzad with reference to the author). In the colophon, this work is specified as being the "medium" (bar pa) version. However, Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, p. 320.3 (59b.3), attributes a "brief" (bsdus pa) version to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, while stating that the extensive versified biography (rnam thar tshigs bcad ma rgyas pa) was by Yar-klungs-pa Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan: de yang yar lung pa byang chub rgyal mtshan ni/ chos rje'i rnam thar tshigs bcad ma rgyas pa rtsoms [sic] pa po yin la/ rnam thar bsdus pa rtsoms pa po yar lung pa grags pa rgyal mtshan yang bsnan nas rgyal mtshan mtha' can brgyad ces bya'o//. This account is derived from Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho, Bstan rtsis, p. 83a.5.

[7]This is the Sa skya pa'i dkar chag compiled by the Venerable Khenpo Appey and others, soon to be published by Ngawang Topgyal, New Delhi. See also D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 4f.

[8]Delhi (or Dolanji?), 1975.

[9]A-mes-zhabs, Yongs rdzogs, pp. 193f.

[10]Lam 'bras bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica (New Delhi: 1969), vol. 106, pp. 540.3-557.2.

[11]A-mes-zhabs, Dpal ldan sa, pp. 520.4-523.2 (103b.2-105a.2).

[12]A-mes-zhabs, Dpal rdo rje, vol. 1, pp. 347.2-360.4.

[13]'Jam-dbyangs Dpal-ldan-rgya-mtsho, Gtsang mkhan-chen, Rdo rje phur pa'i chos 'byung bsdus pa, pp.188.5f.

[14]Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Deb ther dmar po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), p. 49.

[15]Bsod-nams-grags-pa, Rgyal rabs, pp. 49b ff. For text and translation, see G. Tucci (1971), pp. 182ff.

[16]Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, Mkhas pa'i dga' ston, Śata-piṭaka Series, vol. 9 (3), pp. 760f, 794f (ba 5b, ma, 19a-20a).

[17]Dalai bla-ma V, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, Gangs can (Dharamsala: Shes rig par khang, 1981), pp. 113-115.

[18]This work is fairly common. Prints (apparently from the Bkra-shis-lhun-po edition) exist for instance at the Bihar Research Society, Patna (catalogue no. 710) and at the India Office Library, London (see the catalogue of P. Denwood, no. 120).

[19]For an instance of a biographical sketch found in prayers or verses of praise, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Sa skya paṇ chen la bstod pa, vol. 17, pp. 21-23. See also Go-rams-pa, Phar phyin dang tshad ma, Collected Works, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, vol. 11, pp. 22.3.3-23.2.1 (ka 43b.3-45a.1).

[20]See also the English translation, A Waterdrop from the Glorious Sea (Rikon: 1976), pp. 36-40.

[21]See also the English translation by J. Schoening, "The Sa-skya Throne Holder Lineage," M. A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1983, pp. 95-117.

[22]According to the short verse biography by Yar-klungs-pa [Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan?], p. 19b.3, his birth took place on "dpyid zla ra ba yi/ nyi shu drug."

[23]This eldest son of Sa-chen is not mentioned by Zhang. According to him (p. 433.3.6), Sa-chen had only three sons.

[24]See Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p. 434.1.2.

[25]The studies with his father seem to be recorded only by Zhang, p. 435.2.2. Lho-pa does not mention them.

[26] According to Zhang, p. 437.4.3: dgung lo bdun lon pa na. But in Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 32b.6: dgung lo dgu par. The chronologies given by Zhang, Yar-klungs-pa, and the Gsung sgros ma differ a bit.

[27]For example, Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.3.

[28]Ibid., p. 33a.5. On this teacher see also D. Jackson (1985a), p. 23.

[29]Lho-pa, p. 51b.4. Lho-pa lists Sa-paṇ's studies with this master quite late in the biography, whereas he mentions Mtshur-ston as the first teacher immediately after Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (see p. 48b.6).

[30]Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.6.

[31]Lho-pa, p. 48b.6.

[32]According to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.6, they met when Sa-paṇ had left Mtshur-ston following Sa-paṇ's exposition of the PVin. The Gsung sgros ma, however, states that Sa-paṇ was then coming from Sa-skya. See below, chapter 5, notes 12 and 17.

[33]Lho-pa, pp. 49a.3f.

[34]Ibid. On the Pramāṇa works they studied together in particular see below, chapter 5, note 28.

[35]The Gsung sgros ma here inexplicably gives the wrong date--1206--for his ordination. See Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), p. 59a.6.

[36]Lho-pa, pp. 49b.3-51a.3.

[37]Sa-paṇ, Rje btsun rin po che'i rnam thar, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), p. 28a.5; SKKB, vol. 5, p. 148.1.4.

[38]Lho-pa, pp. 50a.6 and 50b.6. Bu-ston records that Dānaśīla and Vibhūticandra stayed a long time in Tibet. See Bu-ston's Chos 'byung, E.

Obermiller trans. (1931), p. 222.

[39]Lho-pa, p. 51a.4.

[40]Ibid.,p. 52b.5. He is known to have worked with this paṇḍita in or before 1208, because in a translation colophon to a work they translated together, he designates himself as a lay-adherent (dge bsnyen). See the Slob dpon tsandra gau mi'i smon lam, Gzhung bshad klog skya ma sogs, vol. 2, pp. 357-362.

[41]Lho-pa, p. 51b.3.

[42]Ibid., p. 52a.3. Regarding the question of Sa-paṇ's later refutation of some of these teachings, see above, Introduction, note 22, and below, chapter 2, section (5).

[43]Ibid., p. 51b.4: mkhas par sbyangs te gzhan la ston par mdzad pa. See also G. Roerich tr. (1976), p. 195, where Sa-paṇ is said to have given tantric instructions to one Jo-'bar in 1214-15.

[44]Sa-paṇ, Rje btsun, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), p. 28a.1; SKKB, p. 148.1.1.

[45]Ibid., Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), pp. 25a-25b.

[46]Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 316.4; [Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, SKKB, vol. 7, p. 315.3.3.

[47]G. Roerich tr. (1976), p. 606. This meeting is described in Dbon-po Shes-rab-'byung-gnas's biography as having taken place in the fall of 1225 (bya lo). See the Dgongs gcig yig cha, vol. 1, pp. 113f, which is the work Spyan snga 'bri gung gling pa'i rnam thar snyan pa'i 'brug sgra by 'Bri-gung-pa Ratna.

[48]Zhang Sreg-shing (together with Samye and Nyang-smad Rgyan-gong) is said to have been one of the "middling residences" of Sa-paṇ. His "great residences" were Sa-skya and Liang-chou. See G. Tucci (1949), p. 680, note 40; A-mes-zhabs, Dpal rdo rje, vol. 1, p. 357.4.

[49]Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 316.5.

[50]Ibid., p. 316.6. But [Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 316.3.3, states that 'Phags-pa accompanied Sa-paṇ to Skyid-grong in his fourth year (i.e. in 1238).

[51]Lho-pa, pp. 56b.6-57a.1.

[52]Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), p. 150a.6.

[53][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 316.3.4.

[54]Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 53a.2. On Liang-chou, see J. Szerb (1980a), p. 273, n. 53, and D. Schuh (1977), p. 75, n. 111.

[55]Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 53a.2. For the chronology of these years see also D. Schuh (1977), pp. 29 and 57.

[56]See also J. Szerb (1980a), pp. 264f, note 9.

[57]See 'Phags-pa, Chos rje pa bde bar, pp. 266.4.4-267.2.6. The date of his death was calculated by D. Schuh to have been the 28th of November, 1251, as cited by J. Szerb (1980), p. 300, note 69.

Chapter 2

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE MKHAS 'JUG AND OTHER WORKS OF SA-PAṆ

To date, some forty of Sa-paṇ's works have been discussed or mentioned in modern publications, and nearly twenty have been translated. Most of those already translated, however, are shorter, minor writings; of his five major works, only one--the Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter--has yet been published in a complete edition and translation. Nevertheless, all five major treatises have been at least discussed by modern scholars, and one can expect editions or translations of several more in the coming decade.

In the following synopsis of previous research, I will begin with the KhJ and the four other major works. In view of Sa-paṇ's great importance in many areas of Tibetan learning, religion and history, I cannot hope to have traced every last reference to his works. Yet what follows should be enough to show in some detail how far studies on his writings have progressed until now.

(1) Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo (TB no. 6)

The first modern scholar to mention the KhJ seems to have been G. Tucci. In his Tibetan Painted Scrolls (1949), pp. 101f, this pioneer of Tibetan literary studies described the KhJ as follows:

> The mK'as pa rnams ajug pai sgo (in Sanskrit: Vidagdhāvatāra) is less strictly dogmatic [than the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal and Gzhung lugs legs bshad]; it is a small treatise on rhetoric and exegesis, and at the same time it contains a series of precepts on good composition and on the right understanding of texts. Although the author, mostly in the second part, often goes into [p. 102] subtle details and argues technical points, the book is altogether a propedeutic, on the lines of similar Indian handbooks.

This account requires correction on two points. First of all the KhJ is not a "small treatise" by any standard, and within Sa-paṇ's collected works it is the

third longest. Secondly, Tucci overlooked the existence of the third main section of the work: that on philosophical discussion and debate. I am not sure which Indian propaedeutic handbooks Tucci had in mind as being similar to the KhJ.

The next mention of the KhJ was by E. Gene Smith, who in his useful introduction to the Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu in its Śata-piṭaka Series edition (1969), p. 6, discussed the KhJ within the general context of Tibetan compendiums:

> One of the earliest scholastic compendia is the Mkhas 'jug of Sa-skya paṇḍi-ta Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251). This work was intended to serve as a manual for instructing the beginning monk in the concepts and methods of Mahayana scholarship. It is an introduction to the three functions of the scholar: teaching, philosophical refutation, and literary composition. The Mkhas 'jug was designed primarily for the full-time religious practitioner, the monk. The Mkhas 'jug of 'Jam-mgon 'Ju Mi-pham-pham-rgya-mtsho (1846-1912) now shares popularity with that of Sa-skya paṇḍi-ta. These are the only two examples of the genre that are well-known.
>
> The compendia of the mkhas 'jug type differ in one major aspect from another group which we can call the bśad mdzod and to which our text [the Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu] belongs: whereas mkhas 'jug are largely meant for monks, bśad mdzod are often compiled for pious laymen. The purpose of bśad mdzod is to serve as a key or outline to help the layman understand the often abstruse concepts and categories of Tibetan Buddhism.

While both the Mkhas 'jug of Sa-paṇ and Mi-pham are indeed scholastic "compendiums" of sorts, neither will serve as an introductory manual for beginning monks. Both in fact are usually read by scholars who have completed considerable preliminary studies. But beyond this, and the resemblance of their titles, these two works are not really very similar at all. The Mkhas 'jug of Mi-pham is an outline of the basic concepts of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy,[1] whereas that of Sa-paṇ explains the three functions of the scholar: teaching, debating and composition. The subject matter of Mi-pham's Mkhas 'jug was commonly dealt with in the standard scholastic curriculums, while the content of the Mkhas 'jug of Sa-paṇ was not covered in any ordinary course of studies.[2] Because of their great differences in content as well as in style and presentation, it seems there is nothing to be gained by calling these (and all other?) scholastic compendiums "mkhas 'jug." I would prefer to forego the term as the name of a genre and would simply classify

Sa-paṇ's KhJ as a manual of scholarly methodology and Mi-pham's work as an outline of Mahāyāna philosophical concepts.

It is also to Smith's credit ([1970b], p. 1) to have noted the seminal position of Sa-paṇ and the Mkhas 'jug in the development of kāvya studies in Tibet:

> "The systematic study of Sanskrit poetics begins in Tibet with Sa-skya Paṇḍita . . . . The Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo can be regarded as the first systematic introduction to the poetical figures."

The KhJ of Sa-paṇ was mentioned in passing by J. E. Bosson (1969), p. 4; R. Canzio (1980), p. 72, note 4; and K. Mimaki (1982a), p. 368, note 18. It was also touched on by Sh. Bira and O. Sukhbaatar (1979), p. 128, who described it as "the one of his [i.e. Sa-paṇ's] philological compositions in which the author, above all, made an apt and creative comparative study of the Tibetan and Sanskrit languages similar to modern methods of comparative linguistics [!]."

The next substantial mention was by Steven D. Goodman (1981). In his article on Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho and the latter's Mkhas 'jug, pp. 67f, Goodman repeats much of what Smith said. But he also mentioned (p. 77, note 2) for the first time that a commentary on Sa-paṇ's KhJ existed, referring to the incomplete commentary by Shākya-mchog-ldan. He also observed that the importance of the KhJ for later Tibetan studies on kāvya and literary composition in particular is attested by the numerous citations of it in the commentary on the Kāvyādarśa by Khams-sprul IV. In addition, Goodman (ibid.) noted a reference to Sa-paṇ's KhJ by Mi-pham.

More recently, L. van der Kuijp described the KhJ in his book on early Tibetan epistemological traditions (1983), p. 103:

> The [KhJ] . . . systematically deals with the methodological guidelines that govern the three traditional qualities of scholarship of [sic] composition (rtsom-pa), explication ('chad-pa), and debate (rtsod-pa). It has given rise to [an] entire genre of Tibetan works . . . . Thus far two commentaries to this text have been published, and it is rather likely, that, given the general importance of this work, additional ones will surface in due time.

He thus specified the three main sections of the KhJ in their actual order, and referred to more of its commentarial literature, noting the existence of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's commentary. He also mentioned (p. 306, note 305) a work that is

similar in its subject matter to the KhJ: "A text belonging to the same genre, though more limited in scope, would be the 'Chad-rtsod- [sic] gsum-gyi rnam-gzhag legs-bshad nyin-byed snang-ba, contained in vol. Kha of the Collected Gsung-'bum of Bstan-dar lha-ram of A-lay-sha [sic], New Delhi, 1971, pp. 115-154."[3]

The first study of a specific passage from the KhJ was made by Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 231f. In his article on the place of thesis in the Madhyamaka, he discussed the section where Sa-paṇ described different types of disputants who claim to maintain no thesis (III 36-37), including the Mādhyamika.

(2) Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter (LSh) (TB no. 2)

The Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter or Legs bshad is probably Sa-paṇ's best-known work both inside and outside Tibet. It owes its fame to the universal appeal of its subject matter: it is a collection of wise and pithy sayings about what is good and bad in life. Its appeal thus reaches far beyond the Buddhist hermitages and seminaries of Tibet. Called the Sa skya legs bshad, its verses were known by heart not only by countless ordinary Tibetans but also by many Mongolians too, because it was translated into the latter language by the 14th century and widely disseminated there.

The Legs bshad was one of the earliest native Tibetan works to attract the attention of Western Tibetologists. Indeed, the great pioneer of Tibetan studies Alexander Csoma de Kőrös studied two-hundred and thirty-four of its verses in the year 1833 in an article entitled "A Brief Notice of the Subhāṣita Ratna Nidhi of Saskya Paṇḍita, with Extracts and Translations." The posthumous publication of this study in 1855/56 was next followed by a French translation in 1858 of a selection of 134 verses by Ph. E. Foucaux in his Le trésor des belles paroles; choix de sentences composées en tibétain par le lama Saskya Paṇḍita. Then in 1863 and 1865, A. Scheifner translated thirty-three verses into German in his notes to the first edition of Otto Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche. Then in 1892-96 G. Huth presented a German translation of nineteen verses in his Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei.

Following those incomplete translations, the first complete text and translation to be published in the West was the German translation of W. L. Campbell. This appeared, with transcribed Tibetan text, in 1925 under the title Die Sprüche von Sakya. 1948 saw the publication of the first of several reproductions or transliterations by L. Ligeti of the work in its pre-classical Mongolian translation.[4] In 1952 a partial Czech translation by P. Poucha and P. Eisner is said to

have been published in Prague,[5] and in 1958 the Chinese scholar Wang Yao published a Chinese translation of some two-hundred and twelve verses.[6] R. A. Stein (1972 originally published in French in 1962), pp. 268-270, discussed the style and origins of these sayings, also comparing similar later Tibetan works.

G. Bethlenfalvy (1965) was the first to study passages from a commentary on the Legs bshad.[7] E. Gene Smith (1969a), vol. 1, pp. 122f, also gave some details on the commentary which was begun by Lho-pa kun-mkhyen but corrected and completed under Sa-paṇ's supervision by another of his disciples, Dmar-ston Chos-rgyal. Annotated transcriptions of Tibetan and Mongolian texts with complete English translations, however, were not published until 1969. These appeared in J. E. Bosson's A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels, The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian. The texts Bosson used were a pre-classical Mongolian translation (published by L. Ligeti in 1948), two recent Tibetan xylographs, and the Tibetan text found with the earlier Mongolian translation. The latter text (Bosson's text A) is of great interest since it probably entered Mongolia by the mid-14th century. But in his "edition" of the Tibetan text and his translation, Bosson did not always indicate which of the several variant readings he followed. He also did not have access to any commentary.

In 1973 the Soviet scholar V. S. Dylykova published an article on Sa-paṇ's sayings.[8] After that there appeared the article of J. Kolmaš (1978), which is a good introduction to the Legs bshad and the aphorisms of Sa-paṇ, and which conveniently summarizes the modern publications on it. The place of the Legs bshad within the "Greater Indian" tradition of subhāṣitas can also be better understood now thanks to the books and articles of the late L. Sternbach: (1973), pp. 224ff; (1974), p. 40 and note 217; (1980); and (1981).[9] The sources of some of the verses were treated more recently by M. Hahn (1984), who in his earlier textbook of classical Tibetan (1974), pp. 216-224 and 239-243, had presented the text of the first three chapters, together with a brief introduction and textual notes.

Since the mid-1960s a number of other textual and commentarial sources have become known. In D. Jackson (1983), p. 7, for instance, I described the discovery of an incomplete 15th-century xylographic edition from Sa-skya. There has also appeared a recent (1982) Lha-sa typeset edition of the basic text with Dmar-ston's commentary[10] (which I hear has already been reprinted in India). Given the great importance of the work for the two Central Asian countries Tibet and Mongolia, it would seem worthwhile to bring out a critical edition of the Tibetan text, making use of the Derge xylographic edition, the extant fragments of the early Sa-skya edition, the commentaries, and whatever other significant manuscripts and xylographs are available.

(3) Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (RT) (TB no. 19)

The Rigs gter (RT)--with its long autocommentary Rigs gter rang 'grel (RTRG) (TB no. 20)--was Sa-paṇ's great masterpiece on Buddhist Pramāṇa. It has yet to be thoroughly investigated, though recently it has begun to receive more attention. The first mention of the Rigs gter that I have located was by Th. Stcherbatsky in his Buddhist Logic (1930-32), vol. 2 [which appeared first, 1930], p. 323, note 4, where he described the work as follows:

> Rigs-gter = Nyāya-nidhi, a concise treatise in mnemonic verses of Sa-skya-paṇḍita Kun-dgaḥ-rgyal-mtshan, held in high esteem by the Tibetans as their oldest original exposition of Buddhist Epistemology. Copies of the Lhasa block prints are very rare, no one is available at Leningrad, but a commentary by Rgyal-tshab is found in the Mus. As. Petr. . . . . According to tradition his work was originally written in sanscrit.

Here it should be noted that no Lhasa edition of the Rigs gter is now known, though editions from Derge and Sa-skya did exist. Also, the prevailing tradition is that Sa-paṇ wrote the work originally in Tibetan, in c. 1219 while staying at Sa-skya. It is said that the work was subsequently translated into Sanskrit.

In the same volume of Stcherbatsky's work, there is a translation of 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa's Blo rigs, the section on mental perception, where Sa-paṇ's statements in the Rigs gter are alluded to four times (pp. 323, 325, 327, 330). Then in volume 1 (1932), pp. 55f, Stcherbatsky gave another description of the Rigs gter:

> The classical Tibetan work of this period has been produced by the 5th grand lama of the Sa-skya territory, the celebrated Sa-skya-paṇḍita Kunga-gyal-mtshan [sic] (1182-1251). It is a short mneumonic verse with the author's own commentary. Its title is Tshadma-rigspai-gter (pramāṇa-nyāya-nidhi).

The next scholar to mention the Rigs gter, G. Tucci, also stressed its importance. In his sketch of Sa-paṇ's works within his Tibetan Painted Scrolls (1949), p. 102, he gave this account:

> But the Sa skya Paṇḍita's masterpiece is the book which gained him one of the foremost places in the history of Lamaistic thought, the Ts'ad

ma rigs pai gter, an ample and most accurate exposition of Indian logic, based on the Pramāṇavārttika and on the Pramāṇaviniścaya by Dharmakīrti, and on their commentaries. This is a fundamental treatise, written in mneumonical verse and accompanied by a commentary. The Sa skya Paṇḍita had some forerunners in this field, but his work doomed them to oblivion: they are P'vya pa C'os kyi señ ge (1109-1169) and gTsañ pa brTson ḥgrus señ ge, who also lived in the XIIth century.

One also finds passing references to the Rigs gter in G. Roerich (1976), pp. 808f [originally published in 1953]; A. Ferrari et. al. (1958), p. 150, note 497; S. Inaba (1961), p. 4; and J. E. Bosson (1969), p. 4. Of these, Tucci was probably the only one to have actually seen the Rigs gter; before the publication of the Sa skya bka' 'bum in 1968 from Tokyo, the Rigs gter was quite rare outside Tibet.

Some more details of the place of the Rigs gter within Tibetan Pramāṇa were given by E. Gene Smith (1970a), and the work was also mentioned by S. Matsumoto (1978), p. 7, and (1980), notes 2 and 51. The first detailed investigation of the Rigs gter and its commentaries, however, were undertaken by L. van der Kuijp. He has studied (1978) Phywa-pa's doctrines in connection with Rigs gter chapter 2. In another article (1979a), pp. 6f, he touched on the question of Sa-paṇ's classification of Tshad ma among the five main fields of knowledge, as reflected in the Rigs gter. He has also discussed (1979) the apoha theory expounded in chapter 4 of the Rigs gter, and he devoted the third chapter of his published dissertation (1983) to an investigation of the place of the Rigs gter within Tibetan Pramāṇa. Moreover, van der Kuijp (1979) presented an edition, topical outline, and verse index to Rigs gter chapter 4. In his dissertation (1983), pp. 85-95, he gave the same for Rigs gter chapter 8. A short but very useful contribution in the same work (pp. 104f, 107) is a chapter concordance of eight major commentaries on the Rigs gter.

Some other recent references to the Rigs gter include those of Lati Rinpoche and E. Napper (1980), pp. 98 and 125. As L. van der Kuijp pointed out in his review (1985), they did not trace the cited quotes back to the Rigs gter itself and did not ascertain whether the quotes represented Sa-paṇ's own opinion or merely pūrvapakṣas.[11] L. Zwilling (1981), p. 307, has studied quotations of Dharmakīrti on the two truths found in the Rigs gter, with the aim of understanding Sa-paṇ's interpretation of Dharmakīrti's philosophy (though unfortunately he took a quote of PVin II 56 to be a second translation of PV III 3). S. Onada (1981), p. 3, pointed out a topical similarity between the Rigs gter and the order of classes in the later Dge-lugs-pa bsdus grwa curriculum. T. Tillemans (1984) briefly mentions Sa-paṇ's account in Rigs gter chapter 11 on answering prasaṅga

rejoinders in debate. And Z. Horvath (1984) has presented a useful topical outline of the complete Rigs gter based on the subject headings of the Rigs gter rang 'grel.

Regarding commentaries on the Rigs gter, L. van der Kuijp (1979), p. 410, listed seven published commentaries and six unpublished ones, the latter group deriving from the Tho yig of Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho. In (1983), p. 306, note 308, he repeated the second list, correcting one mistake and one omission. D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 8-12, is a preliminary survey of the commentarial writings of twenty-four indigenous scholars.[12]

(4) Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba (ThGS) (TB no. 1)

The Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, an expansive treatise on the practice and theory of the Bodhisattva's path, has yet to receive the attention it deserves. G. Tucci (1949), p. 101, in one of the few notices of it remarked:

> Sa skya Paṇḍita composed, with great acumen, synthetic expositions of the Mahāyāna; one of the most remarkable is the T'u [sic] pai dgongs pa rab tu gsal [sic]. . . . This and other works are nothing more than handbooks and summaries, in which the Buddha's word and its century-old, traditional commentary are reproduced in the easiest and most complete manner, without the least contamination of doctrines not carefully sifted.

W. D. Shakabpa (1967), p. 63, also briefly described the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal. According to him:

> [Sa-paṇ after leaving Tibet] sent to his fellow clerics in Tibet a book he had written. It was titled Thub-pai Gong-sal, meaning "The Buddha's Intention." Knowing he did not have long to live, he left his book as a legacy to his country.

L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 102, identified the Tibetan genre to which the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal may be assigned: "the 'Stages-on-the-Path' literature (lam-rim)." He added that in it "a number of philosophical and doctrinal [issues?] are discussed and rejected whenever he found them to be incompatible with what he perceived the Indian texts tried to convey."

In D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 4f, there is a brief description of the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal and a preliminary sketch of the commentaries and secondary literature on it. D. Jackson (1983), pp. 6f, contains a description of a xylographic edition of the work from Sa-skya dated 1439. But until now only two small sections of the work have been discussed or published in translation. Firstly, S. Matsumoto (1978), p. 8, touched on the classification of the sub-divisions of the Madhyamaka in the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal and what the work tells us about Sa-paṇ as a Mādhyamika. Secondly, Roger Jackson (1982) devoted an article to Sa-paṇ's treatment of "the council of Tibet" in the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal. I should add here that in 1983 with the help of the Venerable Khenpo Appey I completed a draft translation of the complete work, which I hope to annotate and publish in the future.

(5) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba (DS) (TB no. 24)

The Sdom gsum rab dbye is another of Sa-paṇ's major works that has been relatively neglected. It is, however, of the greatest importance for understanding some of the central doctrinal developments in Tibetan Buddhism. Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg was the first to use the Sdom gsum rab dbye for the light it sheds on a particular doctrinal problem. In his study of the theory of the tathāgatagarbha (1969), p. 58, note 5 (see also pp. 9, 142n., and 394), he noted Sa-paṇ's view that the existence of the tathāgatagarbha was taught with provisional meaning (drang don : neyārtha). In the subsequent introduction to his translation of Bu-ston's treatise on tathāgatagarbha (1973), pp. 31 and 32, note 5, Seyfort Ruegg returned to this topic, pointing out the great influence that Sa-paṇ's teaching had on Bu-ston and the latter's disciple Sgra-tshad-pa. He also translated here the relevant passage from the Sdom gsum rab dbye and supplied references to related passages in Bu-ston's and Sgra-tshad-pa's treatises, as well as to Sa-paṇ's Indian sources.

Another early Western scholar to notice the importance of the Sdom gsum rab dbye was E. Gene Smith. In his introduction to Kong-sprul's Shes bya kun khyab (1970), p. 4, he mentioned that works on the subject of the three vows had "produced some of the most significant indigenous works in Tibetan-Buddhist literature," citing as his first example the Sdom gsum rab dbye, which he said was "written largely to refute the dgongs gcig heresy of 'Bri-gung Skyob-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po."[13]

Some years later S. Karmay (1975), pp. 152f, mentioned the passage in the Sdom gsum rab dbye which seems to identify certain Mahāmudrā teachings with the

"Chinese system of Rdzogs-chen." Karmay understood the latter to refer in fact to the Rdzogs-chen of the Rnying-ma-pa and Bon-po. R. M. Davidson (1981), p. 92, had the same understanding of this passage. But L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 101 and note 300, called this interpretation into question. Van der Kuijp (ibid.) also characterized the Sdom gsum rab dbye in general as follows:

> The [Sdom gsum rab dbye] was composed with the specific aim of counteracting certain forces within Tibetan Buddhism which he perceived to be not only counterproductive, but indeed detrimental to the efficacy of Buddhist practice. These tendencies concerned theoretical and practical problems with the vinaya as per the pratimokṣa (so-sor thar-pa), as well as with the Bodhisattva vow, and the specific commitments of practitioners of the tantras.

In addition, M. Tatz (1982), pp. 5ff, discussed Sa-paṇ's explanations of the Bodhisattva's vow in the Sdom gsum rab dbye.

On the Sdom gsum rab dbye commentaries and other related works, D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 12-23, is a preliminary survey of such writings by twenty-eight Tibetan authors. I have also learned that Jared Rhoton has made the Sdom gsum rab dbye the subject of his recent PhD dissertation (1985) at Columbia University.

(6) Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4)

Sa-paṇ wrote this short but interesting treatise on music, song and prosody sometime before his full monastic ordination in 1208. Ricardo O. Canzio (1978) discussed some verses of this work, and he also completed a doctoral dissertation "Sakya Paṇḍita's 'Treatise on Music' and Its Relevance to Present-Day Tibetan Liturgy" (1978a). In a more recent article (1980) he discussed in detail one verse with its commentaries. Ter Ellingson has discussed a key section of the work ([1979], pp. 118f) and has also translated brief passages from it (1979a) (1979b).

(7) Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa (TB no. 3)

This exposition of philosophical tenets (grub mtha') was not in fact composed by Sa-paṇ, though it was included among his collected works in the Derge edition and accordingly has been treated as genuine by G. Tucci (1949), p. 101; J. E. Bosson (1969), p. 4; S. Matsumoto (1978), p. 8; R. Ikeda (1980); and L.

Zwilling (1981), p. 310. Since then its authenticity has been doubted--as by L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 101, 103, and 304, note 295--or it has been judged an outright forgery, as by D. Jackson (1984), pp. 77, 90, note 3; D. Jackson (1985); and L. van der Kuijp (1985a); cf. K. Mimaki (1982), p. 33, note 65.

(8) Bshes pa'i phring yig gi bsdus don (TB no. 114)

This work, a topical outline of the Suhṛllekha of Nāgārjuna, was translated by L. Kawamura (1975), pp. 108-113, though with some mistakes in the colophon. This work was also mentioned by Chr. Lindtner (1982), p. 219, note 184. However, it is a late accretion to Sa-paṇ's collected works and should not be considered authentic. See below, chapter 6, note 4.

(9) Bu slob rnams la spring ba (TB no. 77)

This letter, ostensibly written by Sa-paṇ near the end of his life after he had reached the camp of Köden, if genuine is an important document for the study of early Tibetan-Mongolian relations. It was translated by G. Tucci (1949), pp. 10-12. See also D. Schuh (1977), pp. xvii, 18, 51f and 76, note 125; and J. Szerb (1980a), p. 264, note 6. Cf. W. D. Shakabpa (1967), pp. 63f.

(10) Gangs can gyi sgom chen rnams la gdams pa (TB no. 76)

A translation of this short collection of admonitory verses was published by Dan Martin (1980) under the title "Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Advice for Tibetan Contemplatives." Before this, verses 11-15 had been translated by Nawang Tsering (1979), p. 23.

(11) Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi gdams pa (TB no. 86)

This is a synopsis of the Zhen pa bzhi bral, a Sa-skya-pa blo sbyong teaching that goes back to Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. The Tibetan text with an English translation by Thutop Tulku and Ngawang Sonam Tenzin (1968), pp. 20-25, was published by the Sakya Centre, Rajpur.

(12) Rdo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig bshad pa (TB no. 64)

An unreliable translation of this brief explanation of the "root" and "branch" downfalls of the Vajrayāna was published in J. D. Willis (1972), pp. 100-106.

(13) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge (TB no. 30)

Sa-paṇ wrote this interesting work as an "open letter" explaining and justifying his previous efforts (in works such as the Sdom gsum rab dbye) to rectify what he took to be doctrinal errors on the part of his countrymen. This work was noticed by A. Vostrikov (1970), p. 25, note 55 (originally written in 1936). It is also accurately described by S. Karmay (1975), pp. 152f, who noted that it contains an important list of writings attributed to Hwa-shang Mahāyāna.

A translation with transcribed text also exists for this work, rendered by Madan Mohan Singh (1971). It is completely unsatisfactory. In the same book, which was entitled Sulekha of Sakya Paṇḍita, one also finds transcriptions and translations of ten other epistles and minor works by Sa-paṇ, though unfortunately of the same quality as the first:

(14) Lung rigs rnam dag dang mthun pa'i 'chad dgos tshul (TB no. 31)
(15) Rtog ldan rgyan po'i dris lan (TB no. 32)
(16) Rnel phu ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 33)
(17) Zhang lo tsā ba la gdams pa (TB no. 34)
(18) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la spring ba (TB no. 35)
(19) Tshigs su bcad pa gong 'og gnyis (TB no. 36)
(20) Mi nyag gi rgyal khams su gnang ba'i yi ge (TB no. 37)
(21) Nyi ma la spring ba (TB no. 38)
(22) Sho dgon pa 'gro mgon rin chen la spring ba (TB no. 39)
(23) Sho dgon gyi dge 'dun rnams la spring ba (TB no. 40)

No. (15) in the above list is actually not by Sa-paṇ, but it is a work ascribed to his disciple Bi-ji which reached Ngor from Khams in the mid-15th century (cf. TB nos. 97 and 99). The last two works in the list (22 and 23) are probably apocryphal, as will be explained below.

(24) Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa
rnams la bstod pa (TB no. 73)

(25) Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa (TB no. 18)

Only one verse of the first work listed above has been translated, but it is important because the verse is the basis for the second work, the Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa (TB no. 18). The latter is a comment on the above-mentioned verse, amounting to an autobiographical account of his own studies and scholarly attainments. The basic verse has been translated by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 103. The commentary has been cited in the same work, p. 306, note 307.

(26) Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i
rnam thar (TB no. 17)

For this, as for the remaining works to be listed, no translation yet exists. It was simply studied and cited in the course of research, in this case by Ariane Macdonald (1963), pp. 120f, notes 56 and 57. In this admirable study, that scholar investigated the chronology of Buddhism proposed by Sa-paṇ in his biography of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. See also A. Vostrikov (1970), pp. 103f.

(27) Phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig (TB no. 75)

These verses were written by Sa-paṇ to accompany a symbolic painting he made on the wall of the courtyard at Samye. They are mentioned in the caption to an illustration on p. 53 of Chogay Trichen, Thubten Legshay Gyatsho (1979). Some mistakes in that caption are corrected in D. Jackson (1984a), p. 42.

(28) Sgra la 'jug pa (TB no. 7)

This short work on Sanskrit grammar was analyzed by S. Inaba as early as 1961 in a Japanese article with the English title "Tibetan Philology Pursued by [Sa] skya Paṇḍita--One of His Many-sided Researches," pp. 5-7. Also studied in this article were the following:

(29) Smra sgo'i sa bcad (TB no. 8)

(30) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 9)

(31) Yi ge'i sbyor ba (TB no. 10)

(32) Rnam par gcad bya ji ltar sbyor tshul (TB no. 11)

(33) Sngags kyi klog thabs 'bras bu 'byung ba'i me tog (TB no. 12)

(34) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa (TB no. 13)

R. A. Miller (1964), p. 74, sought to correct an attribution of the Smra sgo to Sa-paṇ by Inaba in an earlier study ([1954], p. 31), though Inaba apparently did not make such an attribution. (See also the reprint in R. A. Miller [1976], p. 59.) In D. Jackson (1983), p. 8, a 15th-century xylographic edition of nos. (30) and (34) is discussed.

(35) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po (TB no. 15)

This work on prosody and its sole fragmentary commentary were briefly described in D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 7f.

(36) Tshig gi gter (TB no. 14)

This lexicographical work (based on the Amarakośa) and its only known commentary were briefly described in D. Jackson (1983a), p. 7.

(37) Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 94)

This important letter written in reply to the questions of Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal has been briefly cited by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 305, note 304.

(38) Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 79)

This work, a series of answers to the questions of a Bka'-gdams-pa master, was cited by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 306, note 309.

(39) Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad (TB no. 80)

These verses were written by Sa-paṇ after his defeating the Indian paṇḍita Harinanda in debate at Kyirong. They were cited by G. Tucci (1949), p. 680, note 36.

(40) Dri ba'i tshul 'ga' zhig (TB no. 5)

A 15th-century xylographic edition of this short and incomplete work is discussed in D. Jackson (1983), pp. 9f.

(41) Bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan (TB no. 109)

This is a grammatical treatise ascribed to Sa-paṇ, and is not the lost poetical work with the same title. R. A. Miller (1965), p. 330, translated a quotation from this work by Gser-tog Blo-bzang-tshul-khrims-rgya-mtsho (1845-1915). (See also R. A. Miller [1976], p. 74.)

(42) [The Game of Rebirth]

This board game of spiritual progress or downfall is believed to have been devised by Sa-paṇ for the amusement and edification of his ill mother. The book of M. Tatz and J. Kent (1977) is an introduction and explanation of the game.[14]

NOTES

[1]See S. Goodman (1981), pp. 68f; L. Kawamura (1981), (1982), and (1983).

[2]Some Khams-pa scholars used to say that to enter Mi-pham's "Entrance to Expertise" (mkhas 'jug) one did not have to be exceptionally learned, whereas one could not enter the "Entrance for the Wise" (mkhas 'jug) of Sa-paṇ unless one was really learned. (This saying of course involves a pun on mkhas "expert, learned, wise" and 'jug "entrance, enter.")

[3]If any work deserves to be classed together with Sa-paṇ's KhJ as a manual of scholarship, it would be this: A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-bstan-dar, 'Chad rtsod rtsom gsum. See also the manual by Shākya-rin-chen, 'Chad nyan la mkho ba'i legs bshad phyin ci ma log pa'i gtam chos tshul rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs, Collected Works (Thimbu: 1976), vol. 8, pp. 303-450. The latter, however, mainly treats the same topics as KhJ II.

[4]Since these important publications belong to Mongolian studies, I have not listed them here. For the full citations of Ligeti's publications, the article of J. E. Bosson (1961), etc., see J. Kolmaš (1978), p. 189, note 2, and L. Sternbach (1981), pp. 125ff.

[5]As cited by L. Sternbach (1981), p. 125. But is this a mistake for their translation of the Shes rab sdong bu mentioned by J. Kolmaš (1978), p. 192, note 10?

[6]As cited by J. Kolmaš (1978), p. 191, note 8.

[7]He studied the commentarial explanations by Dmar-ston of the three Pañcatantra tales alluded to in verses 87, 149, and 150. This commentary was also used by M. Hahn (1974) in his notes on the text (pp. 240-243). R. A. Stein (1972) [French original 1962] had already cited a Sa skya Legs bshad commentary by "Rin-chen-dpal," though presumably this was Dmar-ston's work. See p. 268, note 3, and bibliography, no. 164.

[8]As cited by J. Kolmaš (1978), p. 203, note 24.

[9]L. Sternbach (1969), pp. 24ff, however, mistook the Legs bshad for a Sanskrit work in Tibetan translation, supposing that Sa-paṇ was an Indian paṇḍita.

[10]Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter dang 'grel pa [The Legs bshad with commentary by Lho-pa revised by Dmar-ston], Lhasa, Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.

[11]L. van der Kuijp (1985), pp. 37-39.

[12]Noted as a bibliographical item but not seen is the Ph.D. dissertation of Bruce C. Stewart (Columbia University, 1983), "A Translation of and Introduction to the 'Direct Perception' Chapter of Go-rams-pa's Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs pa phyin ci ma log par 'grel pa tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi don gsal bar byed pa."

[13]'Bri-gung Skyob-pa 'Jig-rten-mgon-po had another teaching called Sdom gsum gnad gcig, though I do not know whether it survives. See 'Bri-gung Ratna, p. 116.6

[14]See also the review by G. E. Clarke, The Tibet Journal, vol. 8 (1983), pp. 55-57. Cf. S. C. Das (1902), p. 260, note, in which the game called "the circle of life" is apparently the game devised by Sa-paṇ.

Chapter 3

THE WRITINGS OF SA-PAṆ: MAJOR WORKS, CHRONOLOGY AND TRANSMISSION

Sa-paṇ composed a hundred or so works, but most of them were quite short. Among them, only twenty-six amount to more than five folios in the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum (SKKB) edition, and only seventeen come to ten or more folios. His seventeen longest works are the following:

(1) Rigs gter (RT) and Rigs gter rang 'grel (TB nos. 19 and 20), 220ff.
(2) Thub pa'i dgong gsal (ThGS) (TB no. 1), 99 ff.
(3) Mkhas 'jug (KhJ) (TB no. 6), 62 ff.
(4) Sdom gsum rab dbye (DS) (TB no. 24), 48 ff.
(5) Dri ma med pa zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa (TB no. 65), 28 ff.
(6) Legs bshad (LSh) (TB no. 2), 23 ff.
(7) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po (TB no. 15), 21 ff.
(8) Dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga (TB no. 21), 19 ff.
(9) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig (TB no. 29), 15 ff.
(10) Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa (TB no. 18), 14 ff.
(11) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 9), 13ff.
(12) Tshig gi gter (TB no. 14), 13 ff.
(13) Tshogs 'khor cho ga (TB no. 51), 13 ff.
(14) Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar (TB no. 17), 12 ff.
(15) Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 93), 12 ff.
(16) Sgra la 'jug pa (TB no. 7), 10 ff.
(17) Byang chub kyi sems kyi mchog tu sems bskyed pa'i cho ga'i lung sbyor (TB no. 22), 10 ff.

The first thing one notices from this list is that only two works are concerned primarily with Tantra. One of these (no. 5) is a commentary on the Rgyud gsum la 'jug pa rin po che'i phreng ba dri ma med pa of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Sa-paṇ wrote most of it at the age of seventeen and completed it at age twenty. The second Tantric work (no. 13) is a liturgy for the gaṇacakra rite. In this case Sa-paṇ seems merely to have revised and clarified an earlier work by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. (Another work of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan that Sa-paṇ revised is the Brtag pa gnyis pa'i bsdus don [TB no. 112]. It is some 15 folios long, and

so if it is included among Sa-paṇ's own works it would be no. 9 or 10 in the list.) Thus Sa-paṇ's longest independent (i.e. non-commentarial) works belonged to the exoteric branches of Buddhist and literary scholarship.

Sa-paṇ's general introduction to the theory and practice of Mahāyāna was no. 2 in the above list, the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal (ThGS). It is a detailed explanation of the stages of practice on the Bodhisattva's path, and it is Sa-paṇ's second-longest work. Complementing it on the ritual side are nos. 7 and 17, the first being an explanation of the ritual for imparting the Bodhisattva vow, and the second a collection of scriptural quotations to be used in conjunction with that ceremony.

Another major work, this one aimed at the widest possible audience, was his Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter (no. 6). This was his famous collection of wise sayings expressed in elegant and memorable verses. Several of the other works on this list, however, were intended for a learned readership and had a clearly polemical or apologetic slant. These include no. 4, his famed Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba, as well as the less-well-known no. 9, Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig, and even the greater part of no. 15, Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan. The first of this trio is his critical discussion of various doctrinal problems connected with the three classes of vows and their related scriptures and practices. The second is a justification of his earlier polemical activities, ostensibly addressed to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The third contains further clarifications of some of the same controversial points, here presented in answer to questions from his respected junior colleague (and disciple?), Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal. Even no. 10, the Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa, though it is an autobiographical sketch of his own scholarly attainments, was also written in part to justify and explain himself to both critics and followers.

Although Sa-paṇ was thus a Buddhist master who attempted to explain and clarify the true doctrine, he was also a scholar's scholar. His goal as a young man was to master the main branches of traditional Indian Buddhist scholarship, and a number of his major writings are the fruits of this. One of his keenest interests was in logico-epistemology (Pramāṇa). Thus we find that his longest work (no. 1 above) was the Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter with its autocommentary (Rigs gter rang 'grel), in which he summarized the logical and epistemological traditions of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti as he had learned them from his Indian masters, though sometimes being influenced by the advances of the indigenous schools of Tibetan dialecticians.[1] The other major work that touches on Pramāṇa is no. 3, the Mkhas 'jug (KhJ)--the main focus of the present study. Its third main section (amounting to some 20 folios) discusses the rules of formal debate and related

philosophical principles.

The other specialized fields of Indian learning that he cultivated were the Sanskrit language arts. He devoted part or all of five major works to these. The KhJ (no. 3), for instance, has three main sections, the first of which discusses general principles of grammar and prosody and concludes with an account of poetics, including a description of rasas and alaṃkāras. For his treatment of the latter, he translated parts of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. The Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs, no. 6, was a more detailed exposition of Sanskrit prosody, based mainly on the metrical work of Ratnākaraśānti. On the topic of synonymy or lexicography, Sa-paṇ wrote no. 12, the Tshig gi gter, which was an adaptation and partial translation of the Amarakośa. He also composed an introduction to grammar, no. 16 Sgra la 'jug pa, in which he adapted Sanskrit grammar to Tibetan. And his early interest in grammar is also evinced by no. 11, a commentary on the Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa of his uncle Bsod-nams-rtse-mo. Thus he devoted more space in his longest writings to logical-epistemological, grammatical and literary subjects than to all other topics combined.

The sole remaining work from the above list is no. 14, his biography of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. It concludes with Sa-paṇ's chronological calculations, which were the subject of much discussion by later Tibetan historians.

Turning to his shorter writings, one now finds relatively more works on Tantric subjects. The next nine works in descending order are the following:

(18) Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor (TB no. 41), 9ff.
(19) Grub chen bcu (TB no. 47), 8 ff.
(20) Aṣṭa'i bzhi bshad (TB no. 50), 8 ff.
(21) Bsngo ba yon bshad dang bcas pa (TB no. 100), 8 ff.
(22) Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4), 7 ff.
(23) Gza' yum gyi mchod chog (TB no. 60), 7 ff.
(24) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge (TB no. 30), 7 ff.
(25) Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi dkar chag (TB no. 54), 6 ff.
(26) 'Jam dpal gyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 74), 6 ff.

No. 21 is a treatise on the dedicatory transfer (pariṇāmanā) of merit, no. 22 is a treatise on music, and no. 24 is an open letter to other Tibetan scholars, explaining his polemical activities (something like no. 9 above). The last, no. 26, is a commentary on praises of Mañjuśrī composed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. The remaining five (i.e. nos. 18, 19, 20, 23, and 25) have to do with Tantric practice.

To sum up by classifying Sa-paṇ's major works according to literary types, his most significant works are original treatises on doctrinal or other specialized topics. These usually consisted of basic mnemonic verses (e.g. in the Rigs gter, KhJ, Sdom gsum rab dbye, Legs bshad, and Rol mo'i), sometimes supplemented with a prose autocommentary (Rigs gter rang 'grel, KhJ, Nga brgyad). A few of his treatises consisted partially (KhJ I) or almost entirely (Sdeb sbyor, Tshig gter) of close adaptations or translations of sections from basic Indian works.

In addition to such treatises, Sa-paṇ composed commentaries. Besides his just-mentioned autocommentaries, he also wrote comments on works by his uncles (nos. 5, 11, and 26), and on separate Tantric works (no. 20). Another type of work he composed was liturgies. These he wrote for use in general Mahāyāna ceremonies (nos. 8, 17, and 21) or specialized Mantrayāna meditations (nos. 13, 18 and 23). In addition, two collections of minor Tantric instructions (nos. 19 and 25) are ascribed to him.

Sa-paṇ also composed epistles, three of which (nos. 9, 15, and 24) were long enough to be counted among his twenty-six longest works. He also wrote many shorter letters. A last type of work he wrote was biography, of which the only example is his biography of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

The Chronology of His Works

The composition of a few of Sa-paṇ's works can be assigned to a definite year or period because either the colophon refers to the author's age at composition or the work is directly connected with an otherwise dateable event.

Early Works

Several of Sa-paṇ's early works specify how old Sa-paṇ was when he composed them. If those references are correct, he composed the following when he was between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two:

1199 Dri ma med pa zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa (TB no. 65). He is said (p. 393.1.3) to have completed most of this work in his eighteenth year (i.e. at age seventeen, 1199):

gzhung 'di dpal ldan sa skya'i dben gnas su//
bco brgyad lon tshe kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis//
legs par sbyar tshe cung zad ma rdzogs par//

nyi shu gcig lhag tshe na tshar bar byas//

1200 Bod yul la bsngags pa (TB no. 69), p. 396.1.2: blo gros gtsang ba'i 'khon jo sras kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis lo bcu dgur lon pa'i tshe/

1202 Gza' yum gyi mchod chog (TB no. 60), p. 375.2.5: shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis lo nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa'i tshe sbyar ba'o//

1202 He completed in his twenty-first year the Dri ma med pa (TB no. 65) which he had begun in 1199.

1203 Sgra la 'jug pa (TB no. 7), p. 116.1.2:
shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis//
nyi shu rtsa gnyis lon tshe sbyar ba yin//

1203 Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul la bstod pa (TB no. 81), p. 404.4.5: shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal gyis/ lo nyi shu rtsa gnyis lon pa'i tshe sbyar ba rdzogs so//

1204 Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 9), p. 122.4.5: chos rje rin po che sa skya paṇḍita chen pos dgung lo nyi shu rtsa gsum bzhes pa'i dus su mdzad pa'o//

1204 Rang gis rang la gros 'debs pa (no. 107), p. 428.2.3: kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos shing pho byi ba'i lo gro bzhin zla ba'i tshe brgyad la bris//

From among these works, the last three deserve special comment. The Rang gis rang la gros 'debs pa, supposedly written in the wood-mouse year (1204), is a spurious later addition to Sa-paṇ's bka' 'bum. The colophon is anachronistic because Sa-paṇ had not then received the ordination name of Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po from Śākyaśrī. Moreover he was not in the habit of dating his works in the colophons, and in any case such a work is not listed in any of the pre-18th-century gsan yigs.[2]

The second work which Sa-paṇ is said to have written in this year, the Byis pa bde blag, can be accepted as genuine, but the specification of the year of its composition was not made by Sa-paṇ. It was added at an undetermined later time by someone else. It is already found in the Gong-dkar-ba edition of the mid-15th century. The quotation of the Sanskrit grammatical work Kālapa in it means that it was in any case probably not written before he began his studies with Sugataśrī

in c. 1204.

Finally, the work Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul [=tshal?] la bstod pa is suspicious in that the form of the author's name found in the colophon is Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal. It is possible that he was using the dpal (śrī) to indicate that he was a "glorious" personage, and it is therefore conceivably not an anachronistic use of the dpal from the dpal bzang po name ending that he received in 1208. Still, the work deserves a careful investigation.

A few more works can be dated to or before 1208, the year of his full monastic ordination. If he refers to himself as dge bsnyen (upāsaka; lay adherent) in the colophon, this gives a terminus ad quem for dating the work. If he signs himself just "Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan" (instead of "Sa-skya Paṇḍita" or "Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po"), there is also a good chance that this work predates his full ordination, though this is less definite: in at least one case he signs himself "Shākya'i dge-slong Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan" (TB no. 28, p. 323.2.6).

On the basis of the colophons, then, the following four works can be counted as "early", i.e. as dating to before the year 1209:

Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4), p. 80.2.5: shes bya'i gnas yongs su grags pa phal mo che la blos yul du byas pa'i paṇḍita lo gzhon yang blo gros rgan pa shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis rig pa'i 'byung gnas dpal sa skya'i dgon par sbyar ba'o//

Aṣṭa'i bzhi bshad (TB no. 50), p. 358.4.3: shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan zhes bya ba sgra rig pa des sbyar ba.

'Jam dpal gyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 74), p. 400.2.6: shākya'i dge bsnyen brda sprod pa'i gtsug lag la ma rmongs pa des mngon par sbyar ba'o//

Dpal gdong bzhi pa'i bstod pa (TB no. 84), p. 405.4.1: shākya'i dge bsnyen kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis sa skya'i dgon par sbyar ba'o//

The following four should be considered as possibly of early authorship:

Sngags kyi klog thabs 'bras bu 'byung ba'i me tog (TB no. 12), p. 125.1.2: lo tsā ba kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis sbyar ba rdzogs so// (N.B.: This is a very late and doubtful addition to his collected works.)

Rje btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi bstod pa (TB no. 26), p. 322.1.6: brda sprod pa/ kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis sbyar ba re zhig rdzogs so// (This seems to have been written before Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's death in 1216.)

Sgrub pa lung sbyin (TB no. 44), p. 347.1.3:
gzhan gyis bskul nas kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis//
sbyar ba 'di la dam pas bzod par dgongs//

Brtag pa gnyis pa'i bsdus don (TB no. 112), p. 446.2.3:
la la dag tu kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyis//
ci rigs par ni cung zad spel ba yi//
(This was only a revision of a work by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.)

It is interesting to note that some seven out of his twenty-six longest works were composed before he reached the age of twenty-seven: nos. 5, 11, 16, 20, 22, 23, and 26 above (=TB nos. 65, 9, 7, 50, 4, 60, and 74, respectively).

Later Works

The following later works can be dated by internal evidence or through the connection of the work with a known event:

1216 Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar (TB no. 17). This was composed just after Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's death in that year.

c. 1240 Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad (TB no. 80). This was composed immediately after his defeating Harinanda at debate in Kyirong. The debate seems to have taken place in about 1240.[3]

1247 Bu slob rnams la spring ba (TB no. 77). This work purports to have been written soon after Sa-paṇ met Ködän. Thus, if it is genuine, it was written in early 1247.

One work can be assigned to the period c. 1235-1244 because it was addressed to Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197-1264), who did not return from India until c. 1235. This is the Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 94). Such works as the following must date to or after the year 1244 since they contain references to the Mongol invitation:

Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan (TB no. 79)
Bka' gdams nam mkha' 'bum gyi zhus lan (TB no. 96)

Here one might add that the works attributed to Bi-ji Rin-chen-grags (TB nos. 32, 97, 99) and any that state that they were revised by 'Phags-pa (TB nos. 96 and 98), if genuine, probably date to after 1244.

Finally, one must note that Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs in his Rtsom 'phro kha skong to the Ngor chos 'byung (p. 316.4-5) posited the dates c. 1219 for the composition of the Rigs gter, c. 1232 for the composition of the Sdom gsum rab dbye, and c. 1240 for the debate with Harinanda. These dates do not contradict what little is otherwise known about the chronology of his mature scholarly career, and they may be provisionally accepted. However, these datings first appear only in Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs's late-17th-century work, and their ultimate origin is unknown. The date c. 1219 for the Rigs gter also appears in Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen's index to the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum (1736), though for the debate with Harinanda, Zhu-chen errs in the same passage by giving the date 1232 (thus omitting the date for the Sdom gsum rab dbye).[4] In any case, the Sdom gsum rab dbye most probably was begun before the death of Sa-paṇ's brother Zangs-tsha (d. 1239) since the latter is said to have tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from finishing it.[5]

The Relative Chronology of Sa-paṇ's Works

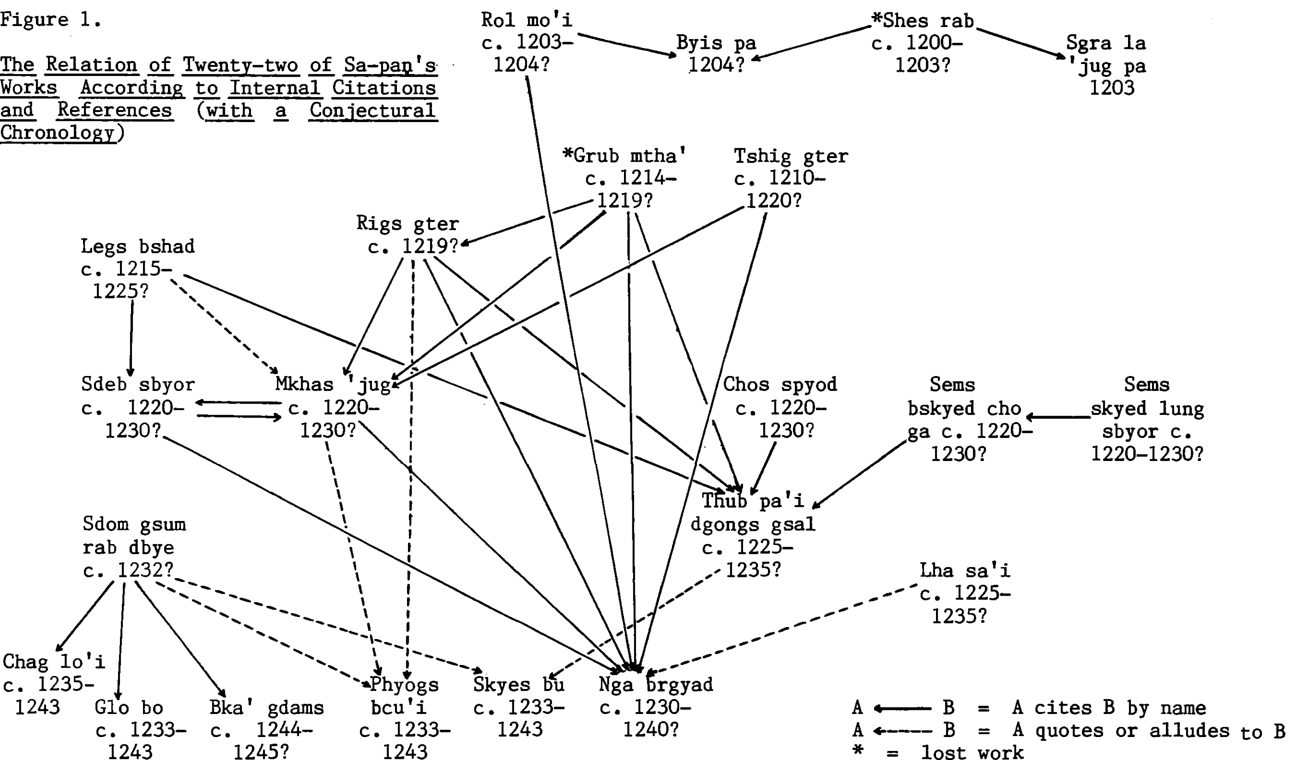
One can also establish a relative chronology for a number of Sa-paṇ's writings if one accepts the supposition that any treatise cited or quoted was composed before the work that cites or quotes it. This is a reasonable supposition, but it leaves aside the very real possibility that he worked on two or more works at the same time. The KhJ and Sdeb sbyor, for instance, each refer to the other. Here the best interpretation is that they were written in the same period. But simply to say so ignores the problem of whether Sa-paṇ revised his works at later times long after their original compositions.[6] He did edit some of his predecessors' writings, and probably he was tempted to do the same to his own early works. However, there is no way to know for certain whether he did or did not do so in a given instance. An unusual case is the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, which in all extant versions includes a final addendum that purports to have been added by Sa-paṇ after he left Central Tibet for the last time in 1244.[7] But the same addendum states that all his disciples had previously received its reading-transmission (lung) since he had taught it everywhere in Dbus, Gtsang and Khams.

Thus an earlier version of substantially the same work had to have been composed prior to 1244; if it had been a different work the lung would have been invalid.

In any case, the following relations and chronologies have been worked out from the premise that the cited work usually precedes the one citing it. Most of the dates are highly conjectural.

Figure 1.

<u>The Relation of Twenty-two of Sa-paṇ's Works According to Internal Citations and References (with a Conjectural Chronology)</u>



The quotations or citations by name indicated in the foregoing chart appeared in the following passages:

Work Containing Citation   Work Cited

Byis pa bde blag, p. 117.4.1: Shes rab 'phro ba
p. 121.1.6: Rol mo'i bstan bcos

Sgra la 'jug pa, p. 115.4.6: Shes rab 'phro ba (it is described as "composed earlier" [sngar sbyar ba])

Rigs gter, p. 172.2.1: Grub mtha' rnam 'byed

Sdeb sbyor, pp.132.2.5 and 140.3.5: KhJ
p. 133.2.5: Legs bshad

Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, p. 5.3.5: Sems bskyed kyi cho ga
p. 8.3.6: Chos spyod bcu pa
p. 13.1.3: Legs bshad
p. 24.4.3: Rigs gter
p. 24.4.3: Grub mtha'i dbye ba

KhJ, p. 89.3.2: Sdeb sbyor
p. 96.1.1: "sgra'i bstan bcos"
p. 98.2.6: Legs bshad (verse 7)
p. 98.4.5: Tshig gi gter
p. 107.2.2: Grub mtha' rnam 'byed
p. 109.4.5: Rigs gter

Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa, p. 148.4.4: KhJ ("sgra'i bstan bcos bod la nye bar mkho ba tsam zhig")
p. 149.1.2: Rigs gter
p. 149.2.5: Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed
p. 149.3.4: Sdeb sbyor
p. 149.4.4: Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
p. 150.1.2: Rol mo'i bstan bcos
p. 150.3.3: Tshig gi gter
p. 150.4.4: Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos (not shown in chart)

p. 150.4.4: Sa brtag pa (not shown in chart)
p. 151.1.3: Yan lag brgyad pa'i don bsdus (not shown in chart)

Sems bskyed kyi cho ga, p. 273.1.3: Sems bskyed lung sbyor

Chag lo'i zhu ba, p. 408.2.4: Sdom gsum rab dbye

Glo bo lo tsā ba'i zhus lan, p. 415.1.6: Sdom gsum rab dbye

Bka' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi zhus lan, p. 416.5: Sdom gsum rab dbye

From the above lists and chronology (however approximate), one can discern three stages in Sa-paṇ's literary career in Tibet:

(I) Earliest Writings (c. 1199-1204). At this time his main interests were the exegesis of Tantric treatises, and language or grammar. His main sources were his uncles' writings and the teachings and explanations he received from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

(II) The Rig gnas Period (c. 1205-1225?). At this time his predominant interests were the branches of scholarship (rig gnas) such as Pramāṇa, Sanskrit grammar, and the various Sanskrit language arts, including metrics, lexicography or synonymy, and poetical figures. His principal teachers for these subjects were Indian paṇḍitas (especially from 1204-1213) and his main sources were the Indian works he read in Sanskrit.

(III) Writings on Mahāyāna Doctrine and Practice (c. 1225-1244). By this time he was a famous master who attracted large assemblies of disciples wherever he went. To these public assemblies he taught the general Mahāyāna doctrines and practices, and he composed his own manuals for these. He also became keenly involved in doctrinal issues.

However, one need not contrast these stages too sharply because there are threads of continuity running through them. His early interest in language and grammar, for instance, later developed into his intensive studies of Sanskrit language and poetry. In his writings on Pramāṇa and the literary arts he makes plain that his main aim is to rectify the errors and ignorance of his contemporaries, and this stance of the staunch crusader against ignorant error later manifests in his

polemical writings. Only his early work as a Tantric exegete had no sequel in his later writings, though as a teacher he continued to expound these doctrines. There was, however, a conscious reason for this. At some point Sa-paṇ decided that it would be best not to write his own Tantric treatises but that he should encourage the circulation of the early Sa-skya founders' works on these subjects by editing and promulgating them.[8]

Traditional Classifications of Sa-paṇ's Greatest Works

As might be expected, Sa-paṇ's most influential works for later generations came from the last two periods of his career. The three works with the greatest impact were among his longest works, and according to the Venerable Dezhung Rinpoche these three were considered indispensable for the Sa-skya-pa order in general, being called the "Three Treatises of the Sa-skya-pa Tradition" (sa lugs kyi bstan bcos rnam gsum):[9]

(1) Sdom gsum rab dbye
(2) Rigs gter
(3) Thub pa'i dgongs gsal

In addition there was another traditional classification of his four greatest works. According to the dge-bshes Bkra-shis-rnam-rgyal from Sa-skya, these were known as the "Four [Doctrinal] Statements of Sa-paṇ" (sa paṇ gyi bka' bzhi):[10]

(1) The Tshad ma rigs gter, a discrimination of what is and is not logically acceptable (rigs dang rigs min rnam 'byed tshad ma rigs gter)
(2) The Sdom gsum rab dbye, a discrimination of what is and is not [true] Dharma (chos dang chos min rnam 'byed sdom gsum rab dbye)
(3) The Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter, [an excellent, elegant expression] of what does and does not accord with good worldly custom ('jig rten tshul lugs mthun dang mi mthun legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter)
(4) The Elucidation of the Muni's Intent (thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba)

This second list is thus the same as the first except that the Legs bshad has been added to bring the total to four. The Legs bshad also appears (along with the Rigs gter) in yet another grouping if his major works. These were his so-called "Three Treasures" (gter gsum):

(1) Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter
(2) Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter

(3) Tshig gi gter

All three belong to the middle period of his writings. This classification into "Three Treasures," however, appears to be attested only in the writings of the later Dge-lugs-pa scholar Klong-rdol bla-ma.[11] It seems to be unknown to modern Sa-skya-pas, and I have not come across it in the writings of the tradition.

The KhJ was thus not counted among Sa-paṇ's greatest works in the traditional lists. From many points of view, however, it was one of his greatest treatises. It was his third longest work. He wrote it at the end of his rig gnas period and at the beginning of his doctrinal period; he was at the peak of his powers. (Shākya-mchog-ldan does in fact list it together with the Sdom gsum rab dbye and Phyogs bcu as one of his exemplary polemical works, though this element in no way predominates in it.)[12] Yet it never gained the readership and attention that the Sdom gsum rab dbye, Rigs gter, and Legs bshad did, probably because the subject matter was too specialized and difficult.[13] It was not an essential work for ordinary scholastic students, and it could be understood and appreciated only by advanced scholars.

The Collection and Transmission of Sa-paṇ's Works

The history of how Sa-paṇ's works were collected and then transmitted down to the present is nowhere told directly in the sources. Instead, it must be pieced together from scattered hints and stray references. Most of the later references have to do with Sa-paṇ's works as one of five main sections of a greater collection, the Sa skya bka' 'bum. Before the mid-14th century, however, this fivefold collection did not exist, and Sa-paṇ's oeuvre existed either independently or together with that of 'Phags-pa. His most famous works such as the Rigs gter, Sdom gsum rab dbye and Legs bshad also circulated from the earliest period as separate books, and there existed individual xylographic editions of some of them from the 14th century onward. But very few facts are known about the transmission of individual works; one must begin by tracing what little can be found out about the history of his writings in collected form.

The Compilation of His Collected Works

The first compilation of Sa-paṇ's works probably dated to c. 1244-1251. At some time near the end of his life, Sa-paṇ must have gathered together all his

available works and formally read them to 'Phags-pa. If he had not done so, 'Phags-pa would not have been able to pass on the lung of Sa-paṇ's works as the tradition unanimously says he did. This first compilation may have been limited to the works Sa-paṇ brought with him to Liang-chou in 1244-1246, and this may account for the fact that some important works were omitted from all known later compilations of his works. Sa-paṇ's works were the first of the Sa-skya founders' oeuvres to have been formally compiled. The works of the first three founders had to wait until the mid-14th century when they were systematically gathered by Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and his assistants.[14] By contrast, the works of Sa-paṇ's successor 'Phags-pa seem to have been carefully assembled during his lifetime as a matter of course.

Early Manuscripts

The works of Sa-paṇ originally circulated only in manuscript. The printing of books from blocks was not yet introduced into Tibet during his lifetime and therefore each and every copy of his works that his contemporaries read had to have been produced by a scribe through laborious hand-copying.[15] Copies of his books were hard to come by in some places, and those that did exist sometimes left much to be desired for accuracy. We find Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, for instance, writing to Sa-paṇ telling him about the difficulties he experienced finding a copy of the Sdom gsum rab dbye and relating how when he finally could borrow a copy for a short while, the one he located was marred with scribal errors (yig mkhan skyon chags). He concluded his letter with a request that Sa-paṇ send him a correct copy (dpe dag pa zhig).[16] Probably the average quality of a manuscript was somewhat better for those treatises that were less widely read and were not at the center of any burning doctrinal controversy. His technical treatises and minor writings would have circulated less frequently apart from his collected works, and any separate copies made were probably more painstakingly done since they would have been intended for an individual scholar's use.

The earliest manuscript collection of Sa-paṇ's works that is mentioned in later sources was commissioned by Sga A-gnyan-dam-pa, a monk-official from Khams who was a disciple of Sa-paṇ and 'Phags-pa. Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen described this manuscript in 1736 as follows:

> From Rga [sic] [there was] a set of the collected works of the chos rje [Sa-paṇ] and his nephew ['Phags-pa] which had been commissioned as a devotional object by A-gnyan-dam-pa. These were six large volumes

written in gold and silver letters and crafted from exquisite materials.[17]

According to the Venerable Dezhung Rinpoche, A-gnyan-dam-pa met both Sa-paṇ and 'Phags-pa when they were passing through Khams in 1244-45. A-gnyan-dam-pa is said to have been appointed the political administrator for all eastern Tibet under 'Phags-pa,[18] and he was the latter's disciple in some mgon po lineages. This manuscript of the two masters' works was perhaps executed about the time of 'Phags-pa's death in 1280, or soon thereafter, but could not have been made much before that time because 'Phags-pa's complete works would not have been compiled by then.

One can surmise that this earliest known manuscript of Sa-paṇ's works was not radically different in contents from the works as they are now accessible in the 1736 Derge edition. Certainly it did not contain any new or otherwise inaccessible major works, for Zhu-chen and his associates could have been relied upon to include these in the new printed edition.

Another very early set of Sa-paṇ's works that still existed in the late-15th or early-16th century was a manuscript written with golden letters on Chinese paper and kept at Sa-skya in the Gzhi-thog bla-brang. According to Glo-bo mkhan-chen's description, it was executed in about the period of 'Phags-pa. Glo-bo mkhan-chen refers to it as one of the earliest textual authorities when discussing the status of two minor works ascribed to Sa-paṇ.[19] He also speaks of the existence of "many old collections of [Sa-paṇ's] works,"[20] and one hopes that some of these old sets still survive in the Sa-skya Lha-khang-chen-mo.

The Inclusion of Sa-paṇ's Oeuvre into the Sa skya bka' 'bum

As mentioned above, when Sa-paṇ's works were first compiled there did not exist a Sa skya bka' 'bum consisting of his three predecessors' writings because these had not yet been systematically compiled. Thus the collected works of Sa-paṇ circulated independently of the early three founders' works for a century or more. But after the mid-14th-century compilation of the first three founders' writings, it was only a matter of time before the works of Sa-paṇ and 'Phags-pa were added to them to form a single, inclusive Sa skya bka' 'bum. By the late-14th century the lung for all five masters' works had been gathered together by single teachers, and those teachers began to give all five lungs together. In the early-15th century, the Sa skya bka' 'bum as composed of only the first three founders' works was sometimes still considered to be a separate and distinct

collection. This is indicated for instance by an index preserved among the writings of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456).[21] But there also existed an urge to consolidate. By the early-15th century, sets of all five founders' works were commissioned together, and by the late-15th or early-16th century one finds Glo-bo mkhan-chen stating unequivocally that the term Sa skya bka' 'bum signifies the collected works of all five Sa-skya founders.[22]

The Earliest Printed Edition

Though a complete printed edition of Sa-paṇ's works had to wait for some time, at least two of his major treatises seem to have been printed in the early- or mid-14th century. These were the so-called "Mongolian xylographs" (hor par ma) of the Rigs gter and Sdom gsum rab dbye. During the late-13th and first half of the 14th century a number of Tibetan works were carved onto printing blocks under Mongol patronage in China--no doubt by Chinese carvers.[23] Such "Mongolian" editions of the Rigs gter and Sdom gsum rab dbye were later referred to as authoritative by the 15th-century Sa-skya-pa scholars Go-rams-pa and Shākya-mchog-ldan. The former referred to the hor par ma edition of the Rigs gter rang 'grel in his two Rigs gter commentaries,[24] and the latter is said to have approved of a commentary on the Sdom gsum rab dbye by Las-chen Gzhon-nu-seng-ge which consisted of explanatory words added to the "Mongolian edition" (rab dbye'i gzhung hor spar ma nyid la 'bru gnan pa).[25]

A few copies of the hor par ma probably survived in Tibet down to the present century. I was told separately by dge-bshes Shes-rab-'od-zer and dge-bshes Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan of 'Phan-yul Nalendra monastery that an old print of the Rigs gter rang 'grel existed up to 1959 in the Rgyal-mo-rong kham-tshan of Nalendra. It was printed on doubled sheets of Chinese paper and was believed to have come from China. The pages were long and the Tibetan characters were large and angular. This was probably the "Mongolian edition." There is also good reason to believe that at least one copy of this edition still exists. A xylograph of the Rigs gter answering this description with pagination in Chinese characters is now preserved in the library of the Sa-skya Lha-khang-chen-mo.

The 1439 Sa-skya Xylograph Edition

The printing of books in Tibet itself began in a big way only in the first decades of the 15th century. The early decades of the 1400s saw, for example, the

carving of the blocks of the "Old Dga'-ldan Edition" (dga' ldan par rnying) of many of Tsong-kha-pa's works.[26] By the fourth decade of that century, works of Sa-paṇ were also being printed. Two of his works published during this period were the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal and Legs bshad, and blocks of the first were carved at Sa-skya in 1439. In this edition, the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal is 83 folios long with seven lines of text per side. On the right and left edges of the printed portion of folio 1 verso there are columns of "Mongolian-style" (actually 'Phags-pa style) Tibetan characters (hor yig). The folios also possess a left-hand marginal notation of ta and an uncarved blank space, which indicate that the book formed a fascicle of part 9 of a larger collection.

The xylographic colophon at the end of this book states that the blocks were carved in the don grub (=sa lug) year, which must have been 1439 because the work was printed after the death of Ta-dben gu-shri Gzhi-thog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1366-1420), a member of the Gzhi-thog branch of the Sa-skya 'Khon family.[27] The blocks were carved at Lhun-grub-dge-'phel, a retreat near Sa-skya. The patron of the carving was the son of the above, Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1418-1462), and the project was dedicated to his father, who had died when Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug was only two years old.

The second work by Sa-paṇ printed from old Sa-skya blocks is the Legs bshad, though unfortunately a complete copy is not known to survive. An incomplete copy is preserved at the Bihar Research Society, Patna. It originally consisted of nineteen folios of seven lines of text per side, of which ff. 1-6 are now missing. The pagination is indicated in the margin both in script and in Tibetan numerals, and there is no xylographic colophon.

This print of the Legs bshad can be seen to belong to the same edition as the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal because it too has the marginal notation ta and it is of similar size and appearance. This notation marks them both as belonging to part 9 of a larger collection--perhaps an early arrangement of the Sa skya bka' 'bum in which Sa-paṇ's works comprised at least volumes 9 and 10. It is not presently known, however, whether other works of Sa-paṇ or of the other founders were also published at this time.

The Gong-dkar-ba Edition (c. 1455)

A second 15th-century printed edition of some (or all) of Sa-paṇ's works was prepared at the orders of Gong-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432-1496).[28] This was apparently envisaged as a part of a complete Sa skya bka' 'bum edition, though so far no more than twelve works by three founding masters--Slob-

dpon Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, and Sa-paṇ--are definitely known to have been printed then. At present only five works of Sa-paṇ are known to survive as xylographs from this edition or as manuscripts derived from it:

(1) Rol mo'i bstan bcos

(2) Ji ltar dri tshul (=Dri ba'i tshul 'ga' zhig, TB no. 5)

(3) Mkhas pa [rnams] 'jug pa'i sgo

(4) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa

(5) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa

The first two survive in an original xylographic print that is now kept in the Sakya College library, Rajpur. Together this pair amounts to only six folios in this edition, with seven lines of text per page. No marginal notation was carved for this fascicle, though a small area of wood was left uncarved for later use. The print came to India from the village of Rong-stod near the Indian border in Guge district.

Complete prints of one of the last three are not known to survive, but the textual tradition is preserved in a manuscript deriving from this edition. This is shown by a xylographic colophon which was retained at the end of the final work. The surviving manuscript was found at Pha-jo-lding monastery in Bhutan (the same place where the unique set of Shākya-mchog-ldan's collected writings was preserved), and it was reproduced in 1979 and published from Thimphu. In this manuscript, all three works also retain the marginal notation nga ca, marking it as the fifth fascicle of the fourth main section (Sa-paṇ's oeuvre) of the Sa skya bka' 'bum.

The first pair of works was probably carved onto blocks before 1458 because the name of its patron, Gong-dkar-ba, given in the colophon was his lay name Grwa-lnga-rgyal-po. The last three works would at first sight seem to have been carved in or after 1458 because their xylographic colophon contains his ordained name Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, which he received in 1458. But recently in Sa-skya I chanced upon a fragment of the original xylograph of this fascicle (nga ca) which included the last page of the KhJ (f. 46a) and the whole of the next two works, ending with the printing colophon to this fascicle. There the patron's name is given not as Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal but as Grwa-lnga. Probably the name Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal in the manuscript had been substituted for Grwa-lnga by a later scribe.[29]

The Derge Edition

After the printing of the Gong-dkar-ba edition, no major edition of Sa-paṇ's works is known to have been produced for almost three centuries. By the end of this period the Gong-dkar-ba prints had become scarce. Complete sets--if such sets indeed ever existed--no longer circulated in early-18th-century Khams, though prints of separate works could still be located. One may conclude that the old blocks were then no longer in common use.

Perhaps by then the Gong-dkar-ba blocks had been destroyed by warfare, fire or some other calamity. Or perhaps they had become so badly worn that they were no longer usable. One may even speculate that the blocks survived in good condition, only to be put under seal for sectarian reasons.[30] In any case it is beyond doubt that by the 1730s the need for a new printed edition was greatly felt, especially in eastern Tibet where the earlier editions probably had not circulated as widely in the first place. The Derge edition was produced to fill this need.

The Derge edition of the Sa skya bka' 'bum--and hence of Sa-paṇ's works--was carved at Derge in the mid-1730s under the patronage of the great ruler and patron Bstan-pa-tshe-ring and at the urgent request of the Ngor mkhan-po Bkra-shis-lhun-grub. It was executed between two other monumental publication projects of this ruler: the already completed Derge Kanjur and the soon-to-be-commissioned Derge Tanjur.

Though the Sa skya bka' 'bum was much smaller than either of those collections, it was still an ambitious undertaking. It entailed the editing and carving of some nine-thousand long-page format (ldeb ring) printing blocks to produce a total of fifteen large volumes. The workers involved in the work were divided into three main groups: general administrators, editorial staff, and those involved in block carving. Head of the editorial staff was Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, the future editor of the Derge Tanjur.

In this edition, Sa-paṇ's works came to three physical volumes which consisted of a total of 906 folios and required just over 1,800 blocks to print. For establishing the text of Sa-paṇ's works, the editors had seven complete manuscripts to compare.[31] In addition, for some works they may have consulted an incomplete manuscript of the Sa skya bka' 'bum and stray prints from the Gong-dkar-ba edition.[32] In general the editors seem to have set the most store by a "very correct" manuscript of the complete Sa skya bka' 'bum from Skyor-mda' Bsam-gling dgon-pa in Chab-mdo. Among the seven accessible manuscripts there was also the old gold- and silver-lettered manuscript believed to have been commissioned in the late-13th century by Sga A-gnyan-dam-pa.

The Derge editors were rather liberal in accepting as genuine a number of questionable and obscure works ascribed to Sa-paṇ. They cannot be blamed much for including works that already appeared in 16th- and 17th-century lists of Sa-paṇ's works, but they also approved a number of works that seem to be listed nowhere else and that are surely apocryphal. One possible reason for this acceptance was simply that those works had already made their way into one or more of the seven available manuscript sets. However, the consequence of including these into the Derge edition was great. These xylographs became <u>the</u> standard edition of Sa-paṇ's works. For later scholars, both Tibetan and foreign, each and every work included therein gained an aura of legitimacy that may or may not have been truly deserved.

NOTES

[1]See below, chapter 6, note 1.

[2]See also below, chapter 4, Doubtful and Spurious Works, and chapter 5, note 59.

[3]On this date see also below, chapter 5, note 22. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1984), p. 46.

[4][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 315.2.2.

[5]This is related for instance by Go-rams-pa, Sdom pa gsum ... rnam bshad, pp. 130.1.4 (ta 23a = 22a).

[6]The references to the KhJ in the Sdeb sbyor (pp. 132.2.5 and 140.3.5), however, seem to indicate that the KhJ by then was already completed: kho bos mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgor bshad zin. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1984), pp. 46f.

[7]ThGS, p. 50.1.6 (tha 99a.6): tshogs chos 'di dbus gtsang khams gsum du ngas thams cad la bshad pa yin pas/ nga'i slob ma thams cad kyis lung thob pa yin pas yi ge 'di la ltos la shod// 'di bzhin nyams su long//

[8]Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 151.3.3 (tha 305b.3): 'di dag la yang 'dul ba dang/ mngon pa dang/ shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la sogs pa kho bos byas pa'i bstan bcos ci rigs pa yang yod la/ rdo rje theg pa la'ang spyi dang bye brag gi bstan bcos ci rigs pa byed 'dod pa yod mod kyi/ 'on kyang bla ma gong ma de dag gi gsung rab la bogs dbyung rgyu ma mthong bas bstan bcos phra mo tsam ma gtogs pa lus yongs su rdzogs pa'i bstan bcos sngon chad kho bos ma bsdebs so//

[9]Personal Communication. Ngag-dbang-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, Sdom pa gsum, p. 5b.6, states something that was for Sa-skya-pa scholars self-evident, namely, that the two greatest works of Sa-paṇ were his Sdom gsum rab dbye and Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter: bdag nyid chen po'i gsung rab kyi gtso bo sdom rig[s] gnyis.

[10]Personal Communication.

[11]Klong-rdol bla-ma, Collected Works (Mussoorie, 1963), [pha], p. 363. See also E. G. Smith (1970a), p. 6.

[12]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 467.1. In the KhJ (III 41, autocommentary), Sa-paṇ does state the principle that doctrinal errors should be appropriately refuted because if they are allowed to spread unhindered they will harm the doctrine, just as rank weeds will crowd out and choke the crops in a field. "For even if passionate and angry fools do not understand, it will be understood by learned men who dwell in rectitude."

[13]In particular, any topics that required a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar or vocabulary (such as in KhJ I and II) were understood by progressively fewer and fewer scholars as Sanskrit studies declined with the passing centuries.

[14]See D. Jackson (1983), pp. 4f. H. E. Richardson (1983), p. 263, states that Dpal-ldan-seng-ge died in 1342. If true, the compilation project began sometime after that. For an earlier sketch of the arrangement and origins of the SKKB, see E. Gene Smith (1969b), p. 81.

[15]D. Jackson (1983), p. 5. All teaching and study of Sa-paṇ's works depended on written texts. Even when texts were memorized or taught from memory, they were originally learned by reading texts. For a reference to a 15th-century scholar who had memorized the whole Sa skya bka' 'bum, see Shākya-rin-chen, Collected Works, vol. 4, p. 269.3.

[16]Chag lo'i zhu ba, (TB no. 93), p. 408.2.4 (na 228a.4).

[17][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.2.4: rga nas a gnyan dam pa'i thugs dam du bzhengs pa'i chos rje khu dbon gyi bka' 'bum gser dngul las grub cing/ bzo rgyu khyad du 'phags pa'i chos chen glegs bam drug/.

[18]The Venerable Dezhung Rinpoche, personal communication. See also his Bod ljongs mdo khams sga ldan skyur gsum gyi byung tshul nyung bsdus gtam gyi sa bon, pp. 25, 34, 40f. On pp. 40f he gives the following account, based on the writings of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen: sngar dus sa skya pas bod chol kha gsum la dbang bsgyur ba'i skabs/ sga a gnyan dam pa kun dga' grags de nyid chos rje khu dbon gnyis ka'i zhal slob dang/ bla chen 'phags pa'i bla chen du 'khod/ rgya nag rgyal pos a gnyan dam pa la/ 'ja' sa dang/ tham ka phul/ mchod yon bka' gros kyis/ mdo khams stod phal che ba'i dpon du bskos te/ a gnyan dpon tshang la/

sga pas gser khral/ ldan mas 'bru khral/ gling gis drel khral byas pas bal khral sogs 'jal dgos dang/ lugs gnyis kyi mdzad pa rgya ches bas mdo stod kyi dgon sde rnams skyongs/ ha kyang 'du 'dzi rnam g.yeng che bas/ a gnyan dam pa thugs ngal du gyur pas/ lo shas nas rang gnas khri 'du'i nye skor tsam dbang cha las/ gzhan sa skya pa la brtsi 'bul dgongs [p. 41] yangs zhus/ sa skya pas kyang de bzhin gnang mdzad/ ces zhu chen bka' 'bum (a) nang ltar chos sde dgon gyi lha khang gi dkar chag nang du gsal/. The reference here is to Zhu-chen, Chos sde'i, pp. 212.1 and 214.2.

Sga A-gnyan dam-pa is said to have been alive when Bzang-po-dpal returned to Sa-skya from China (1296). See the life of Bzang-po-dpal in A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam-gling, as excerpted in Khetsun Sangpo, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 10, p. 257. Zhu-chen, Dpal ldan, vol. 2, pp. 206.4, 218.6 and 219.5 identifies A-gnyan-dam-pa (another spelling: Rgwa Ā nan dam pa) as Dam-pa Kun-dga'-grags, and lists three lineages in which he appears. On other manuscripts attributed to the patronage of "A-gnyen bakshi," see H. Eimer's article on the editions of the Kanjur (1983), notes 30 and 81. For other references see also Y. Fukuda and Y. Ishihama (1986), p. 35.

[19]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Rab 'byams blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan (TB manuscript), vol. cha, p. 200a.3-4: sa skya'i bla brang bzhi thog na yod pa'i sa paṇ gyi bka' 'bum rgya shog la bris pa'i gser ma/ chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa tsam gyi dus su byung ba gcig yod pa/.

[20]Ibid.: gzhan yang bka' 'bum rnying pa mang po'i nang du bcug yod cing/.

[21]Ngor-chen, Rje btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag, SKKB, vol. 10, p. 366.4.4.

[22]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Skyes rtsa bla mas (New Delhi ed.), p. 304.2: bla ma sa skya pa chen po nas bla ma 'phags pa'i bar gyi gsung rab rnams la sa skya bka' 'bum zhes yongs su grags pa'i mtshan gyi rnam grangs. See also A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam gling, p. 417, where it is recorded that Theg-chen chos-rje (1349-1425) commissioned a set of the collected works of the five founders (gong ma lnga'i bka' 'bum).

[23]D. Jackson (1983), pp. 5f.

[24]Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, vol. 2, p. 665.5 (kha 141a.5), and Tshad ma rigs, vol. 3, p. 651.6 (ga 326a.6).

[25]Referred to by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Thimbu ed.), p. 258. See also L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 19, and Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs gter . . . dgongs, vol. 1, pp. 373.7-374.1: hor par du rkos pa cig ni shin tu ma dag pas dor bar bya.

[26]I have seen a few old Dga'-ldan prints in Nepal and have gathered references to others. These are described in an article forthcoming in the T. V. Wylie memorial volume.

[27]For this colophon, see D. Jackson (1983), p. 17. Correct "14th-century" to "15th-century."

[28]For more details on this edition, see D. Jackson (1983), pp. 7-16.

[29]See below, chapter 10.

[30]The blocks for this edition may have survived until recent times at Pede Dzong near Yamdrok Tsho. See D. Jackson (1983), p. 16.

[31]These manuscripts--and the Derge edition which grew from them--are described in more detail below in chapter 10.

[32]The Gong-dkar-ba prints strangely enough are not mentioned in the SKKB index ([Zhu-chen], Dpal sa), but only in Zhu-chen's autobiography. See below, chapter 10.

Chapter 4

LOST, APOCRYPHAL AND DOUBTFUL WORKS

Sa-paṇ's collected works have come down to us in an incomplete and imperfect form. Several major treatises by his hand were lost from an early time, and what genuine works do survive have been joined over the centuries by a considerable number of spurious accretions.

Lost Works

At least five works that Sa-paṇ himself considered representative of his achievements in specific areas of scholarship have quite simply disappeared from his oeuvre. These are the following, which he mentions in his Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa:[1]

(1) Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed (p. 149.2.5)
(2) Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan (p. 149.4.4)[2]
(3) Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos (p. 150.4.4)
(4) Sa brtag pa (p. 150.4.4)
(5) Yan lag brgyad pa'i don bsdus (p. 151.1.3)[3]

The Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed, a lost treatise on Buddhist and non-Buddhist philosophical tenets, is referred to in no less than four of his extant works.[4] The Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan is clearly described by Sa-paṇ as beings a poetical work, and thus it is probably not the grammatical work by this name found near the end of the Derge edition of his oeuvre (TB no. 109).[5] The remaining three in the list were on iconometry, geomancy and medicine, respectively. Another vanished work is his treatise on grammar entitled Shes rab 'phro ba. He refers to it in his Byis pa bde blag[6] and Sgra la 'jug pa,[7] both of which were early compositions. He is also said by his disciple Lho-pa kun-mkhyen to have written a dramatical treatise entitled Rab dga' la 'jug pa.[8]

Doubtful and Spurious Works

Given Sa-paṇ's unquestioned and enduring stature as the first great paṇḍita of Tibet, it is natural that certain later writers would be tempted to try to gain for their own writings some of the glory associated with his name by ascribing their compositions to him. Such forgeries were usually fairly short, and a number of them were accepted as genuine and inserted into his collected works. A few such works may have cropped up very early, but fortunately most seem to have appeared from the 16th century onward. These can be found among the late additions to the lists of his writings.

The seven main accessible lists of the contents of Sa-paṇ's oeuvre are in the following:

(1) Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's gsan yig
(2) Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's gsan yig
(3) Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub's gsan yig
(4) The Fifth Dalai Lama's gsan yig
(5) Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen's index to the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum
(6) Zhu-chen's gsan yig
(7) A manuscript index to one volume of Sa-paṇ's works listing some fifty minor writings

The first is a list of Sa-paṇ's works as they were recited to Ngor-chen by Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan probably at Sa-skya, before the latter died in 1406. The second is a rare source which I saw briefly and from which I was able to copy this passage. The copy I saw was a 244-folio dbu med manuscript, bearing the title Thob yig bum pa bzang po. The lineages of Sa skya bka' 'bum lungs are recorded in fascicle da. This was the record of teachings received by 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, a later teacher in the Gong-dkar tradition. Though I could not study the whole work in detail, it dates to the late-17th century at the earliest. The third source was another manuscript which I saw briefly and from which I copied out this passage. The copy I saw was a 159-folio manuscript in dbu med script. Its full title was: Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i tshul gsal bar bshad pa'i yi ge thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed. Actually Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen purports to indicate the contents of this gsan yig of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub as well as that of Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, in sources nos. 5 and 6 in the above list, i.e. Zhu-chen's index and gsan yig. In those works Zhu-chen marked the titles of each work with the numerals 9 or 24 if they appeared in the gsan yigs of these two, who were respectively the 9th [i.e.

10th] and 24th [i.e. 25th] mkhan po of Ngor. When comparing these indications with the actual gsan yig of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, however, one can see that Zhu-chen's notes are not always reliable, and therefore they have not been used here. No. 6, Zhu-chen's gsan yig, is almost identical with his Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum index. The last source, no. 7, I located in a monastic library in Nepal. In addition, there are two short lists that I have compiled on the basis of twenty works that survive in an old manuscript from Glo-bo and nineteen works in an old manuscript volume from Sa-skya. (For the full lists from the gsan yigs of Ngor-chen, Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub and the Fifth Dalai Lama, from the old manuscript index, and from the Glo-bo and Sa-skya manuscripts, see below, Appendixes A, B, C, D, M, N, and O.)

These lists give a good idea of the contents of actually existing collections in different periods. The Ngor-pa tradition predominates, being attested by all but nos. 2 and 7. Even the Fifth Dalai Lama incorporated into his gsan yig a Ngor-pa list, though he had also received the lung within the Gong-dkar-ba lineage.[9] When using these lists one must bear in mind the possibility that some very short works may have been omitted by accident. Such minor omissions are not uncommon in both gsan yigs and indexes to collected works.

Finally, there also exist three lists of Sa-paṇ's works given in the biographies of Sa-paṇ by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Rin-spungs-pa and A-mes-zhabs, which were composed in 1527, 1579 and 1629, respectively. These were not lists of works as actually recited during a lung transmission or as actually existing in a given manuscript collection. Rather, the first was a general summary of his works, and the latter two were attempts at listing every work he ever wrote, regardless of whether they were still extant or not. Thus we find listed in them works by Sa-paṇ which were lost from an early period, as well as quite a few doubtful and apocryphal works. Rin-spungs-pa in particular seems to have been very free, including anything he heard of or came across that bore Sa-paṇ's name. These three lists thus do not have the same value as positive witnesses as the previous ones, but the second two (both of which are quite long) do give valuable information of a negative sort. If a given work was not listed by either of them, then it probably had no significant circulation in two important centers of Gtsang in the late-16th and early-17th centuries. (For these three lists in full, see below, Appendixes E, F and L.)

Table 3. *Eleven Lists of Sa-paṇ's Works*

Abbreviations:

TB = Tōyō Bunko reprint of Sa-paṇ's works as they appear in the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum (Tokyo : 1968). The numbers are from the index to vol. 5, pp. v-xviii. This list accords with Zhu-chen's Sa skya bka' 'bum index (1736), except at the end.

NgCh = Ngor-chen's *gsan yig* (*Thob yig*) (c. 1400)

GK = Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's *gsan yig* (*Thob yig*) (c. 1700?)

KLh = Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub's *gsan yig* (*Chos kyi*) (16th c.)

DL5 = The Fifth Dalai Lama's *gsan yig* (*Zab pa*) (mid-17th c.)

Sa = One volume from a Sa-skya MS of the Sa skya bka' 'bum

dkar = The index (*dkar chag*) to one volume of an old manuscript of Sa-paṇ's works

G = The Glo-bo manuscript

KhJNSh = Glo-bo mkhan-chen's *Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad* (1527)

RP = Rin-spungs-pa (*'Jam pa'i*) (1579)

AMZh = A-mes-zhabs (*'Dzam gling*) (1629)

TB	NgCh	GK	KLh	DL5	Sa	dkar	G	KhJNSh	RP	AMZh
1	20	36	17	22	19		4	14?	79	25
2	1	95	1	1	1			1	99	36
3		86							66	35?
4	2	104	2	3	2		1	25	14	14
5	3	105	3	4	3		10			39
6	4	85	4	5	4		2	2	4	34
7	5	101	5	6	5		3	4	6	2
8	6	102	6	7	6				10	3
9	7	103	7	8	7				9	4
10	8	98	8	9a	9				8	5
11										
12										
13	9	100	9	9b	10			5	7	6
14	10	96	10	10	11			23	13	12
15	11	97	11	11	12			20	12	11
16	12	12	12	13	13			21	27	10

(Table 3, continued)

TB	NgCh	GK	KLh	DL5	Sa	dkar	G	KhJNSh	RP	AMZh
17	13	3	13	15	14				19	
18	14	87	14	16	16					40
19	15	93	18	18				6	15	7
20	16	94	19	19			20	7	16	8
21	18	28	15	20	17				63	27
22	19	29	16	21	18				64	28
23										
24	21	35	21	23			18		17	26
25		24	22	12		22?		32?	30	
26	17	2	20			17				59(2)
27	47	4?	53	56		26			20	60
28	46	5	52	55		18			21	61
29	22	37	23	24		37		12	80	41
30	23	39	24	25		39			82	42
31	24	25	26			38?				
32			26?						92	
33	?									
34	26	47	27	27		50	6	26	88	47
35	27	40	28			40			81	43
36	28	91	29–30	29ab		42?	15		72	
37	29		31	30		41?				44?
38	30	43	32			43				45
39										
40										
41	31	6	33	31	15?	1		18	23	62
42		7		32		2			24	
43	32			39?		3			40a	65a
44	33	54	34	39?		4			40b	65b
45	34	55	35	37		5		16	41	6
46	35	57	36	40		7?		17	46	67
47										68
48										
49		8		3					25	63
50	36	70	37	41		9			45	69
51	37	77.	38	45		10			55	70

(Table 3, continued)

TB	NgCh	GK	KLh	DL5	Sa	dkar	G	KhJNSh	RP	AMZh
52	38		39	46						
53	39	80	40	47					77?	74?
54		54						19	50	64
55	40	20	41	48					32	52
56	41	81	42	49						53
57										
58										
59										
60	42	82	43	50					65	54
61		73							43	
62		71	44	44		8				
63		72	45			13				
64		68	46	52					51	
65	43	69	47	43		11/12?		15	54/76?	71
66		76	49	51		14			52	56
67	45?		50	54		16				
68	44	1	51	53		15			18	
69	48		54	57						
70	49	10	55	58		25		31?		
71	50	11	57	59		19				18?
72	51	14	58	60		20			29	20
73	52	15	59	61		21			28	
74	53		60	62		24?				23
75	54	26	61	63		23			97(36?)	21
76			62	84						
77		52	63							
78						46a				50a?
79		49	64	81		46b	8		89	50b
80	55	88	65	64		27	12		94	37
81	56	89	66	65		28	13		95	38
82	57	16	67	66			11		35	
83										
84	58	17	68	67		29			37	
85	59	30	69	68		34			62	32
86		38	70	73		32			74	31

(Table 3, continued)

TB	NgCh	GK	KLh	DL5	Sa	dkar	G	KhJNSh	RP	AMZh
87	60	32	71	69		36				57
88	63	31	74	72		35			75	58
89		22		75					67	
90		23		76					68	
91	61	64	72	70		30			60	
92	62	65?	73	71		31?			61?	
93	64a		75	77		44a				51a
94	64b	46	75	78		44b		27		51b
95	65	45	76	79		45	5	28	85	46
96	66		77	80		48	7		91	
97			78?						93?	
98	68	50	79	82		47	9	30	90	49
99										
100	70	106	81	85		51	19		102	33
101										73
102										
103				36						
104										
105		78							58	
106										
107										
108		83							78	
109		99			8		17		11?	9?
110										
111										
112		74	48	42					44	
113	69	33	80	83		33?			39	
114										

* * * * * * *

From a comparison of these lists one can provisionally conclude that some thirty works found in the Derge edition were later additions to Sa-paṇ's oeuvre. This does not mean that they all need be counted as suspect. Some, being highly esoteric, were probably considered inappropriate for inclusion in his bka' bum as first compiled.[10] They may have been preserved separately as individual works or as parts of other collections such as in be'u 'bums, large compilations of sādhanas, or among the Lam 'bras literature. It will have to remain for future research to try to trace the provenance of each. For the present it is enough to note these Tantric works as late additions. For the non-Tantric works, however, the failure to be listed in the earlier sources is prima-facie evidence of doubtful authenticity.

The following were later additions:

(TB no. 3) Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa. This is listed in the gsan yig of Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, and it is also mentioned by Rin-spungs-pa and A-mes-zhabs. But it is spurious, as I have discussed elsewhere.[11]

(TB no. 11) Rnam par gcad bya ji ltar sbyor tshul

(TB no. 12) Sngags kyi klog thabs 'bras bu 'byung ba'i me tog. The first and only listing of these is in the two lists of Zhu-chen. They must be considered doubtful.

(TB no. 32) Rtogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan. This seems to have been one of the three works ascribed to Sa-paṇ's disciple Bi-ji that were acquired from Khams in the time of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).[12]

(TB no. 33) Rnel phu ba'i zhus lan.

(TB no. 39) Sho dgon pa 'gro mgon rin chen la spring ba

(TB no. 40) Sho dgon gyi dge 'dun la spring ba

These three, and especially the last two, are probably spurious.[13] They make their first and only definite appearance in Zhu-chen's lists (1736).

(TB no. 47) Grub chen bcu

(TB no. 48) Phra mo brgyad

This pair was a late addition from the Lam 'bras. The first was included in the Pod dmar chung compiled by Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug, and it also is listed by A-mes-zhabs. Neither appear in the earlier gsan yigs.

(TB no. 54) Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi dkar chag. As will be explained below, this seems to be a dubious work that Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po rejected. It was probably extracted from a Lam 'bras volume.

(TB no. 57) Kag chol gyi rjes gnang
(TB no. 58) Ba ri ba'i gdams pa thun mong ma yin pa
(TB no. 59) Man ngag bsdus pa
This group of three minor Tantric works seems to be found only in the Derge index and Zhu-chen's gsan yig, and not in the other lists.

(TB no. 61) Rigs drug mtshan don dang ye shes bsre ba.
Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal and Rin-spungs-pa are the only other references to this work. It may be considered suspect.

(TB no. 62) Rigs kyi rab dbye'i bshad sbyar. This purports to be Sa-paṇ's completion of a work left slightly unfinished by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. It warrants a careful investigation, even though it appears in several lists.

(TB no. 63) Sgra sgrub dum bu dgu pa. This too should be examined carefully, even though it is listed by Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub and (by a different title) in the old manuscript index.

(TB no. 76) Gangs can gyi sgom chen la gdams pa
(TB no. 77) Bu slob rnams la spring ba
Of this pair, the first appears in the gsan yigs of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub and the Fifth Dalai Lama. The second is listed by both Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal and Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. They do not, however, appear elsewhere. Both deserve to be reexamined with this in mind.

(TB no. 83) Dod mo ri pa'i gtsug lag khang du bsngags pa.
This does not appear anywhere outside of Zhu-chen's lists and is therefore to be doubted.

(TB no. 89) Sdud pa sogs sher mdo 'don thabs
(TB no. 90) Phung po gsum pa'i mdo 'don thabs
These are apparently late additions. They are, however, perhaps genuine since the Fifth Dalai Lama records a separate lung lineage for them.

(TB no. 97) Ston pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan

(TB no. 99) Rnal 'byor pa phru ma'i dris lan

These two works ascribed to Bi-ji (like no. 32 above) appeared from Khams in the second half of the 15th century.[14]

(TB no. 101) Bde mchog lhan skyes kyi byin rlabs

(TB no. 102) Rlung gi rten 'brel brtag pa

The first of these is mentioned by A-mes-zhabs, but it does not appear in the earlier gsan yigs. The second is otherwise unknown, though the similar title Lus kyi rten 'brel appears as no. 6 in the old manuscript index.

(TB no. 103) Mnal lam gyi tshigs bcad

This single verse is also found in the Gsung sgros ma biography of Sa-paṇ attributed to Ngor-chen (Lam 'bras, vol. ka, p. 61b.2).

(TB no. 105) Khro bo sme brtsegs kyi sgrub thabs

This is listed by Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal and Rin-spungs-pa.[15]

(TB no. 106) Lus kyi zag pa sbyin pa gtang ba'i gzungs

(TB no. 107) Rang gis rang la gros 'debs pa.

(TB no. 108) Dug bcos.

The first two are listed only by Zhu-chen. The second should be considered apocryphal because its colophon is anachronistic, as discussed above.[16] The third title appears in the lists of the Gong-dkar-ba and Rin-spungs-pa.

(TB no. 109) Bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan

Though this work is listed by Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal and is extant in the Sa-skya and Glo-bo manuscripts, its authenticity is to be carefully examined because it is a grammatical, not a poetical, work. As mentioned above, one of Sa-paṇ's lost works was a poetical treatise with this title.

(TB no. 110) Legs bshad 'phrul gyi dra ba

This is found only in the Derge edition, and Zhu-chen himself marked it as "doubtful" (the tshom can).[17] It is most certainly not genuine, as will be explained below in more detail.

(TB no. 114) Bshes pa'i spring yig gi bsdus don

This was a final addition to the Derge edition. It was appended sometime after the completion of the index. It is otherwise unknown, and must therefore be counted as probably apocryphal.[18]

Finally one should note that TB nos. 23 and 111 too were additions since they were not by Sa-paṇ. The first, the Bde mchog lo hi pa'i 'bru 'bum by the 12th-century master Gnyan Phug-chung-ba, was added to an early manuscript set of Sa-paṇ's works (or of the Sa skya bka' 'bum) to fill out a small volume, and the Derge editors retained it for the same purpose. The second is the work Dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa, a biography of Sa-paṇ by his student Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal. It is not uncommon to find a biography of a Tibetan master added to his collected writings, and in this case we can be grateful to the Derge editors for preserving in this way an otherwise rare work.

Unidentified and Extra Titles in the Lists

One cannot definitely link all the titles in the above lists with works included in the Derge edition. Some can be identified as known lost works, some as apocryphal writings, and some as extant works which for some reason were not included in that edition. A number of other titles simply cannot be traced. For the sake of future ease of reference I will list the various extra works here.

Ngor-chen's Gsan yig

From Ngor-chen's Thob yig there were only two which could not be positively identified:

(25) Rtogs ldan gcig gis dris pa'i lan

(67) Yang dris lan mdor bsdus pa gcig

Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's Gsan yig

Quite a few works listed in the Gong-dkar gsan yig could not be positively identified within the Derge edition of Sa-paṇ's bka' 'bum. These are:

(9) Khyad par 'phags bstod pa rgya cher 'grel pa'i kha skong (5 ff.)

(13) Sangs rgyas la bstod pa tshig gi phreng ba (2 ff.)

(19) 'Jam dbyangs a ra pa tsa na lha lnga'i mngon par rtogs pa (3 ff.)

(21) Mtshan brjod 'don thabs (3 ff.)

(25) and (26) are possibly one and the same work.

(27) Chos gsung tshul (3 ff.)

(34) It is interesting to note that a basic text (rtsa ba) of the Sdom gsum rab dbye consisting of two folios is recorded to have existed separately from the full version.

(41) Grwa pa rnams la spring yig (2 ff.)

(42) Rtse mdo'i dge 'dun [la spring ba]

(48) Thos bsam sgom gsum gyi dris lan (3 ff.)

(51) Rtogs ldan gyi dris lan, here linked to "Snye-mo sgom-chen" in a mchan bu.

It identifies by means of the marker ka twelve works as belonging purely to the Lam 'bras: nos. 6, 7, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, and 67. He states that there is therefore no lung transmission for them. Of these, the following seven are not found in the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum:

(56) Rdo rje'i lus kyi 'khrul 'khor

(58) Brda don gsal ba (2 ff.)

(59) Tho yig rin chen sgron me (4 ff.)

(60) Khrid kyi lung sbyor (4 ff.)

(61) Lho pa'i zin bris (2 ff.)

(62) Yang zin bris gcig (5 ff.)

(67) 'Khor bzhi'i rgya'i yi ge (1 f.)

Other unaccounted-for works are:

(63) Phyag rgya chen po'i dbye ba (2 ff.)

(66) Dpal sa skya pa'i gces pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa (31 ff.) This and the following work were quite substantial.

(75) Tshul bzhi'i bsdus don snying po (18 ff.)

(78) 'Dod rgyal gyi rjes gnang (3 ff.)

(84) Thod pa brtag thabs (2 ff.). This title was added in a mchan bu.

(90) Chos spyod bcu pa

(92) Rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum gyi nyams len. This and the preceding were quite short.

Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub's Gsan yig

According to Zhu-chen, five works from Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub's gsan yig had not been located by 1736. As listed in the Derge index, these were:[19]

(1) Brtag gnyis kyi sa bcad sna bsring ba

(2) Thub pa'i bstod pa lhug pa

(3) Gur ston zhus lan

(4) Bka' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan mdor bsdus

(5) Yan lag bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba

Sometime after 1736, however, the first and fifth were located and appended to the end of the bka' 'bum (TB nos. 112 and 113). Thus as it now stands only the middle three remain unidentified.

Actually, from the gsan yig as I copied it, only one work could not be identified, namely (56) Thub pa'i bstod pa lhug pa. Moreover, Zhu-chen erroneously affixed the number 9 to the following works, which were not listed in the gsan yig as accessible to me: TB nos. 23, 33, 42, 43, 49, 78, 89, 90, 93, 99, 104, 108, and 109.

The Fifth Dalai Lama's Gsan yig

The following five works listed in the Fifth Dalai Lama's gsan yig could not be located in the Derge edition:[20]

(2) Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po. This title is given in a note (mchan bu), which also specifies that no lung existed for this work. It is a medical work now presumed lost.

(14) Khyad par 'phags bstod kyi rgya cher bshad pa. This title too is given with a mchan bu, and no lung is said to exist. [See below, ch. 9, note 22.]

(34) Brda don gsal ba rtsa 'grel

(35) Phyag rgya chen po rab tu dbye ba

This pair, together with a third work, are said to be listed in the indexes (dkar chag) to collected works, but not in the gsan yigs.

(38) Sa bdun pa yan chad 'khor bzhi rgya zhes pa'i dgongs pa ston pa.

The compiler of this list seems to have been comparing earlier gsan yigs with an actual manuscript or its index. He attempts to identify his nos. 9a Yi ge'i sbyor ba and 9b Sgra nye bar bsdus pa as one. At no. 26a he adds the note that the work Rtogs ldan zhig gi dris lan is listed in the gsan yig but is not found in the index, and he makes the same observation about his nos. 33-35. Concerning no. 45, Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i cho ga rtsod spong ma, he notes that some manuscripts state that Sa-paṇ composed it in Ling-chu-rtse, while others do not. At no. 58a there is a note stating that according to the gsan yigs there is a work Bstod pa lhug [pa], but that in fact it cannot be found. Four works, nos. 73-76, are said not to be listed in the gsan yigs, but he nevertheless succeeded in tracing lung lineages for them from elsewhere. These are:

(73) Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi man ngag

(74) 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa 'don thabs

(75) 'Phags pa sdud pa sogs shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa gdon pa'i man ngag

(76) Phung po gsum pa gdon pa'i man ngag

Finally, on no. 81 Bka' gdams do skor ba'i dris lan, he says that the gsan yigs do not refer to it clearly except as "a brief reply to a question" (dri lan bsdus pa).

The Old Manuscript Index

From the index of the old manuscript (dkar), these five titles remain unidentified:

(6) Lus kyi rten 'brel
(11) Lha mo bco lnga'i bstod pa
(22) 'Jam pa'i rdo rje la bstod pa
(33) Gus pas gsol ba 'debs pa'i ngor sbyar ba
(49) Jog po pa'i zhus lan (Cf. A-mes-zhabs no. 48)

No. 33 is of course only a "ghost" title (cf. the ending of TB no. 113). No. 11 is perhaps to be connected with no. 12 of the same source and TB no. 65.

The Glo-bo Manuscript

Among the twenty works surviving in the Glo-bo manuscript (G), the following two short works were not included in the Derge edition:

(14) Chos spyod bcu pa
(16) Yum rgyas 'bring sdus gsum gyi don

The List from Rin-spungs-pa's Biography of Sa-paṇ

From the list provided by Rin-spungs-pa, so far some thirty-one have not been identified within the Derge edition:

(1) Bzo rig bstan bcos [lost]
(2) Rtsis kyi gtsug lag gi bstan bcos
(3) Yan lag brgyad pa'i bsdus don [lost?]
(5) Sgra shes rab 'jug pa [=the lost Shes rab 'phro ba? Or is it a mistake for the extant treatise Sgra la 'jug pa (TB no. 7)?]
(11) Snyan ngag mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
(22) Bde mchog lha lnga sgrub pa'i thabs
(26) Bde bar gshegs pa la bstod tshig
(31) 'Jam pa'i dbyangs gtso 'khor lnga la mchod par brjod pa'i bstod pa
(33) 'Jam dpal lha lnga'i bskyed rim mngon rtogs
(36) Rgyal po lo paṇ rnams la bstod pa (cf. no. 98; TB no. 75)

(38) Phyag rgya chen por dbye ba
(42a) Rdo rje lus kyi 'khrul 'khor dang (42b) Brda don gsal
(48) Gsung ngag zin par bris yig mdor bstan
(49) Khrid kyi lung sbyor
(53) Tshul gzhi'i bsdus pa'i don
(56) Thod pa brtag pa'i thabs
(57) Rgyud sde spyi yi man ngag gces pa bsdus pa
(59) Rdo rje rnam 'joms bir lugs kyi mngon par rtogs pa
(69) Gzhan las khyad par du 'phags par bstod pa'i rgya cher rol pa'i kha skong
(70) Sher phyin rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum nyams su len thabs
(71) Chos spyod bcu pa
(73) Dam pa'i chos la 'jug tshul go bder sbyar
(83) 'Bri khung 'jig rten gyi mgon po la spring yig
(84) Spyan snga grags 'byung bar bstod pa spring yig bcas pa
(87) Gur ston gyi dris lan
(96) Bsam yas kyi gtsug lag khang la bsngags pa
(98) Chos gsungs pa'i tshul
(100) Skyes bu'i rnam 'byed gzhon nu'i mgul rgyan
(101) Legs bshad nyi ma'i snying po

The List from A-mes-zhabs's Biography of Sa-paṇ

The following seventeen titles were listed by A-mes-zhabs but are now either lost or not identifiable among the works in the Derge edition:

(1) Shes rab 'phro ba [lost]
(13) Rab dga'i 'jug pa [lost]
(15) Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos [lost]
(16) Sa brtag pa'i rab 'byed [lost]
(17) Yan lag brgyad pa'i bsdus don [lost?]
(18) Sangs rgyas kyi bstod pa (cf. TB no. 71)
(19) Thub pa'i bstod pa
(22) Bsam yas lhun gyis grub pa'i gnas chen la bstod pa
(24) Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed [lost]
(29) Chos nyams su blang ba'i rim pa
(30) Chos spyod bcu pa
(44) Shing kun na bzhugs pa'i dge 'dun rnams la spring yig
(48) 'Od 'jo ba'i dge bshes la spring yig
(55) Gza' yum gyi sgrub thabs

(75) Sam pu ṭa la mchan
(76) Rdo rje rnam 'jom gyi rgyud la mchan
(77) Sdom gsum rab dbye la mchan

Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen's Gsan yig

The gsan yig of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (vol. 2, pp. 421.2-432.6 [kha 211a-216b]) is very similar to his index to the Sa skya bka' 'bum, and therefore it has not been listed separately. The few special comments or minor differences that do exist occur mainly near the end of the list:

(TB 54) Lam 'bras khrid kyi dkar chag. Zhu-chen noted (p. 428.1 = 213b.6) that since this work is not found in the volumes of his collected works and is not listed in the gsan yigs, one must investigate whether there is a lung for it or not.

Thub pa'i bstod pa tshig lhug pa. This work is listed between TB 70 and 71 (p. 428.2 = 214b.2). But Zhu-chen noted that though it is listed in the gsan yigs, he did not receive its lung because the work was not actually located.

(TB 77) Bu slob rnams la spring ba. Regarding this work he notes (p. 429.1 = 215a.1) that in the Gsan yig dbang gi rgyal po (of Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs) there is a [second?] work listed as Bod yul la bsngags pa, which he supposed was a defective spelling for this work since there is nothing else it could be besides this. [What about TB no. 69, Bod yul la bsngags pa?] He also noted that the title actually appearing on the work is Bod 'bangs spyi la gdams pa. Zhu-chen made the same comment in his Sa skya bka' 'bum index, p. 329.4.2 (= ba 449b.2).

(TB 81) Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul [or: tshal?] la bstod pa. Zhu-chen noted (p. 429.4 = 215a.4) that this is the Pa gor zhes bya ba'i sgra las bstod pa (of the gsan yigs).

Gur ston zhus lan. This work is listed between TB nos. 97 and 98. Zhu-chen commented (p. 431.1 = 216a.1) that it was listed in the gsan yigs but not located. In an annotation (mchan bu), he also says that he did not get the lung for that and for the Bka' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan. [But the latter was listed separately above as TB 96!]

(TB 101) Bde mchog lhan skyes kyi byin rlabs ras pa shes rab 'od kyi don du mdzad pa and (TB 102) Rlung gi rten 'brel. Zhu-chen noted (p. 431.6 = 216a.6) that no lung existed for this pair because they are not listed in the gsan yigs.

(TB 110) Legs bshad 'phrul gyi dra ba. Before this work, Zhu-chen (p. 432.3 = 216b.3) listed the work Legs par bshad pa gzhon nu'i mgul rgyan. In a note he stated that the latter was held by Rin-spungs-pa to be Sa-paṇ's work. Regarding the Legs bshad 'phrul gyi dra ba, he said there is a basis for doubting its authenticity. Because neither appear in the gsan yigs, both are said to lack lung lineages.

(TB 112) Rje btsun rin po ches mdzad pa'i kye rdo rje'i rgyud brtag gnyis kyi sa bcad sna bsring ba. He did not receive a lung for it because the text was not found.

(TB 111) Sa-paṇ's Rnam thar by Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal and (TB 114) the Bshes spring bsdus don. Both are missing from Zhu-chen's gsan yig.

Lam 'bras Works

In the list of Sa-paṇ's writings from Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's gsan yig, some twelve works were indicated as belonging to the Lam 'bras, of which seven are not found in the Derge edition of his bka' 'bum. In addition, one should note that there are twelve works ascribed to Sa-paṇ in the Lam 'bras gzhung bshad pod dmar ma compiled by Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).[21] Of these, eight are found in his collected works (Derge edition), but the following four have not yet been identified there:

(Pod dmar 29) Brda don gsal ba
(Pod dmar 34) Phyag rgya chen po'i dbye ba
(Pod dmar 35) 'Khor bzhi brgya'i bshad pa
(Pod dmar 51) Rnam 'joms kyi gzhung la sa skya paṇḍitas mchan bu mdzad pa

The gsan yig of the Fifth Dalai lists as many as twenty Lam 'bras works attributed to Sa-paṇ. (For the full list, see below, Appendix H.) Thus several of the "extra" works in the lists of Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal, Rin-spungs-pa and A-mes-zhabs are extant, though outside Sa-paṇ's readily available bka' 'bum:

(GK 58) = (RP 42b) = (Pod dmar 29)? = (DL 34) Brda don gsal

(GK 63) = (RP 38) = (Pod dmar 34) = (DL 35) Phyag rgya chen po'i dbye ba
(GK 67) = (Pod dmar 35) 'Khor bzhi rgya'i bshad pa
(GK 92) = (RP 70) = (G 16)? Yum rgyas 'bring sdus gsum gyi don
(QK 90) = (RP 71) = (G 14) = (AMZh 30) Chos spyod bcu pa
(AMZh 76) = (Pod dmar 51) Rnam 'joms kyi rgyud la mchan

These results, however, are only tentative because of the brief and cursory nature of this survey. A definitive and detailed picture of the full extent of Sa-paṇ's genuine oeuvre will emerge only after each title and work has been carefully compared and investigated.

Works Criticized or Doubted by Previous Sa-skya-pa Scholars

Although some doubtful works seem to have been accepted without question, some others were pounced upon and rejected by the more critically minded scholars within the tradition. Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1389-1456), for instance, criticized for doctrinal reasons a minor work on the Lam 'bras attributed to Sa-paṇ: the "Dkar chag tu byed pa," which would seem to be TB no. 54, Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi dkar chag. However, Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (fl. mid-15th c.) of the Rdzong-pa lineage defended this work and included it among the Lam 'bras texts he used. The authenticity of this work was later investigated by Glo-bo mkhan-chen (who found it among the oldest available manuscripts),[22] and this controversy was also mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama.[23]

Another work that some later authorities rejected was the Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa (TB no. 3). Ngag-dbang-chos-grags found it unacceptable for several reasons, and one must agree that he was right.[24] Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen inexplicably included it in the Derge edition, but in his index he cast doubt on the work entitled Legs bshad 'phrul gyi dra ba (TB no. 110).[25] In his gsan yig he also mentioned the Legs bshad gzhon nu'i mgul rgyan--a work which Rin-spungs-pa seems to have accepted (RP 100)--as being doubtful.[26] Zhu-chen was no doubt correct in singling out the Legs bshad 'phrul gyi dra ba as dubious, for it is more or less the same as the Bod kyi chos rgyal chen po srong btsan sgam po'i blon chen drung gi phyi rabs kyi gang zag rnams la phan phyir lugs gnyis la gdams pa'i bslab bya bstan bcos nyi ma'i 'od zer which survives as a manuscript in the Tōyō Bunko.[27] In addition, Zhu-chen called into doubt the Sgrub pa lung 'bogs pa (TB no. 43) because it has no author's colophon [!].[28]

Finally, I should mention three likely forgeries that have surfaced recently. The first is a work entitled Chos rje sa skya paṇḍitas mdzad pa'i chos 'byung chen mo preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna (provisional catalogue no. 1477). It is an incomplete manuscript that originally consisted of forty folios, ten of which are now missing. It includes a biography of the Buddha Śākyamuni and an exposition of the correct method for learning the Buddhist teachings.[29] The second is a religious didactic work entitled Snyin [sic] ngag rang gzhung padma dkar po'i phreng ba. Though not on poetics as its title would seem to indicate, it was published together with a number of works on the literary arts preserved in Ladakh.[30] The third suspect text is entitled Rtse bdun ma and it consists of seven admonitory verses. It has been published at the end of a Chos 'khor gyi rnam gzhag by A-mes-zhabs and Chos-rnam-rgyal.[31] As the cataloging of Tibetan books proceeds, even more works ascribed to Sa-paṇ are sure to be found. Alas, how few will be genuine!

NOTES

[1]Cf. the works listed in Lho-pa, pp. 55b.5-56a.5, which are now missing:

(1) Shes rab 'phro ba ("phal che ba la mkho ba")

(2) Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed

(3) Snyan ngag gi bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan

(4) Zlos gar gyi bstan bcos Rab dga' la 'jug pa

(5) Sku gzugs gyi bstan bcos

(6) Sa brtag pa'i rab tu byed pa

For the full list of works cited or quoted by Lho-pa, see below, Appendix G.

[2]According to Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Paṇḍi ta, p. 76, Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) expounded some eleven works of Sa-paṇ in Sa-skya at the age of twenty-eight. These included the Snyan ngag mkhas pa'i kha rgyan (no. 9):

(1) Sdom gsum rab dbye

(2) Tshad ma rigs gter

(3) Thub pa'i dgongs gsal

(4) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo

(5) Sgra nyer mkho bsdus pa

(6) Gso ba rig pa'i bstan bcos

(7) Sdeb sbyor me tog gi chun po

(8) Mngon brjod tshig gter

(9) Snyan ngag mkhas pa'i kha rgyan

(10) Zlos gar rab dga'i 'jug pa

(11) Legs bshad rin po che'i gter

[3]As mentioned in the previous note, Shākya-mchog-ldan expounded a treatise on medicine (gso ba rig pa'i bstan bcos) by Sa-paṇ. The only treatise on a medical topic available in the Derge edition is TB no. 108, Dug bcos. In Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 2, p. 126.2 (kha 63b.2) there is listed a Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po attributed to Sa-paṇ for which, however, there was no lung. There is some indication that this (possibly apocryphal) work may be still extant--a similar title attributed to Sa-paṇ is listed in the bibliography of a recent dictionary of Tibetan medicine. See Dbang-'dus, Bod gangs can, p. 714: Brgyad pa'i snying po bsdus pa warṇa'i phreng ba. However, I was informed by one of the scholars at the Lha-sa Sman-rtsis-khang that this work was not actually available, but was probably only listed as a bibliographical item.

[4]RTRG, p. 172.2.1; KhJ, p. 107.2.2; ThGS, p. 24.4.2; and Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 149.2.5.

[5]Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 149.4.4: snyan ngag gi gtsug lag ltar bshad shes pa dang/ 'di dag 'chad pa'i bstan bcos kyang/ kho bos byas pa'i mkhas pa'i kha rgyan zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos der blta bar bya'o//

[6]P. 117.4.1.

[7]P. 115.4.6.

[8]Lho-pa, pp. 56a.3. See also no. 10 from among the works expounded by Shākya-mchog-ldan as listed above, note 2.

[9]Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 2, p. 117.3 (kha 59a.3). See also ibid., vol. 2, p. 130.2 (kha 65b.2) where he specifies a different title in the tradition of Gong-dkar-ba (gong dkar ba lugs la).

[10]According to [Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 319.2.2, many Tantric works of the first three founders were excluded from their bka' 'bums, but there is no mention of similar exclusions from the oeuvres of Sa-paṇ and 'Phags-pa.

[11]See D. Jackson (1985); above, chapter 2, no. (7); and L. van der Kuijp (1985a). Here I should add that Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, who identified it as a forgery, earlier had considered it to be genuine. See his Tshad ma rigs pa'i, p. 63.3 (32a.3). He wrote this work in 1611 (lcags mo phag).

[12]KhJNSh, pp. 30a.4-34a.4, 39a.4-43a.6. See also chapter 9, note 29.

[13]They were probably written by someone from Sho-dgon-pa with the aim of glorifying that monastery.

[14]See above, note 12.

[15]This seems to be a genuine work that circulated independently from his bka' 'bum for nearly five centuries before being included in the Derge edition. For references to Sa-paṇ's connection with this practice, see G. Tucci (1932-41), vol. IV, part 2, p. 11, and Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 1, p. 180.5.

[16]See above, p. 61, and below, chapter 5, note 59.

[17][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 330.3.2 (ba 451a.2).

[18]See below, chapter 6, note 4.

[19][Zhu -chen], Dpal sa, p. 330.3.3 (ba 451a.3).

[20]Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 2 pp. 126.2-130.6 (kha 63b-65b).

[21]Lam 'bras gzhung bshad pod dmar ma (Dolanji, 1974).

[22]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Rab 'byams blo gros, vol. cha, pp., 199b-200a. See also above, chapter 3, notes 19 and 20.

[23]Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 1, p. 457.

[24]See above, note 11.

[25][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 330.3.2 (ba 451a.2)

[26]Zhu-chen, Dpal ldan bla ma, vol. 2, p. 432.4.

[27]I owe this information to Mr. Tashi Tsering.

[28][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 329.1.3 (ba 448a.3): 'di la mdzad byang med pas sa pan yin min brtag.

[29]One might have been tempted to link it with Gong-dkar-ba no. 27 and Rin-spungs-pa no. 98, Chos gsungs pa'i tshul, but Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's gsan yig specifies that the latter consisted of only 3 folios.

[30]The Literary Arts in Ladakh (Darjeeling: 1972), vol. 1, pp. 1-39 (1a-20b). This versified sermon with prose autocommentary has the alternative title: Dam pa'i chos la bskul ba'i gtam padma dkar po'i phreng ba, as found in the colophon (p. 39.1 [20a.1]). A better reading of the first word of its title would be snying ngag instead of snyan ngag.

[31]See A-mes-zhabs, Chos 'khor, pp. 36.7-37.6 (18b.7-19a.6).

Chapter 5

SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA'S CAREER AS A SCHOLAR OF PRAMĀṆA: STUDIES AND TRANSLATIONS

For modern Tibetan scholasticism, the study of Indian Pramāṇa is more or less synonymous with the study of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika (PV). But this was not always so. Before the advent of Sa-paṇ (and in some Tibetan schools, even as late as the 14th century), the fundamental Indian Pramāṇa text most commonly studied in Tibetan seminaries was the Pramāṇaviniścaya (PVin) of Dharmakīrti, a much shorter and simpler work than the PV.[1] The most frequently used Tibetan manuals were the Summaries (Bsdus pa) of Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge and his school. Sa-paṇ, however, saw that these works gave an incomplete (and in the case of the Tibetan manuals, a distorted) picture of Dharmakīrti's thought. Therefore he made it one of his main goals to master the vast and subtle PV and to restore it to its rightful place of pre-eminence in Pramāṇa studies.

Studies with Rkyang-'dur-ba Mtshur Gzhon-nu-seng-ge

Sa-paṇ's mastery of Indian Buddhist logic and epistemology was the result of long and arduous studies that began in about 1201, when he was some nineteen years of age.[2] To study Pramāṇa, he had to leave Sa-skya because this was one subject that his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was not qualified to teach. (In 1158 when his other uncle Bsod-nams-rtse-mo had gone off to study at the great seminary of Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog in Central Tibet, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan--then just a boy of some eleven years--had been obliged to stay behind in Sa-skya, and thus his training as a dialectician had been minimal.)[3]

According to some sources, Sa-paṇ first left Sa-skya in 1200 at the age of eighteen to study under the great scholar Zhu-ston Rdo-rje-skyabs at 'Phrang in the upper Nyang valley.[4] But Pramāṇa was not one of the main subjects he studied then.[5] Instead, to get his first real instruction in this subject, Sa-paṇ left Zhu-ston and joined the classes of Mtshur Gzhon-nu-seng-ge. The latter resided and taught at the temple of Rkyang-'dur, which was also in the upper Nyang valley. At this time Sa-paṇ was nineteen years of age and not a monk. He was a young nobleman (jo sras) with only the vows of a lay adherent (upāsaka: dge bsnyen).

According to Sa-paṇ's student and biographer Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal, the texts on Pramāṇa he studied at this time were the PVin of Dharmakīrti and the Tarkamudgara of Jayānanda.[6] But another student and biographer, Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, asserts that his study of the PVin was accompanied by a text called Gzhal bya shes rab sgron ma'i phreng ba, and Jayānanda's text was accompanied by a quintessential elucidation (stong thun).[7] The much later scholar Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) asserts that Mtshur-ston also taught Sa-paṇ one of the Tibetan Summaries (bsdus pa).[8]

Mtshur-ston (like the previous teacher, Zhu-ston) had been trained by Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge at Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog.[9] In the end, however, Mtshur's most influential teacher would seem to have been Phywa-pa's student Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus-seng-ge and the latter's chief disciple.[10] It was natural that Sa-paṇ was sent to study under masters belonging to the general tradition of Rngog and Phywa-pa. Sa-paṇ's uncle Bsod-nams-rtse-mo had studied about eleven years at Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog under Phywa-pa himself, and the seminary of Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog was still one of the foremost centers of dialectical and scriptural studies in Tibet.[11]

Sa-paṇ's studies with Rkyang-'dur-ba continued for about two years (ca. 1201-1203).[12] An undoubtedly brilliant student, Sa-paṇ soon requested his teacher for a chance formally to expound the PVin and thus make his official debut as a scholastic teacher by giving his first scriptural exposition (bshad gsar) before a learned audience. But Mtshur is said to have postponed this first exposition and urged him to study more. In 1203 Sa-paṇ's studies were interrupted by the news of his father's illness. Sa-paṇ hurried home to Sa-skya, but by the time he reached there his father, Dpal-chen-'od-po, had already passed away. Thus Sa-paṇ became further delayed because he had to participate in the "funeral" rites. At that time he is said to have sent Mtshur-ston a letter requesting him to suspend the lectures for a short while. This was important to Sa-paṇ because he hoped that year finally to give his first formal exposition. Mtshur-ston was amenable to the request, but his other students--who were probably jealous of the rich and brilliant young nobleman--resented this as an undue show of favoritism. They threatened revolt, telling Mtshur, "If the young Sa-skya nobleman is enough for you, we are going to disperse. But if you need us too, give us doctrinal instruction!" At that Mtshur decided to carry on teaching.

Sa-paṇ finally rejoined the group during the summer break between lectures (dbyar chos bar), and it was then that he gave his first exposition. From Sa-skya he had brought many items for hosting the necessary ceremonies and formal offerings that would accompany his teachings. His preparatory studies had not been very extensive: under Mtshur he had covered the second half of the PVin four times

and the first half only twice.[13] His comprehension and memory, however, were excellent. To begin with he offered [to Mtshur-ston?] [copies of the Prajñāpāramitā] scriptures in their extensive, middling and brief forms. Mtshur then asked him to give his exposition by repeating the basic work from the beginning.[14] Sa-paṇ did not comply exactly. Instead, he began to teach two sessions per day, one starting from the beginning of the text and the other as an exposition of the general sense of the work. Proceeding in this way, he taught the whole PVin from memory in the course of one month. All the monastic students present were amazed.[15]

Sa-paṇ also studied many other philosophical treatises with Mtshur and revered him, offering him much gold near the end of his studies under him. Eventually, however, Sa-paṇ came to reject many of the Pramāṇa interpretations of Phywa-pa and Gtsang-nag-pa's schools. According to some sources, Sa-paṇ had already begun to doubt certain of the Tibetan interpretations and interpolations even at the time of his studies with Mtshur.[16] If that is true, these doubts were not confirmed until a little later when he gained direct access to the Pramāṇa traditions of India.

Studies with Śākyaśrībhadra and His Disciples

The teachers who influenced Sa-paṇ's understanding of Pramāṇa most were four paṇḍitas who arrived in Tibet from India in 1204. Of these, the chief was Śākyaśrībhadra (1127?-1225), a venerable abbot born in Kashmir who had achieved an illustrious career as teacher and monastic leader in the great Buddhist seminaries of Bihar and Bengal. Śākyaśrī travelled to Tibet accompanied by a retinue of nine junior paṇḍitas (paṇ chung). This was one of the largest delegations of Indian Buddhist scholars known to have visited Tibet, and their visit had no doubt been encouraged in part by the recent vandalic destruction of their home seminaries.

Sa-paṇ first met Śākyaśrī at Gtsang Chu-mig in the first half of 1204. At that time Sa-paṇ was a twenty-two-year-old lay adherent, and he was returning to Rkyang-'dur from Sa-skya to continue his studies with Mtshur Gzhon-nu-seng-ge.[17] According to one later account, Śākyaśrī had at that time already begun to teach the PVin with the commentary of Dharmottara to a group of students. Sa-paṇ joined the assembly and tried to follow along with his Tibetan texts while the great Kashmiri paṇḍita expounded from Sanskrit manuscripts. This is said to have to have provoked the laughter and ridicule of some of the great teacher's retinue. When Śākyaśrī asked what was causing their laughter, they said they were laughing

at the newcomer who had spread out the pages of his Tibetan books. Śākyaśrī then asked Sa-paṇ whether doing so was beneficial or not. Sa-paṇ replied, "Though it does not benefit others, it helps me."[18] Then, with his smattering of Sanskrit, he translated the sense of the Tibetan version back into Sanskrit.[19] Since it became evident that Sa-paṇ knew what Tibetan corresponded to the Sanskrit, Śākya-śrī then scolded his subordinates for their laughter.[20] With this meeting there began what were to be some of the deepest and most extensive studies of Indian Pramāṇa by any Tibetan of any period.

The authoritative source that describes in detail Sa-paṇ's further studies of Pramāṇa under the Indian paṇḍitas is the biography of Sa-paṇ written by his elderly disciple Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal (fl. c. 1165-c. 1240).[21] This work was composed after Sa-paṇ's debate with the Tīrthika Harinanda (c. 1240) but before his departure from Tibet in 1244.[22] At the time of writing, Lho-pa was apparently at a very advanced age.[23] Lho-pa may be considered a well-informed witness for he too was a disciple of Sa-paṇ's teachers such as Śākyaśrī and Spyi-bo-lhas-pa, and he had been present during many of the teachings that he records Sa-paṇ received. And as he states in the biography, Lho-pa also consulted Sa-paṇ for ascertaining some of his account.[24]

Studies under Sugataśrī

Of course, Sa-paṇ at first could not receive the full benefit of Śākyaśrī's teachings since the latter did not speak Tibetan and Sa-paṇ had not yet mastered Sanskrit or any Indian vernacular. The first priority of his studies, then, was to improve his Sanskrit. For this Sa-paṇ arranged to retain one of the junior paṇḍitas as his tutor, no doubt with the consent and support of his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. This tutor was Sugataśrī, a Buddhist paṇḍita from a Brahmin family of Atiwara in western India.[25] He was very learned in Madhyamaka and Prajñāpāramitā.[26] Sugataśrī was also strong in Sanskrit and the related literary arts; Lho-pa described him as a "great grammarian" (brda sprod pa chen po).[27] Since the main purpose of his tutoring Sa-paṇ was to give the latter a sound foundation in the main branches of Sanskrit studies, he taught him many basic works on grammar, poetics, prosody, kāvya, lexicography (synonymy), and so forth, teaching them directly from Sanskrit manuscripts. In addition, he taught Sa-paṇ three works on Indian logic. The first of these was Dharmakīrti's autocommentary on the first chapter of the PV. Sa-paṇ is said to have studied and then translated the 3,500 śloka units of text of this commentary. The second work was the Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta. This too he learned and translated. Finally, he

seems to have studied the Nyāya Sūtras.[28] His study of the latter work is particularly noteworthy because no other Tibetan scholar is recorded to have had a first-hand acquaintance with this fundamental text of the Nyāya school.

Sa-paṇ seems to have studied with Sugataśrī at Sa-skya over the course of some three years, presumably from c. 1205 to early 1208.[29] This stage in his studies came to an end in about 1208 for this is when Sakyaśrī returned to Gtsang from Dbus and met Sa-paṇ again.[30]

The prolonged studies with Sugataśrī were made possible only by the prestige and wealth of the Sa-skya-pas. It was a very expensive undertaking to invite an Indian paṇḍita (or for that matter, any great teacher) to one's home monastery, to provide for his needs for several years, and to pay tuition in the end through various generous gifts. It is recorded that before Sugataśrī left Sa-skya, Sa-paṇ made costly gifts to him of gold, silver, silks and brocades, and gratified him in many ways such as through the attendance of servants.[31]

Studies with Śākyaśrībhadra

Sa-paṇ was reunited with Śākyaśrī by the time the latter was visiting the temple of Rgyan-gong in Nyang-smad (the lower Nyang valley near Zhwa-lu) in the year 1208.[32] This was also the occasion when Sa-paṇ received full monastic ordination from Śākyaśrī. In the following years Śākyaśrī moved about to various parts of Gtsang. He spent the following summer rainy-season retreats at Rin-chen-sgang (in Shangs?)[33] (1209), Sa-skya (1210), Lu-gu-sdong in Zhang (1211), and Khro-phu (1212).[34] Sa-paṇ probably spent much of these years with Śākyaśrī, for he is recorded to have "stayed in his [i.e. Śākyaśrī's] presence for a long time and followed him."[35] The Pramāṇa texts that Śākyaśrī taught him are listed by Lho-pa as follows:[36]

(1) PV chapter III, following Manorathanandin
(2) PV, using the commentary of Devendrabuddhi with the Pramāṇasamuccaya and quotations from Buddhist Sūtras.
(3) Two chapters (i.e. II and IV?) of the PV Alaṃkāra commentary by Prajñākaragupta consisting of 18,000 śloka units of text.
(4) Two chapters of the PVin commentary by Dharmottara consisting of 12,000 śloka units of text.
(5) The Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti
(6) The Pūrvapakṣa[saṃkṣipti] of the Nyāyabindu, by Kamalaśīla.

(7) The Saṃtanāntarasiddhi of Dharmakīrti, with the commentary of Śaṃkaranandana

(8) Many small treatises by Jñānaśrī, such as:

(a) the "greater and lesser Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya" (skad cig ma che chung) [could the "lesser" one be the Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi of Ratnakīrti?]

(b) the Apohaprakaraṇa? (gzhan sel dpyad pa)

(c) the "Trikapañcikacintā" (lnga gsum brtag pa)[37]

(9) The Pramāṇasiddhi of Dharmottara

(10) The Ālambanaparīkṣā, mūla and commentary, by Dignāga

From among the above, number 8 is particularly noteworthy because most of the works of Jñānaśrīmitra were not afterwards translated into Tibetan.[38]

Studies with Saṃghaśrī

While studying under Śākyaśrī, Sa-paṇ also received instruction from one of Śākyaśrī's foremost disciples, the Newar paṇḍita Saṃghaśrī.[39] This scholar was famed for his great learning in the Cāndra tradition of Sanskrit grammar and the Abhidharmakośa.[40] However, he was also a master of Pramāṇa, and he taught the following works to Sa-paṇ:

(1) PV chapter I, with the explanations of Manorathanandin combined with the Pramāṇasamuccaya

(2) A commentary on chapter I of the PV, in 2,000 units of text [by Śaṃkaranandana?]. Sa-paṇ translated and corrected this.[41]

(3) The Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti, with the commentaries by both Śāntarakṣita and Śaṃkaranandana. These Sa-paṇ is said to have both studied and translated.[42]

(4) The Hetubindu with the commentary of Arcaṭa

In addition to the works listed above by Lho-pa, another of Sa-paṇ's disciples, Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, states that Saṃghaśrī also taught Sa-paṇ the "small commentary of Dharmottara" (tshad ma chos mchog chung ba)--which would be the latter's commentary on the Nyāyabindu--and also the Lag gi brda [?] of Jñānaśrī.[43]

During Sa-paṇ's advanced researches too he may have received the assistance of Saṃghaśrī. For example, when Sa-paṇ retranslated the PV he mainly worked with Śākyaśrī. But as his colophon to the new translation mentions, there were also others who helped, and Saṃghaśrī very likely was one of these:

At a later time [this text] was translated, edited and established by the scholar who is without any rival on the face of the earth, the great almsman (bsod snyoms pa chen po) Śākyaśrībhadra and others (la sogs pa), and the Śākya bhikṣu Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.[44]

Studies with Dānaśīla

Dānaśīla was a great dialectician (rtog ge ba chen po) from Varendra Jagaddala (the "Bharanta" of Lho-pa) in eastern India.[45] Among the nine lesser paṇḍitas in Śākyaśrī's party, he was the most famed as a master of Pramāṇa. In particular, he was said to have been an expert in the commentaries of Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta.[46] Sa-paṇ, however, did not study much under him. Lho-pa lists the following treatises that the two worked on:[47]

(1) Sambandhaparīkṣā
(2) Vādanyāya with commentary [of Śāntarakṣita?]
(3) A few passages from the PV
(4) Some of Jñānaśrī's treatises
(5) Jitāri's Bālāvatāra[tarka] and Sahālambananiyama[siddhi]

In addition, Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal mentions that Dānaśīla taught Sa-paṇ the Saṃtanāntarasiddhi with commentary of Śaṃkaranandana.[48]

These studies with Dānaśīla may have been the last of Sa-paṇ's investigations of Pramāṇa under an Indian paṇḍita for Lho-pa enumerated them at the very end of his list of teachings Sa-paṇ received. (They are listed even after the teachings received from such Tibetan masters as Brtsegs Dbang-phyug-seng-ge, Zhuston Rdo-rje-skyabs, and Spyi-bo-lhas-pa Byang-chub-'od.)

Studies with Brtsegs Dbang-phyug-seng-ge

Sa-paṇ's final studies of Pramāṇa under a Tibetan master were apparently with Brtsegs-ston Dbang-phyug-seng-ge. Lho-pa describes him as an upholder of the tradition of the writings of Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (phywa pa chos kyi seng ge'i gsung rab gyi sgros 'dzin pa), and actually refers to him by the name Phywa Dbang-phyug-seng-ge.[49] These studies with Brtsegs may have taken place after Sa-paṇ's last contact with Śākyaśrī and Saṃghaśrī (i.e. after c. 1213), since they are introduced with the works "even after that" (de nas yang).[50] However, this

chronology is by no means certain because Lho-pa lists all of Sa-paṇ's studies with Zhu-ston (which some sources say began when Sa-paṇ was eighteen, i.e. in 1200) after his studies with Brtsegs.[51] Sa-paṇ probably had a long relationship with Zhu-ston since the latter participated in the ceremony of Sa-paṇ's full ordination in 1208 and at some point visited Sa-skya and gave a few teachings to Sa-paṇ there.[52] But there is no indication that Sa-paṇ had such a long-term relation with Brtsegs.

No precise details are in fact known about which works Sa-paṇ was taught by Brtsegs. Lho-pa merely states that Sa-paṇ learned from him "Madhyamaka-Pramāṇa and the Dharmas of Maitreya" (dbu tshad dang byams chos).[53] The later Sa-skya-pa scholar Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) believed that Brtsegs was the most influential teacher in the formation of Sa-paṇ's opinions on Madhyamaka and siddhānta.[54] He also thought that Sa-paṇ studied the Summaries (of Phywa-pa or his successors) with him, and that the place of their studies was in the upper Nyang valley.[55]

During the time of his studies under Brtsegs, Sa-paṇ may have acted as a sort of teaching assistant. When mentioning these studies, Lho-pa states that Sa-paṇ studied these things to the point of mastery and then taught them to others (mkhas par sbyangs te gzhan la ston par byed pa).[56] Nowhere else does Lho-pa use such a phrase.

Sa-paṇ's Translations of Works on Pramāṇa

One of Sa-paṇ's lasting contributions to Pramāṇa studies in Tibet was his retranslation of the PV. The original translation was the work of the translator and monk Rma Dge-ba'i-blo-gros (fl. mid-11th c.) who worked on it with the Indian paṇḍita Subhūtiśrīśānti. This team also translated the commentary of Devendrabuddhi, and the same translator was also responsible for the rendering of Śākyamati's commentary.[57] After Dge-ba'i-blo-gros, the next translator to work on the PV was Rngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059-1109), who apparently revised the earlier version when translating the Pramāṇavārttikālaṃkāra with the Kashmiri paṇḍita Bhavyarāja (Skal-ldan-rgyal-po).[58] Sa-paṇ's own rendering was the last, and he did it mainly under the guidance of Śākyaśrībhadra. Perhaps much of their work was accomplished during the latter's stay at Sa-skya in 1210.[59] As mentioned above, however, Sa-paṇ also collaborated with other paṇḍitas, chief of whom was probably Saṃghaśrī.[60] This new translation was accepted by later generations as their standard text of the PV, and it is found in all printed editions of the Tanjur.[61]

It may one day be feasible to assess in detail the contributions of Sa-skya Paṇḍita and his teachers in this work by comparing their rendering with the versions of Rma and Rngog that are preserved in the commentaries which the latter two translated. One would expect that Sa-paṇ's most significant changes were made in chapter I, for this was the chapter he worked on most intensively with both Sugataśrī and Saṃghaśrī. Indeed, Sa-paṇ is said to have translated under their guidance two commentaries on the first chapter. With Sugataśrī he translated the first chapter with a commentary of 3,500 units of text (presumably this was Dharmakīrti's autocommentary).[62] Later with Saṃghaśrī he studied chapter I with the explanations of Manorathanandin combined with the PS, and also he both studied and translated chapter I with a commentary in 2,000 units of text (by Śaṃkara-nandana?).[63]

During his studies with those two paṇḍitas he translated two or three other Pramāṇa works. With Sugataśrī he is recorded to have translated the Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta.[64] That is the first recorded translation of this work. The translation that eventually made its way into the Tanjur, however, was done about a century later. It was the work of Dpang lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276-1342), who records in his colophon that he did it without the assistance of an Indian paṇḍita.[65]

The last Pramāṇa works that Sa-paṇ is said to have both studied and translated were the Vādanyāya and its two commentaries, one by Śāntarakṣita and one said to be by "the Brahmin," i.e. by Śaṃkaranandana. These he reportedly translated while studying with Saṃghaśrī. The Vādanyāya had already been translated in the mid-11th century by Rma Dge-ba'i-blo-gros with Jñānaśrībhadra, and it had been revised soon thereafter by Dar-ma-grags and Dīpaṃkara.[66] The commentary by Śānta-rakṣita, the full title of which is Vādanyāyavṛttiḥ vipañcitārthā, was already translated sometime in the late-11th century by Kumāraśrībhadra, 'Phags-pa-shes-rab, and 'Bro Seng-dkar Shākya-'od. Theirs is the version that was preserved in the later editions of the Tanjur.[67] Though there is no VN commentary by Śaṃkara-nandana either extant or known, a fragment of the commentary by Vinītadeva was translated into Tibetan and preserved in the Tanjur.[68] The name of the translator of this fragment, however, is not given.

NOTES

[1]The predominance of the PVin continued within Rngog's school and its branches through the 14th century. But by the late-14th or early-15th century it seems to have everywhere lost its place of preeminence to the PV.

[2]This age (i.e. his "twentieth year") is given by Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.6, and by [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa skya, p. 58a.5. Zhang, p. 437.4.4, states that his studies of the PVin (three times) and his teaching of it from memory took place in his nineteenth year, i.e. at age eighteen.

[3]A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam gling, pp. 68.6 and 76.1 (34b.6 and 38a.1). See also Khetsun Sangpo, vol. 10, p. 122.

[4]Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.5, seems to be the earliest source for these details. See also [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa skya, Lam 'bras, p. 58a.5, and Rin-spungs-pa, p. 92b.3.

[5]Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.5, states that he studied "the Pramāṇasamuccaya, etc." Rin-spungs-pa repeated this, while [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa skya, p. 58a.5, stated that Sa-paṇ studied at that time "a little Pramāṇa too" (tshad ma'ang bag tsam).

[6]Lho-pa, p. 48b.5.

[7]Zhang, p. 436.3.2: rtog ge tshad ma'i gzhung/ rnam par nges pa gzhal bya shes rab sgron ma'i phreng ba dang bcas pa/ rtog ge tho ba stong thun dang bcas pa/. I cannot identify the accompanying works. However, one of Mtshur's teachers, Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus, composed both a ṭīkā on the Tarkamudgara (MHTL 11326) and an Dbu ma stong thun (MHTL 11324). On the authorship of the Tarkamudgara, cf. Paul Williams (1985), p. 270, note 8.

[8]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 453.4: nyang stod du brtsegs dbang phyug seng ge dang/ rkyang dur ba gzhon nu seng ge la/ dbu tshad dang/ bsdus pa gsan/. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 39.1: rang lo bcu bdun pa tsam nas rnam nges bsdus pa dang bcas pa la gsan sbyong dpyis phyin par mdzad/. Shākya-mchog-ldan's dating of these studies is probably wrong.

[9]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 451.2.

[10]Lho-pa, p. 48b.5: dge ba'i bshes gnyen gtsang nag pa brtson 'grus seng ge zhes bya ba sras dang bcas pa'i sgros 'dzin pa rigs par smra ba chen po rkyang 'dur ba gzhon nu seng ge. The "chief disciple" (lit.: "son," sras) was perhaps Rma-bya-ba Byang-chub-brtson-'grus.

[11]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 453.2, relates that Sa-paṇ as a young noble layman actually visited Gsang-phu and expounded the PVin there. However, he is said not to have studied there because the main teacher at that time, Mnyal-zhig, was difficult to study under: mnyal zhig gi dus su/ sa skya paṇḍita jo sras gzhon nu mar gyur pas/ gsang phur byon nas rnam nges gsungs shing/ bshad gsar mdzad/ bla mar 'os pa zhig 'dug kyang bsten dka' ba zhig 'dug gsung/ mnyal zhig la ma gsan/. This account must be considered suspect since it is not supported by any known early source. See also the mention of such expositions by the youthful Sa-paṇ in Shākya-mchog-ldan's Chos kyi 'khor, p. 465.5: nyang stod smad/ ne'u thog dang/ bsam yas la sogs par bshad pa dang rnam gzhag rgya chen po mdzad/.

[12]The account that follows is based on [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa skya, Lam 'bras, pp. 58a-58b. This account closely follows [Bo-dong paṇ-chen?], Lam 'bras bla ma'i, p. 542.3ff, and may ultimately be based on the Lam 'bras history of Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.

Here rnam gzhag "presentation" seems to mean the ceremonial offerings that traditionally accompanied the first teaching. For occurrences of the term in similar contexts, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 465.6, and Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims, vol. ka, p. 199a.2.

According to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.6, Sa-paṇ learned the PVin from Mtshur-ston at age 19 (1201) and hosted a great teaching-convocation (chos 'khor) at the monastery of Gtsang Rkyang-thur. After that, when he was going [back] from there, he met Śākyaśrībhadra at Gtsang Chu-mig:

de nas dgung lo nyi shu bzhes pa'i dus//
mtshur ston chen po gzhon nu seng ge la//
bstan bcos tshad ma rnam nges gsan nas ni//
gtsang gi rkyang thur dge 'dun sde chen la//
chos 'khor chen po mdzad nas byon pa'i lam//
rgya gar kha che'i yul nas byon pa yi// [33b]
yod smra'i mkhan brgyud paṇ chen shākya shrī//
gtsang gi chu mig ces byar mjal nas kyang//

Still another account is given by Sa-paṇ's disciple Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p.

437.4.4. According to the latter, Sa-paṇ expounded the PVin at the age of eighteen (1200) having studied it three times.

[13]But according to Zhang, p. 437.4.4, he had "heard it" thrice.

[14]Alternatively: Mtshur "asked him to expound the teaching, repeating it from the beginning."

[15]See also above, note 11, for an account of his supposed exposition of the PVin at Gsang-phu.

[16][Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa skya, p. 58b: rgya gar gyi bshad lugs rang 'di 'dra zhig yin snyam pa de dus nas ma byung gsung/. [Bo-dong], Lam 'bras bla ma, p. 542.5: rgya gar ba'i shad [sic] lugs 'di min snyam pa de dus nas byung gsung/.

[17]Or, according to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33a.6, Sa-paṇ was then going from Rkyang-thur to Sa-skya. See above, note 12, and also Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 293.5 (147a.5).

Regarding Śākyaśrī's visit to Tibet, see below, chapter 7, note 24.

[18]These colorful details are supplied only by Dpal sa skya, p. 58b.6. A simpler version is found in [Bo-dong], Lam 'bras bla ma'i, p. 544. Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, p. 33b, mentions only his meeting Śākyaśrī and studying the commentary of Dharmottara.

[19]Sa-paṇ is not known to have studied much Sanskrit by this time. However, Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p. 436.3.1, states that Sa-paṇ learned from his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan enough of an Indian vernacular to be able to converse, and became just barely able to understand religious teachings in Sanskrit, and even became able to translate to a certain extent: 'phral skad rgya gar skad dang lab btub pa dang/ saṃ skri ta yang chos go ba tsam 'gyur yang ci rigs pa mkhyen par bslabs so//.

In this connection one should also see Sa-paṇ's Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul [read: tshal?] la bstod pa (also known as Ba gor bya ba'i sgra las bstod pa), Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, vol. 5, p. 404.4.4, where Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is credited with teaching certain points of Sanskrit terminology:

grags pa rgyal mtshan gsung gi man ngag gi//
rjes su 'brangs te kho bos rab rtogs pa//

According to the colophon, this was written when Sa-paṇ was 21 years of age (i.e.

in 1203). It is noteworthy that three lines of this work are almost identical with three lines in the KhJ, part II. Here (D p. 404.4.4) we have:

gcig las du ma du ma gcig 'gyur zhing//
du mas du ma gcig las gcig gi cha//
rkyen dang phrad na gzhan yang gzhan 'gyur ba//

Compare KhJ II 11 (D p. 97.4.2):

gcig la du ma du ma gcig 'gyur zhing//
du ma du ma gcig la gcig gi cha//
rkyen dang phrad na gzhan dang gzhan 'gyur ba//

Lho-pa, p. 48b.1, records that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan taught Sa-paṇ the Smra sgo mtshon cha of Smṛtijñānakīrti, but he does not record the study of Sanskrit or Indian vernaculars.

[20]Sa-paṇ is said by Go-rams-pa to have received the title of paṇḍita at this time. Cf. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 100, note 290. (If so, perhaps it was given partly ironically.) Yet in Sa-paṇ's earlier Rol mo'i, p. 80.2.6 (161a.6), he already styled himself a "paṇḍita." See also above, Introduction, note 17.

[21]Lho-pa, Dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyis mdzad pa.

[22]Lho-pa, p. 56b.6, states that Sa-paṇ was dwelling at Dga'-ldan, a remote retreat in Dbu-ru'i Klungs Skyi-shod, when this biography was written. The debate with Harinanda is mentioned on pp. 53a.3-54a.4. Unfortunately, the date of this debate is not specified in the early sources. According to Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs's Rtsom 'phro kha skong to Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, Dam pa'i chos (p. 316.1), the debate occurred when Sa-paṇ was 58 years old, i.e. in 1240. The place of the debate was Skyi-grong near the border of modern Nepal. [Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 315.4.3, evidently mistakes the time of this debate with the time of the composition of the DS. He says that the debate took place when Sa-paṇ was 50, i.e. in 1232.

Sa-paṇ is also said to have been in Skyid-grong in 1238, when 'Phags-pa was 3 years old. See ibid., p. 316.3.3. The biography of 'Phags-pa (1235-1280) by Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan (Bla ma dam pa), p. 149b.2, mentions that 'Phags-pa accompanied Sa-paṇ to Skyid-grong when the former was very young, but does not specify the year of the journey.

[23]Lho-pa is said to have been a disciple of Phywa-pa (d. 1169). See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 451.1, where Lho-pa is identified as Lho-pa sgog-

gzan, one of Phywa-pa's three disciples who were grouped together as the "three intelligent persons" (shes rab can mi gsum). He is also said to have been known as Lho-pa Dha-ra-seng. Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 319.2, seems to identify him anachronistically as "Bhutanese": lho pa drug [='brug?] pa yin. When writing the biography he was "extremely old" (sku shin tu bsgres pa).

[24]Lho-pa, p. 55a.2: mtshungs pa med pa'i chos kyi rgyal po 'di bshes gnyen dam pa ji snyed cig bsten pa de dag phal che ba'i zhabs drung du bka' 'bangs kyi tha mar gyur pa kho bo yang mchis te/ sdom brtson dam pa mkhas pa rnams kyi gtsug rgyan du gyur pa bsod snyoms pa chen po sras dang bcas pa de dag dang/ byang chub sems dpa' kun nas brtse ba'i 'od kyi zhabs la sogs pa gang zhig bsnyen cing mchod de bkur la gus pas brten pa de thams cad kyi rjes su 'brangs shing/ 'ga' zhig gi lung tsam bdag gis kyang khums pa dang/ gang gi tshe mtshan tsam kho bos mngon du gyur pa de dag gis gsan pa'i rnam grangs thams cad gtugs shing yi ger bkod cing 'dris par byas pa yin te/ de tsam la yang gces par 'dzin pa dang/ 'dun cing mos la spro ba khyad par can yod pa dang/ yang bdag cag gis mngon du gyur pa'i gzhung la sogs pa 'ga' zhig chos kyi spyan du gyur pa nyid la gtugs shing nges par byas pa yin pas na mdo tsam 'di bri bar nus kyi/.

[25]Ibid., p. 49a.2. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba identifies him as Kashmiri (see G. Roerich [1976], p. 317 and J. Naudou [1980], p. 251).

[26]Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po, p. 31a.3: paṇḍita sugatashrī bya ba dbu ma dang phar phyin la mkhas. Cf. Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 292.4 (146b): dbu phar la mkhas pa su ga ta shrī. Cf. also G. Tucci (1949), vol. 3, p. 335.

[27]Lho-pa, p. 49a.2. As cited by J. Naudou (1980), p. 251, Sugatasrī was also the author of the work Mahātma-kīrtidhvajastotra (praises of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan), Bstod tshogs section of the Narthang Tanjur.

[28]Ibid., p. 49a.5: gzhan de las tshad ma'i gzhung lugs gsan pa la/ rnam 'grel le'u dang po'i 'grel pa stong phrag phyed dang bzhi pa gsan nas bsgyur cing zhus/ slob dpon thar pa'i 'byung gnas kyis byas pa'i rtog ge'i skad ces bya ba'i bstan bcos gsan cing bsgyur/ gzhan phyi rol gyi rig byed kyi tshad ma drang srong chen po gzegs zan gyis sbyar ba'i rtog ge'i bstan bcos rig [sic] pa zhes bya ba gsan pa yin no//.

For the identification of this PV commentary as Dharmakīrti's autocommentary, see S. Nishioka (1981), p. 67, no. 1010. In Bu-ston's index and the Tanjur editions, the translator of the autocommentary on PV I is not specified. On the

śloka units by which it and other prose texts were measured by Tibetans, see M. Lalou (1953), pp. 314f.

The Tarkabhāṣā was probably selected as the best available primer of Indian Buddhist Pramāṇa. Its author Mokṣākaragupta intended it for "students" or "children." See the first verse in Kajiyama (1966), p. 23, and S. C. Vidyabhusana (1920), p. 347. The third text is referred to by Lho-pa as "The treatise on dialectics called 'Nyāya' composed by the great Ṛṣi Kaṇāda." I understand this to refer to the Nyāya Sūtras (read: rigs pa instead of rig pa). However, some doubt is cast on this attribution by the mention of Kaṇāda as author. The latter's work would be the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras.

[29]But see [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa, p. 59a.5, where it is specified that they spent two years together in Sa-skya: chos rje pas su ga ta shrī sa skyar gdan drangs nas lo gnyis su . . . . The chronology presented by this biography is not always reliable, as mentioned in the following note.

[30][Ngor-chen], Dpal sa, p. 59a.6, however, states that he rejoined Śākyaśrī and took full ordination at age twenty-four (1206!): dgung lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa la nyang smad rgyan gong gi gtsug lag [59b] khang du zer yang lo ston gyis bzhugs sa yin pas dbu skra der bzhar ba ma gtogs sdom pa nyung chung du blang gsung/ bla ma kha che bas mkhan po mdzad/ byang chub sems dpa' spyi bo lhas pas las kyi slob dpon dge bshes zhu khrul gsang ston mdzad nas dge 'dun rgya mtsho lta bu'i dbus su bsnyen par rdzogs par mdzad nas/.

[31]Lho-pa, p. 49b.2: de nas mkhas pa chen po de la gser dang dngul la sogs pa'i rin po che dang/ gos chen dang dar la sogs pa na bza'i rigs mang po dang/ gzhan zhabs 'bring ba la sogs pa rnam grangs du mas mnyes par mdzad nas/.

[32]On this place see A. Ferrari (1958), p. 60.

[33]Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.), vol. 1 (ka), p. 178b.4, mentions a "Shangs kyi Rin-chen-sgang."

[34]Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 295 (148a), and G. Tucci (1949), vol. 3, p. 336. According to Gzhon-nu-dpal, Śākyaśrī also returned briefly to Dbus in 1212 to gather donations for building the giant Khro-phu Maitreya. See G. Roerich (1976), p. 1070. Other chronological data on Śākyaśrī's stay in Tibet is given in Bu-ston's Chos 'byung. See A. Vostrikov (1970), p. 111, n. 341.

[35]Lho-pa, p. 49b.5: de nyid kyi thad du yun ring du bzhugs shing rjes su 'brangs te/.

[36]Ibid., pp. 49b.6-50a.3. The Ālambanaparīkṣā is mentioned on p. 50b.1.

[37]The third work by Jñānaśrī referred to here is probably the Kāryakāranabhāvasiddhi, which deals with the trikapañcakacintā (lnga gsum brtags pa), as I was informed by Prof. K. Mimaki. On this work see Y. Kajiyama (1963). On the "greater and lesser Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya," see the following note.

[38]Twelve works of Jñānaśrīmitra were recovered from Tibet in the original Sanskrit. See A. Thakur ed., Ratnakīrtinibandāvalī, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, vol. 3 (1957), and K. Mimaki (1976), p. 4. The Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya is the longest of these works. Jñānaśrīmitra is not known to have written a shorter work on the topic, but his disciple Ratnakīrti did write a much shorter work Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi, which was actually two works, one the Anvayātmika and the other the Vyatirekātmika. These were published in A. Thakur ed. (1957), pp. 62-76, 77-88. An earlier edition of the last two works was edited by H. Shastri in Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts in Sanskrit, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series no. 185 (1910). On these works see K. Mimaki (1976), pp. 4 et passim.

[39]Lho-pa, p. 51a.3: yang gnas skabs de nyid du . . . . This refers to the period when he was studying for a long time with Śākyaśrī.

[40]Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po, p. 31b.3: paṇḍita saṃghashrī bya ba sgra candra pa dang mngon pa mdzod la mkhas. Cf. G. Tucci (1949), vol. 3, p. 335: "Saṅghaśrī [who was learned] in the Cāndravyākaraṇa both ancient and recent." Cf. also Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 292.5 (146b.5): tsandra la mkhas pa saṃ gha shrī/.

[41]In the editions of the Tanjur the translator of Śaṃkaranandana's commentary is not named.

[42]In the editions of the Tanjur, the commentary by Śāntarakṣita was translated by Kumāraśrībhadra, 'Phags-pa-shes-rab, and 'Bro Seng-dkar Shākya-'od. Both Narthang and Peking Tanjurs contain two copies of this work, though they are substantially the same. See A. Vostrikov (1935), p. 10, note 40, and p. 31. See also D 4239 and P 5725 and 5738.

No commentary by "the Brahmin" (Śaṃkaranandana) is known. There is, however, an incomplete Vādanyāyavyākhyā by Vinītadeva. The translator of the latter is not specified. See D 4240 and P 5737. See also A. Vostrikov (1935), p. 10, note 40.

[43]Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p. 437.2.1.

[44]Dharmakīrti, Pramāṇavārttika. Tib.: Tshad ma rnam 'grel, Derge ed. (Tokyo: 1981), Tshad ma, vol. 1, p. 76.1.7 (ce 151a.7):

dus phyis sa'i steng na 'gran zla thams cad dang bral ba'i mkhas pa bsod snyoms pa chen po shākya shrī bhadra la sogs pa rnams dang/ shākya'i dge slong kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o//

[45]Lho-pa, p. 52b.5: shar phyogs bha ranta'i paṇḍita rtog ge ba chen po dāna shī la zhes bya ba las/. As cited by Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 11, Dānaśīla is identified in the Cordier catalogue (Rgyud, xxvi, 50) as being from Varendra-jagaddala (or Jagaddhala Vihara of Bengal). This may have been one and the same place as the Jagaddala of Oḍivaṣa to which Śākyaśrī fled in 1202, though this is by no means certain. See D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale eds. (1957), p. xxxvii, note 7, and Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 11, note xxv.

[46]Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po, p. 31b: paṇḍita dānashīla bya ba tshad ma rgyan dang chos mchog la mkhas. Cf. G. Tucci (1949), vol. 3, p. 335: "Dānaśīla [who was learned] in logic." Cf. also Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro, p. 292.5 (146b.5): tshad ma la mkhas pa dā na shī la/. Cf. E. Obermiller tr. (1931), p. 222f.

[47]Lho-pa, p. 52b.6. A Sahālambananirṇaya[siddhi] attributed to Prajñākaragupta also exists. See L. van der Kuijp (1979), p. 421, note 11.

[48]Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, p. 437.2.3.

[49]Lho-pa, p. 51b.3.

[50]Ibid.

[51]Lho-pa lists Sa-paṇ's studies with Zhu-ston next, i.e. on pp. 51b.4-52a.2.

[52] [Ngor-chen?], Dpal sa, p. 59b.1: slob dpon dge bshes zhu hrul gyis gsang ston mdzad nas. For more of this passage see above, note 30. Lho-pa, p. 52b.1, mentions Zhu-ston's teachings as Sa-skya as including the Madhyāntavibhaṅga and the Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅga: 'byed rnam pa gnyis la sogs pa 'ga' zhig ni dge ba'i bshes gnyen de dpal sa skya nyid du gdan drangs nas gsan pa yin no//.

[53] Lho-pa, p. 51b.3.

[54] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma'i, p. 232. See also Thu'u-bkwan, Grub mtha', p. 201.

[55] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 453.4: nyang stod du brtsegs dbang phyug seng ge dang/ rkyang dur ba gzhon nu seng ge la/ dbu tshad dang bsdus pa gsan/. The studies with Brtsegs are thus mentioned in the same sentence as his studies with Rkyang-'dur-ba.

[56] Lho-pa, p. 51b.4.

[57] Derge Tanjur (Tokyo: 1981), Tshad ma, vol. 1 (ce), p. 151a.2: rgya gar gyi mkhan po su bhūti shrī shānti dang/ bod kyi lo tsā ba dge slong dge ba'i blo gros kyis bsgyur/. Rma Dge-ba'i-blo-gros flourished in the mid-11th century. Two of his patrons were Lha-btsun Zhi-ba-'od and Khri-bkra-shis-mnga'-bdag Rtse-lde-btsan. See below, note 66.

[58] Cf. the bsgyur byang of Rngog lo-tsā-ba's translation of the Pramāṇālaṃkāra: Derge Tanjur (Tokyo: 1981), Tshad ma, vol. 1 (ce), p. 151a.2:

dpal ldan dam pa'i las la mngon dges pa//
smad med che ba'i bdag can rgyal po mchog//
dge ba'i thugs mnga' des pa sa skyong ba//
mi yi bdag po dbang sde'i bkas bskul nas//
brtson ldan lhag par dpyod ldan 'chad po dang//
nyan po rgol dang phyir rgol don nges dang//
'brel gtam dga' ston rgya chen myong ba'i phyir//
'dzam gling mkhas pa'i rgyan gyur rgyan 'di bsgyur//
lta ngan kun sel gnyis su med pa yi//
don dam rnam dpyod lhur len bstan bcos 'di//
gzhan mang don dka' sgrub par dka' na yang//
'bras bu che phyir 'bad par rigs pa yin//
log pa'i rgyun phyogs rjes su gzhol gyur pa//

lta ba chu bo bzlog par dka' mod kyi//
yang dag rig pas legs par brda sprad na//
'ga' yi yid la ci ste 'bab mi 'gyur//
sgra don gnyi ga nyams su bder lon te//
mun sprul gyis ni ma bslad legs bsgyur ba//
sngon gyi sgyur byed dam pa de dag gi//
dri tsam bro ba da lta kho bo tsam//
dpal ldan kha che'i rig pa ba'i//
gtsug gi nor bu skal ldan ni//
rgyal po zhes bya la thos nas//
blo ldan bzang po 'di bsgyur ro//
grong khyer chen po dge med kyi shar phyogs na yul 'khor lo 'dzin pa zhes bya ba// grub pa'i gnas su grags pa'i 'dabs/ rnam par rgyal ba'i zhing zhes bya bar/ kha che'i paṇḍita chen po skal ldan rgyal po dang bod kyi lo tsā ba chen po dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyis bsgyur ro//.

[59]The retranslation of the PV must date to between 1208, when Śākyaśrī returned to Gtsang from Dbus and ordained Sa-paṇ, and 1212 or 1213, when Śākyasrī left Gtsang for Mnga'-ris. Perhaps much of the work was done in the summer of 1210, when Śākyaśrī spent the rainy-season retreat in Sa-skya. Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po, p. 50b.3, mentions the translation work of Sa-paṇ as follows: lo tsā bas yongs te po sti thams cad khro phur gdan drangs so/ de'i tshe sa skyar chos rje pa nyid kyis dpal dus kyi 'khor lo dang/ 'dul ba dang/ sgra dang/ snyan ngag dang/ tshad ma dang/ mngon pa la sogs pa'i chos mang du gsungs/ chos rje sa skya paṇḍita de nyid kyi lo tsā mdzad nas/ sa skya'i gtsug lag khang du [51a] tshad ma rnam 'grel la sogs pa'i 'gyur yang mdzad do/. In the short time available to me at Patna, I was not able to determine the date that the passage refers to. On p. 49b.5, however, there is a reference to the consecration of the Khro-phu Byams-chen in the water-male-monkey year (1212), and the same date is mentioned on p. 54b.1. See also Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba (Bihar Research Society no. 981), p. 18a.4, where Sa-paṇ's retranslation of the PV at Sa-skya'i-gtsug-lag-khang with Śākyaśrī is also briefly mentioned.

In the Derge edition of the collected works of Sa-paṇ, pp. 427.1.2-428.2.3, there is a short work entitled Rang gis rang la gros 'debs pa. This purports to be a record of thoughts that occurred to him on the occasion of Śākyaśrībhadra's stay at Sa-skya during that rainy-season retreat (p. 428.2.1):

tshul 'di paṇ chen sa skya'i nang tshan du//
dbyar bzhugs byas tshe sems la shar ba'i gtam//

The colophon (p. 428.2.3), however, states: kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos

shing po byi ba'i lo gro bzhin zla ba'i tshes brgyad pa bris/. "This was written by Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po on the eighth day of the Gro-bzhin (i.e. the seventh) lunar month of the wood-male-mouse year [1204]." This date is anachronistic. Sa-paṇ had not received the "dpal-bzang-po" ending to his name until his later full ordination, and he was by no means a translator (lo tsā ba) then, though the text requires this--he regularly addresses himself as "translator" in it. It is also unusual for Sa-paṇ to date his compositions. Thus the colophon and the work itself are of doubtful authenticity.

It is definite that Śākyaśrī spent a rainy-season retreat in Sa-skya in the year 1210, the iron-male-horse year. Sa-paṇ states this in his biography of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Rje btsun, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.), vol. 1 (ka), p. 28a.5. See also the other edition of the work, entitled Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar, SKKB, vol. 5, p. 148.1.4. This date is also supported by the Ngor chos 'byung, as cited by G. Tucci (1949), vol. 2, p. 336.

Cf. also S. C. Das in his introduction to his and H. M. Vidyabhushana's edition of Kṣemendra's Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā or Avadāna-kalpalatā, Bibliotheca Indica. 1888-1912. Das stated that Śākyaśrī met Sa-paṇ in 1202 and presented him a Sanskrit manuscript of that work, as cited by P. L. Vaidya ed. (1959), pp. vii and x.

[60]For the colophon, which mentions "others" (sogs), see above, note 44. Cf. E. Obermiller tr. (1931), pp. 222f, where Bu-ston mentions Sa-paṇ's studies of the PV only with Śākyaśrī and Dānaśīla.

[61]See for instance the Derge Tanjur (Tokyo: 1981), Tshad ma, vol. 1, p. 94b-151a, and the Peking Tanjur, vol. 130, pp. 78-102.

[62]For this identification of the commentary, see S. Nishioka (1981), p. 67, no. 1010. The same identification was also made by L. van der Kuijp (1979), p. 409, presumably on the basis of Go-rams-pa's Rigs gter dka' gnas. The autocommentary comes to some 131 folios in the Peking edition.

[63]This identification was also made by L. van der Kuijp (1979), p. 409. See the above note. The length of this work in the Peking edition (5717[a]) is only 131 folios.

[64]The Tarkabhāṣā is still extant in Sanskrit and has been published twice. For references to these editions and for an annotated translation, see Y. Kajiyama (1966).

[65]Peking Tanjur, Gtan tshigs rig pa, vol. ze, p. 399a.1 (vol. 138, p. 132.2.1): tshul 'di ni gang zag dam pa rnams kyi bka' drin la brten nas nang dang phyi'i gzhung lugs du ma rnams la blo'i snang ba cher rgyas pa sgra bsgyur lo tsā ba dpang dge slong dpal ldan blo gros brtan pas paṇḍita la ma bltos par rang nyid kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o//.

[66]Peking Tanjur, Gtan tshigs rig pa, vol. ce, p. 400a.5 (vol. 130, p. 162.2.5): dpal lha btsun zhi ba 'od kyi zhal snga nas dang/ dpal lha btsan po khri bkra shis mnga' bdag rtse lde btsan gyi zhal snga nas kyis bkas/ rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po jnyāna shrī bhadra'i zhal snga nas dang/ dge slong dge ba'i blo gros kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o// // slad kyis kyang paṇḍita chen po dhī pang kara dang/ lo tsā ba dge slong dar ma grags kyis zhus shing gtan la phab pa'o// //.

[67]Kumāraśrī and 'Phags-pa-shes-rab flourished in the late-11th and possibly early-12th century. They revised Rngog's translation of the PV Alaṃkāra. See J. Naudou (1980), p. 231. 'Phags-pa-shes-rab himself also worked with some of the same paṇḍitas as had Mar-pa and Rngog. See ibid., p. 215.

[68]See D no. 4240, P no. 5737. On the extent of this commentary see A. Vostrikov (1935), p. 10, note 40.

Chapter 6

SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA'S CAREER AS A SCHOLAR OF PRĀMAṆA: HIS WRITINGS AND THE LINEAGES HE ESTABLISHED

Sa-paṇ's longest and most detailed treatment of Pramāṇa was his Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (Rigs gter) with its autocommentary. This was also for the most part his final statement on the subject. The only other place where he discussed subjects related to Pramāṇa at length was the final section of the KhJ, though his main topics there were the procedures and presuppositions of philosophical debate. In the Rigs gter, by contrast, he attempted to synthesize and summarize the whole of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti's theory of epistemology and logic.

Rngog Lo-tsā-ba, the Father of Tibetan Pramāṇa Literature

The Rigs gter was in many ways original among Tibetan treatises on Pramāṇa, but it was also shaped by and indeed to some extent belonged to a century-old Tibetan tradition of Pramāṇa scholarship.[1] One of Sa-paṇ's great forerunners in Tibet was Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059-1109); in fact, the tradition of composing Tibetan treatises on Pramāṇa originated with the latter.[2] According to the list of Rngog's writings preserved in Bu-ston's history of religion, he wrote topical summaries (bsdus don) on the following Pramāṇa works:[3]

(1) Pramāṇaviniścaya, with its commentary by Dharmottara
(2) Nyāyabindu, with its ṭīkā by Dharmottara
(3) Pramāṇavārttika, with its Alaṃkāra commentary by Prajñākaragupta
(4) Pramāṇaparīkṣā (of Dharmottara)
(5) Anyāpohaprakaraṇa (of Dharmottara)
(6) Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi (of Dharmottara)
(7) Apohasiddhi (of Śaṃkaranandana)
(8) Pratibandhasiddhi (of Śaṃkaranandana)

Rngog's expositions of the summarized meaning (bsdus don) of these works were perhaps topical outlines of the sort that are now more commonly known as sa bcad.[4] It is worth noting that these summaries were written precisely on those Pramāṇa treatises which Rngog lo-tsā-ba himself had translated. Perhaps he composed them

while engaged in the work of translating the basic texts.

Rngog's other Pramāṇa commentaries listed by Bu-ston were not summaries or outlines but were subcommentaries (rnam bshad : vyākhyā) in which the explanations and discussions of earlier commentaries were further elucidated. In addition to some incomplete commentaries, he wrote complete subcommentaries on the following:

(1) Pramāṇaviniścaya, with the ṭīkā by Dharmottara
(2) Nyāyabindu, with the ṭīkā by Dharmottara

These two subcommentaries were an important help for his disciples who became the next generation of teachers in the school he founded. It is probably no coincidence that active lineages of teaching and study became established especially for the PVin and the Nyāyabindu (NB) with the commentaries of Dharmottara.[5]

Thus Rngog composed two types of Pramāṇa treatise as means for expounding Indian basic works or their commentaries. In writing his two subcommentaries (rnam bshad) he followed a well-established Indian commentarial type, being one of the first Tibetan scholars known to have done so. But for his topical outlines (bsdus don) he utilized a typically Tibetan type which had no clear predecessor in Indian Buddhist literature.[6]

By composing such commentaries on Pramāṇa as well as on many other subjects, Rngog is said to have initiated among Tibetans the practice of composing treatises on a grand scale.[7] Unfortunately only very few of Rngog's writings are now extant, and even in the 15th century only a handful were available.[8] Among his Pramāṇa writings listed above, seemingly only the subcommentary on the Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā was still available to Shākya-mchog-ldan at the end of the 15th century. (Shākya-mchog-ldan also mentions a "great subcommentary," but this was probably identical with Rngog's rnam bshad on Dharmottara's ṭīkā.)[9] From among Rngog's other works, apparently not many were still available even in the 15th century.[10]

Rngog's Successors and the Bsdus-pa Literature

Rngog is not known to have written any independent treatise on Pramāṇa in which he expounded the general subject according to a heuristic plan of his own devising. This innovation apparently did not take place for a generation or two. Perhaps the first such general thematic exposition of Pramāṇa was the work of Rgya-dmar-ba Byang-chub-grags (fl. c. 1130), a junior student of Rngog who also studied under Khyung Rin-chen-grags and Gangs-pa She'u. According to A-khu-chin

Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho's list of rare books, Rgya-dmar-ba wrote several "Summaries of Pramāṇa" (tshad ma'i bsdus pa).[11] Though nothing definite is known about these works, they may have served as the prototype for the famous Summary (bsdus pa) of Rgya-dmar-ba's chief disciple, Phywa-pa. If so, Rgya-dmar-ba's Summaries were general introductions to the most important concepts and practices of dialectics. In that case their author would have been the originator of the bsdus pa genre which was further developed by Phywa-pa and Gtsang-nag-pa, and which continued to be employed centuries later.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, however, does not mention any original Summary by Rgya-dmar-ba, and instead gives the latter's student Phywa-pa Chos-seng full credit for this innovation.[12] Though Phywa-pa is said to have composed a commentary on the PVin and quite a few other commentarial works, his most influential treatise was his "Summary," an independent work known as the Tshad ma bsdus pa yid kyi mun sel.[13] Apparently it consisted of a basic work (probably in mnemonic verse) with an autocommentary. There may also have been a very brief synopsis or outline.[14] Though unfortunately this work is not known to be extant, it seems to have been a restatement of certain key points of Pramāṇa according to a subject order and expository method of its author's invention. It was apparently the general introductory text he and his students used, and it determined much of the terminology and style of classroom debate for many generations of Tibetan dialecticians.

In addition to his Pramāṇa Summary (tshad ma bsdus pa), Phywa-pa is also said to have written a greater and lesser Madhyamaka Summary (dbu ma bsdus pa).[15] This was probably an introduction to the dialectics of the Madhyamaka, presenting Phywa-pa's own unique approach. One can speculate that the work addressed a number of basic topics, presenting them in a series of connected inferences or logical entailments.

Phywa-pa is thus traditionally held to have been the innovator of a truly Tibetan school of dialectics. Though his and his teacher's works are now lost and largely forgotten, indirectly these scholars exercised a great influence over Tibetan Pramāṇa studies down to the present. The basic topics to be taught in the introductory classes of dialectics, for instance, was probably first determined by Phywa-pa or his teacher. Klong-rdol bla-ma asserts that several topics of the novice class in logic go back to Phywa-pa.[16] Even the name for such classes, bsdus grwa or bsdus rwa, would seem originally to have referred precisely to the school or class (lit. "enclosure" or "courtyard" grwa) in which the Pramāṇa Summary (tshad ma bsdus pa) was taught, and the modern bsdus grwa textbooks themselves are probably the distant lineal descendants of the early Pramāṇa Summaries.

One important specific contribution of Phywa-pa to Tibetan Pramāṇa was his systematic employment of formal arguments involving the triad of definition

(mtshan nyid), term to be defined (mtshon bya), and the thing exemplifying the term and definition (mtshan gzhi). Before Phywa-pa, these concepts and their employment seem not to have been worked out in detail.[17] Still another legacy that Phywa-pa is said to have left for later Tibetan scholasticism is the practice of expounding a scriptural passage or doctrinal point by means of a chain of consequences (indicated by the word thal) and reasons (indicated by the word phyir).[18] Phywa-pa presumably employed this style of exposition in his Summaries. This expository method was adopted wholesale much later in the obligatory manuals (yig cha) of the great Dge-lugs-pa scholastic colleges (grwa tshang).[19]

Phywa-pa's Pramāṇa Summary continued to be studied within the Rngog school, though some of his students disagreed on certain points and composed Pramāṇa Summaries of their own. Dan-'bag-pa Smra-ba'i-seng-ge, for instance, wrote a Tshad ma bsdus pa.[20] Though doctrinally he departed from some of Phywa-pa's interpretations, he presumably followed the same general structure and expository method as his teacher.[21] Meanwhile other students of Phywa-pa continued to employ the Summary as a commentarial or propaedeutic genre for Madhyamaka, though no doubt with many radical differences from Phywa-pa's doctrine. Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus-seng-ge and Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus, for instance, were students not only of Phywa-pa but also of Pa-tshab lo-tsā-ba, the original propagator of Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika in Tibet.[22] Each of them is said to have written Madhyamaka Summaries (dbu ma'i bsdus pa). Gtsang-nag-pa wrote both an expanded and abridged Summary,[23] while Rma-bya is only known to have written one Madhyamaka Summary (the latter also wrote an Dbu ma stong thun, which was perhaps similar in general content but different in presentation).[24]

The tradition of writing Summaries continued into the 13th century and beyond. Rgyal-sras Chu-mig-pa, the foremost disciple of the Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog master Mnyal-zhig (fl. 1200) is recorded to have composed a (Tshad ma) bsdus pa.[25] Even two of Sa-paṇ's students wrote Summaries. Sa-paṇ's greatest disciple in the field of Pramāṇa, 'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge (d. 1253), is said to have written such a work; it was entitled Bsdus pa rigs sgrub.[26] Another of his disciples Rong-pa Rgwa-lo Rnam-rgyal-rdo-rje (1203-1282) also composed one, which is listed by A-khu-chin Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho as the Tshad ma bsdus pa chen mo (MHTL 11816).[27] He also composed a Madhyamaka Summary (MHTL 11374). One cannot be sure whether these works reflected the views of Sa-paṇ or whether they were holdovers from their authors' previous studies in the school of Phywa-pa and his followers. In any case, the Summary as a form of propadeutic writing continued to have followers. According to A-khu-chin, Pramāṇa Summaries were later composed by 'Chims 'Jam-dpa'i-dbyangs (MHTL 11818) and Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (MHTL 11845). Indeed, it seems likely that some of those Summaries were intermediaries

in the development of the earliest dialectical manuals into the textbooks still used in the bsdus grwa classes of modern Tibetan Buddhist seminaries.[28]

Sa-paṇ and His Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter

When Sa-paṇ began his studies of Pramāṇa in the lineage of Phywa-pa and Gtsang-nag-pa, he was thus taking part in a flourishing and well-developed tradition. Later, when he perceived various errors and discrepancies in that tradition through his studies under Indian paṇḍitas, he decided to refute the main deviations from Indian tradition. His primary vehicle for doing this was his Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (Rigs gter) with its autocommentary, which together form by far the longest work in his oeuvre.[29]

Though Sa-paṇ's principal aim in the Rigs gter was to correct the teachings of his Tibetan predecessors,[30] the form which he employed for this purpose was probably determined in part by the writings of those very opponents. The Rigs gter too was a Summary of sorts.[31] It may not have followed the same expository method as the writings of Phywa-pa and his followers, but it was a general introduction to Pramāṇa by way of a brief treatment of its key concepts. One very important difference between the Rigs gter and its predecessors was that the Rigs gter included more within the scope of its summary: it sought to comprehend the basic work of Dignāga together with all seven of the major treatises of Dharmakīrti. The most significant new source that Sa-paṇ took into account was the PV; up until this time Tibetan Pramāṇa had taken as its main Indian sources merely the PVin and Nyāyabindu with Dharmottara's commentaries.

Sa-paṇ divided the Rigs gter into eleven chapters, each of which addressed a major topic in Pramāṇa. Several of these--such as spyi and bye brag, 'gal and 'brel, mtshan nyid and mtshon bya, and gzhal sel--had already been the subjects of discussion of Phywa-pa and the others in their Summaries.[32] The final four chapters of the Rigs gter discuss the same topics as the four chapters of the PV, viz. pramāṇa, pratyakṣa, svārthānumāna, and parārthānumāna. The overall plan of the work (following the pagination of the Rigs gter rang 'grel, Derge edition, Tōyō Bunko reprint) is as follows:

I. shes bya spyi ldog nas gtan la dbab pa (The ascertainment of knowable things according to general conceptual categories)
   A. shes bya'i yul (The object which is to be known) (chapter 1: pp. 167.4.3-172.2.2)

B. shes byed kyi blo (Cognition, which is the knower) (chapter 2: pp. 172.2.2-176.1.6)

C. blo des yul rtogs pa'i tshul (The manner in which that cognition understands the object)

1. spyi dang bye brag rtogs pa'i tshul (How the general and particular are understood) (chapter 3: pp. 176.1.6-179.1.3)

2. sgrub pa dang gzhan sel bas rtogs tshul (How one understands through proof and the exclusion of others) (chapter 4: pp. 179.1.3-187.1.3)

3. brjod bya dang brjod byed rtogs pa'i tshul (How the thing expressed and the expression are understood) (chapter 5: pp. 187.1.3-190.2.4)

4. 'brel ba dang 'gal ba rtogs pa'i tshul (How logical connection and inconsistency are understood)

a. 'brel ba dpyad pa (The investigation of logical connection) (chapter 6: pp. 190.2.6-201.1.5)

b. 'gal ba'i don nges par bya ba (Ascertainment of the meaning of inconsistency) (chapter 7: pp. 201.1.5-204.1.1)

II. shes byed tshad ma'i rang bzhin nges par bya ba (Ascertainment of the nature of the means of knowledge, the knower)

A. mtshan nyid kyi rnam gzhag (The system of definition [esp., the definition of Pramāṇa]) (chapter 8: pp. 204.1.1-219.3.6)

B. mtshan gzhi so so'i don gtan la dbab pa (Settling the sense of the individual exemplifications [of the definition])

1. dngon sum (Direct perception) (chapter 9: pp. 219.3.6-230.3.6)

2. rjes dpag (Inference)

a. rang don rjes su dpag pa la brtags pa (The consideration of inference for oneself) (chapter 10: pp. 230.3.6-251.4.1)

b. gzhan don rjes su dpag pa la brtags pa (The consideration of inference for others) (Chapter 11: pp. 251.4.1-264.1.4)

To expound these subjects Sa-paṇ gathered together the passages on the same subject from the different works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, and presented them according to his own plan.[33]

The Mkhas 'jug on Pramāṇa

The second and only other extant work in which Sa-paṇ discusses Pramāṇa in any detail was the KhJ, his primer of scholarly methods.[34] This work was one of Sa-paṇ's longest treatises, though less than one-third of it was devoted to

subjects related to Pramāṇa. The relevant part was the third main chapter or section (le'u), which deals with the practical application of Pramāṇa in debate and philosophical discussion.

The contents of this section will be investigated below in more detail. Still, one should note here to begin with that the KhJ apparently was composed later than the Rigs gter. Thus when Sa-paṇ composed the KhJ, he seems to have already treated some of the same topics in his Rigs gter. In Pramāṇa, debating belongs in general to the category of "inference for others" (gzhan don rjes dpag: parārthānumāna)--i.e. formal argumentation--and Sa-paṇ had made this the subject of his last chapter in the Rigs gter. In the KhJ, Sa-paṇ usually took the opportunity to discuss new topics not already expounded in detail in the Rigs gter. But one subject he naturally could not avoid taking up again was the question of what constituted occasions of defeat and victory in debate. For this he quotes in the KhJ several basic verses from the Rigs gter and then refers the reader to the Rigs gter for more details.[35] Another question he returns to in the KhJ is what answers should be given in reply to arguments phrased in the form of necessary consequences (prasaṅga).[36] Here the KhJ contains a slightly longer account of the four acceptable answers, and Sa-paṇ adds brief examples of what sort of statements by the opponent would warrant each answer. There are several other passages in both works where he discusses the same topics.

In the KhJ, however, Sa-paṇ mainly addresses general problems relating to debate or philosophical discussion, and not specific problems of logic or inferential reasoning. He discusses some of the key underlying problems that all Indian and Tibetan dialecticians had to face, such as: What is the place of scripture in debate? To what extent must one hold tenets or advance a thesis in debate? And how can two debators from different philosophical schools find a common ground for discussion? His answers to such questions shed important light on his doctrinal and philosophical thought. Thus, though this section of the KhJ is significant for revealing Sa-paṇ's opinions on some aspects of Pramāṇa, it also deserves to be classed together with the Sdom gsum rab dbye and Thub pa'i dgongs gsal as one of his most important statements on Buddhist philosophy and doctrine.[37]

Sa-paṇ's Influence on the Subsequent Study of Pramāṇa in Tibet

Sa-paṇ's central importance in later Tibetan scholasticism is obvious from the simple fact that he originated all existing Tibetan lineages of PV studies.[38] It is said that as a teacher he laid special emphasis on expounding the PV;

according to some accounts, he made a special vow to teach at least one lesson on the PV every day for as long as he lived.[39] Moreover, there is no doubt that in his long and influential career as a teacher he gave instructions on the PV to numerous students on very many occasions.

Shākya-mchog-ldan describes in some detail the results of Sa-paṇ's energetic propagation of the study of the PV:

> To briefly express the manner in which many religious teachers who upheld the Doctrine appeared and how numerous religious seminaries that maintained the exposition lineage were established as a result of the great teachings given by the Sa-skya-pas . . . . In particular [the following] upholders of the teaching lineages of the religious scripture and of the PV appeared:
>
> 'U-yug-pa composed his Rnam bshad rigs mdzod and Bsdus pa rigs sgrub.[40] These were famed as the first [Tibetan] commentaries of the PV tradition. It is widely renowned that [Sa-paṇ's] direct disciples who had expert knowledge of the PV were (1) Te-ra-ba Byams-mgon, (2) Ldong-ston Shes-rab-dpal, (3) Dkar Shākya-grags, (4) Shar-pa Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, (5) Nags-phug-pa Shes-rab-'od-zer, and (6) Lho-pa kun-mkhyen. Afterward there appeared Rgya [=Skya i.e. 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo?], Nor [i.e. Nor-bzang-dpal] and Bya [?]. And also: Nya Dar-ma-rin-chen, Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal, and the two lords of learning G.yag [-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal] and [Red-mda'-ba] Gzhon [-nu-blo-gros], who are as widely famed as the sun and moon. This is just to indicate some of them.[41]

Shākya-mchog-ldan also mentions several of the main seminaries of Dbus and Gtsang in which the PV was taught according to the Sa-skya-pa tradition and in which the Summary (bsdus pa, here the basic or introductory class on dialectics) was maintained in accordance with the Rigs gter:[42]

(1) Bo-dong E, founded by Dpang lo-tsā-ba (1276-1342) as a seminary for the study of the PV and AS.[43]

(2) Ngam-ring-gi-chos-grwa, founded [in 1354?] by the Dpon-chen Byang-pa.[44]

(3) Bzang-ldan, founded by Kun-spangs Chos-grags-dpal-bzang.[45]

(4) Shel-dkar chos-sde, founded [in 1385] by Si-tu Chos-rin-dpal (d. 1403) [and Paṇ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1353-1420?)].[46]

(5) Rtse-thang-gi-chos-grwa, founded by Ta'i-si-tu Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302-1374)

(6) Rtse-chen, founded by Nya-dbon (Kun-dga'-dpal) [in 1366-1371].[47]

(7) Rab-sgang Ka-bzhi-dgon, founded by Mkhan Byang-chub-dpal.[48]

(8) Nyang-stod Lcang-rwa'i-chos-grwa, founded [in 1413] by Si-tu Rab-brtan-'phags (1389-1442).[49]

(9) Rong-byams-chen-gyi-chos-grwa, founded [in 1367?] by Drung Nor-bzang-pa and his brother.[50]

When Shākya-mchog-ldan was writing this account in 1495, some seven notable seminaries were still at least nominal adherents of the Pramāṇa traditions of the old school of Rngog and Phywa-pa, though the actual teaching lineages of the PVin and Bsdus pa were then on the verge of dying out:[51]

(1) Gsang [-phu Ne'u-thog] [founded by Rngog Legs-pa'i-shes-rab in 1073][52]

(2) [Snye-thang] Bde [-ba-can][53]

(3) [Tshal] Gung [-thang Chos-'khor-gling][54]

(4) Khro-phu[55]

(5) Snar-thang[56]

(6) Zha-lu[57]

(7) Gnas-rnying[58]

Any exposition of the PV in these seminaries must have originated from Sa-paṇ's lineage.

As for the later lineages of study of the PV and Rigs gter, Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions that there was a special lineage at Sa-skya that was passed by Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375) to Theg-chen-chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis (1349-1425).[59] But the main branch of the tradition that was perpetuated in many seminaries great and small resulted from the activities of G.yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348-1414). This great scholiast was not only a key transmitter of Prajñāpāramitā exegesis, but he is also said to have been a noteworthy reviver of Pramāṇa studies within the Sa-skya-pa tradition.[60] His two main followers in terms of their later influence were Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456) and Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449). The first is not best known as a great teacher of Pramāṇa, but he taught the Rigs gter and used his influence to spread the exegetical tradition of G.yag-ston. He founded Ngor monastery in 1429 and established there a schoolhouse (grwa khang) for the teaching of the Rigs gter and G.yag-ston's commentary on the PV. Ngor-chen also directly founded three branch monasteries where this lineage was maintained:[61]

(1) Glo-bo Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal[62]

(2) Pu-rang Chos-sde-dga'-byed-tshal

(3) Chu-'dus-chos-sde Chos-'khor-nor-bu-gling

And under his instructions two more branch monasteries were established:

(4) Gu-ge Brgya-gling-thang

(5) Rting-khebs-kyi-chos-'khor Dga'-ldan-rtse-mo

Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig, the second great follower of G.yag-ston, had an even greater influence on the tradition, for he was a master of general scholastic studies, unlike Ngor-chen who specialized in Tantra. Rong-ston founded his great seat of 'Phan-po Nalendra in 1435. The following establishments were subsequently founded as its branches:[63]

(1) Rgyal-byed-tshal-gyi-chos-grwa in Shar-rgyal-mo-rong, founded by Gzhu-ston Bsod-nams-rin-chen under the patronage of Bstan-la rgyal-bu.

(2) Dge-'phel-gyi-chos-grwa in Rab-sgang, founded by Lha-'bri Shes-rab-rdo-rje

(3) Ra-mdo-chos-'khor-gling-gi-chos-grwa at Spom-'bor, founded by Dbus-ston Rin-chen-blo-gros.

(4) Cho-shul Byang-chub-gling, founded by Mkhan-chen Padma-bzang-po.

(5) Gtsang Sga-gdong, founded by Chos-lung-ka-bcu-pa.
(The previous two were founded as residences for Rong-ston.)

(6) 'Bras-yul seminary, "founded in the fire-female-hare year" (1447), "the twenty-fifth [sic] year after Nalendra's founding" [i.e. 1459?].[64]

(7) Pan-khyung-tshang, founded in 1452 by Don-yod-dpal.

(8) Rta-nag Gser-gling, "founded in the fire-dog year [sic] (1466) by Go-bo rab-'byams-pa."[65] (These last three were founded through the patronage of the ruler Nor-bu-bzang-po and son, and they had been expanded between the times of their initial foundation and "the present" [i.e. the time that Shākya-mchog-ldan wrote his account in 1495].)

In addition to Shākya-mchog-ldan's account, one could mention that the following seminaries were established as branches of 'Bras-yul Skyed-tshal or Rta-nag Thub-bstan by students of Byams-chen rab-'byams-pa or Go-rams-pa or both:

(1) 'Jad Thub-bstan-yangs-pa-can, founded by Mus rab-'byams-pa Thugs-rje-dpal-bzang in 1490.

(2) Gnyan-yod Bya-rgod-gshongs, founded by Paṇ-chen 'Bum-phrag-gsum-pa Byams-pa-chos-don-'grub [?] in 1489.
(3) Chos-'khor-lhun-po, founded by Gzhung-brgya-pa Dngos-grub-dpal-'bar
(4) Bzhad-ri Skyed-tshal-'og-ma, founded by Mnga'-ris-pa Lha-dbang-blo-gros.

These are listed by the Rta-nag mkhan-po Chos-rnam-rgyal in his history of Buddhism (Bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin). He also lists the following as belonging to or having been converted to the scholastic tradition of Go-rams-pa:[66]

(5) Ra-ba-smad, converted to Go-rams-pa's tradition by Stag-phrug Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor.
(6) Rdo-phud-chos-'khor-gnas, and
(7) Dags-po-grwa-tshang, converted to his system by Shes-grong paṇ-chen Blo-gros-chos-kyi-rgyal-po.
(8) Rnam-rgyal-gser-khang grwa-tshang [of Gsang-phu], also known as Ga-zi grwa-tshang, founded by Ga-zi bka'-bcu-pa Shākya-blo-gros

There were also many more branch monasteries of Ngor and Nalendra that were founded in Khams and A-mdo in the 15th century, such as the Nalendra branches Nang-chen Pe-ru-chung-dgon Brtse-chen-chos-rdzong-gling, Nang-chen Gtsang-mda'-dgon, Sde-gzhung dgon-pa, Tre'u Gdong-thog-dgon, Mi-nyag Ri-khug-dgon, and A-mdo Di-phu-chos-rje-dgon-pa. In later times the Ngor-lugs became more and more influential, and many Nalendra branches were subsequently converted to Ngor-pa establishments.

Though the PV was the main Pramāṇa work that Sa-paṇ transmitted to later generations, it was not the only one. The biography of Rong-ston, for instance, records that G.yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal taught Rong-ston the following Pramāṇa works according to the exegetical traditions that had come down through Sa-paṇ:[67]

(1) Dignāga's PS with commentary and subcommentary
(2) PV with subcommentary (i.e. with a commentary on the Vārttika itself)
(3) Hetubindu
(4) Vādanyāya

The Rigs gter, however, apparently did not gain a wide and unanimous following within the main seminaries of dialectics in the late-13th to mid-14th centuries. It did not supplant the Summaries (in their no doubt continually revised forms) as the basic introduction to dialectical theory and practice.[68] As some later (15th-century?) scholars from other traditions alleged, the teachings

of the Summaries were very detailed and were proven to be correct by careful investigation, whereas in comparison the Rigs gter was "extremely rough," and because of that one could not follow and maintain it literally. For this reason, according to those opposing scholars, there did not appear authoritative lineages of students for the Rigs gter.[69] Shākya-mchog-ldan replied to the above charges by listing some of the great scholars who maintained the study and teaching of the Rigs gter according to the correct tradition (the list will be presented later in this chapter).[70] However, both that criticism and Shākya-mchog-ldan's reply indicate that there were not in fact many scholars in those days who had really mastered the Rigs gter and who followed it carefully.

Thus when G.yag-ston in the late-14th or early-15th century wrote his subcommentary on the Rigs gter (the first of its kind) and began to teach it widely, he seems to have been trying to revive the study of the the work.[71] Through his efforts the Rigs gter came to be appreciated again as a great masterpiece calling for careful, serious study. Perhaps the avalanche of commentaries that broke loose in the 15th century should be attributed ultimately to the efforts of this man. In Sa-skya-pa scholasticism from the late-14th century onwards, moreover, the Rigs gter came to be one of the only two non-Indian works to be included among the eighteen core texts known as the "Eighteen of Great Renown" (grags chen bco brgyad)--the other Tibetan work in the group being Sa-paṇ's Sdom gsum rab dbye.[72]

Sa-skya-pa Teaching Lineages of Pramāṇa

Sa-paṇ established a thriving school of PV studies. The early commentators on the PV in this school as listed by Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his Rigs gter nyer mkho include the following three authors of comments on the meaning (don 'grel):[73]

(1) 'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge, author of the Rigs pa grub pa
(2) Rong-ston [i.e. Ldong-ston?] chen-po, author of the Rigs pa'i snang ba
(3) Kun-mkhyen Lho-pa, author of the Sde bdun gsal ba

He also lists the following six early scholars who wrote word-by-word commentaries (tshig 'grel), two of whom (nos. 1 and 4) are otherwise unknown to me:

(1) Rwa-grags Stag-rdor
(2) Phyogs-glang gsar-ma [fl. c. 1320 at Sa-skya]
(3) Dpal-ldan-seng-ge

(4) Jo-btsun Grags-rgyal

(5) Mkhas-mchog Nor-bzang-dpal

(6) Gnas-drug-pa [a disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan]

The main lineages through which the PV was transmitted from Sa-paṇ to later generations can be traced with some precision. Go-rams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge in a supplicatory prayer to the lineage (Tshad ma'i brgyud 'debs, pp. 27b-29a) evokes the following transmission:

The four Indian paṇḍitas
|
Sa-paṇ (1182-1251)
|
'U-yug-pa (d. 1253)
|
Mdo-sde-dpal (fl. c. 1250-1280)
|
'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo (fl. c. 1280-1310)
|
[Dpang lo] Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276-1342)
|
[Bla-ma-dam-pa] Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375)
|
[Mkhan-chen] Brtson-'grus-dpal (fl. late-14th c.)
|
[G.yag-ston] Sangs-rgyas-dpal (1348-1414)
|
[Rong-ston] Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449)
|
"Grags-pa'i-mtshan" [Mkhyen-rab-dbang-phyug-grags-bzang]
|
[Byams-chen rab-'byams-pa] Sangs-rgyas-'phel

A similar lineage is recorded in the lineage-prayer of Shākya-mchog-ldan (Tshad ma rnam 'grel nges kyi brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs, pp. 79f.). It is noteworthy for the presence of the great scholar Nor-bzang-zhabs in the place of three generations of scholars: 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo, Dpang-lo Blo-gros-brtan-pa, and Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan:

Śākyaśrī
|
Paṇ-chen Sa-skya-pa
|
'U-yug-pa
|
Mdo-sde-dpal
|
Nor-bzang-zhabs
|
Brtson-'grus-dpal
|
Mi-pham-chos-kyi-rje [G.yag-ston]
|
Rong-po'i-zhabs [Rong-ston]
|
Don-yod-dpal
|
[Shākya-] mchog-ldan-legs-pa'i-blo

Another PV lineage received and transmitted by Shākya-mchog-ldan is recorded in the gsan yig of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (Dpal ldan, vol. 1, p. 105.1 [ka 53a.1]):

The Four Indian Paṇḍitas
Sa-skya Paṇḍita
'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge
'Jam-skya Nam-mkha'-dpal
Dpang lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa
Dpal-ldan-bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan
Mkhas-pa Brtson-'grus-dpal
G.yag Mi-pham Chos-kyi-bla-ma
Rong-ston
Mkhas-pa Yon-tan-dpal
Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan
Sa-skya'i-las-chen Ye-shes-lhun-grub
Rje-btsun Kun-dga'-grol-mchog

The same source (p. 104.2 [52b.2]) records the following lineage of Shākya-mchog-ldan for the lung of the Pramāṇasamuccaya only. It is notable for the appearance of Nor-bzang-dpal and his teacher Sde-bdun-pa Dpal-ldan-seng-ge.

Kha-che Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī
Sa-skya Paṇḍita
'U-yug-pa Rig[s]-pa'i-seng-ge
Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal
Sde-bdun-pa Dpal-ldan-seng-ge
Mkhas-pa Nor-bzang-dpal
Mkhan-chen Brtson-'grus-dpal
G.yag Mi-pham Chos-kyi-bla-ma
Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig
Mkhas-pa Don-yod-dpal
Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan
Sa-skya'i-las-chen Ye-shes-lhun-grub
Rje-btsun Kun-dga'-grol-mchog

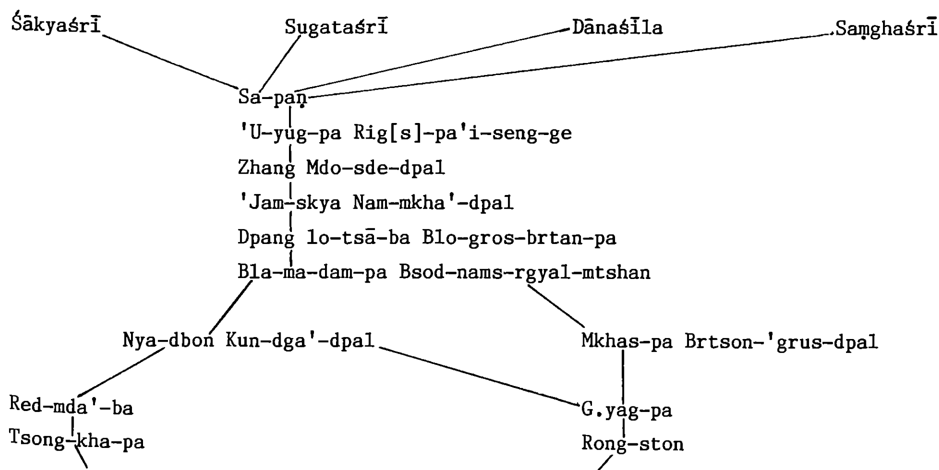
The following rather standard list is given by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (Bod kyi mkhas D, p. 20b.6):

Kha-che Paṇ-chen [Śākyaśrī]
Sa-paṇ
'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge
Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal
'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo
Dpang lo-tsā-ba
Bla-ma-dam-pa [Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan]
Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal
G.yag-ston

Ngag-dbang-chos-grags states here that some of these teachers were from the same generation, while others represent successive generations. He is referring for instance to 'U-yug-pa and Zhang, both of whom are recorded to have been disciples of Sa-paṇ.[74] Zhang was apparently much younger than 'U-yug-pa.

The Brtson-'grus-dpal mentioned in several lineages was a great scholar of Sa-skya who was a contemporary of Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal, and indeed Ngag-dbang-chos-grags here lists the latter instead. Sometimes Nya-dbon and Brtson-'grus-dpal are listed as a pair in historical accounts, as for instance by 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (Gangs can bod, p. 101 [da 51a]: nya dbon kun dga' dpal dang/ mkhan chen brtson 'grus dpal te mkhas pa nya brtson rnam gnyis). Perhaps Brtson-'grus-dpal was the senior of the two because, as will be seen below in a Rigs gter lineage, the teacher Dkon-mchog-grags appears between Brtson-'grus-dpal and G.yag-ston. According to the following source, however, in the PV lineage both Kun-dga'-dpal and Brtson-'grus-dpal were direct teachers of G.yag-ston.

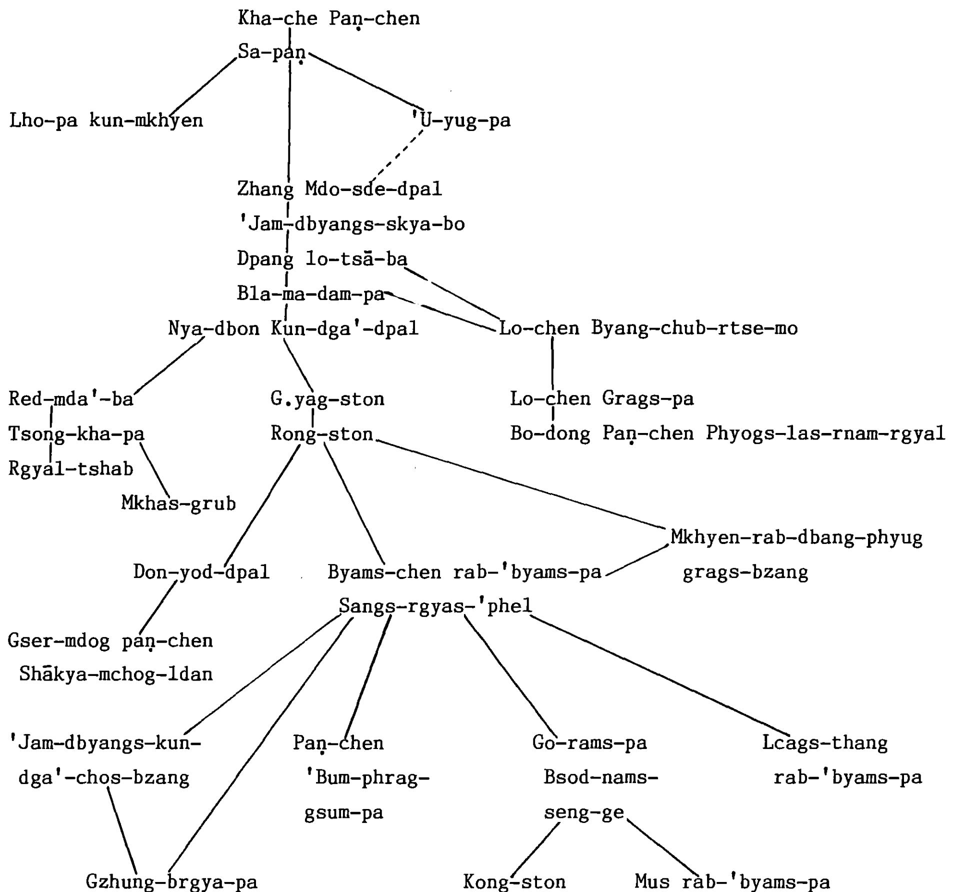
The Fifth Dalai Lama gives the main PV lineage as follows:[75]



Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen

Mkhyen-rab-dbang-phyug Grags-pa-bzang-po
(=Dmar-khams-pa Grags-bzang)

A more complete lineage as reconstructed from Ngag-dbang-chos-grags looks like this:[76]



The complete PV lineage of Tsong-kha-pa is unfortunately not available from that master's own gsan yig. The lineage of course originates with the Sa-skya-pa,

but in the reprint editions I have consulted (including the old Lha-sa Zhol xylographs) the lineage suddenly breaks off after the following:[77]

Śākyaśrībhadra
|
Sa-paṇ
|
Rigs-seng
|
?

The _gsan yig_ of Mkhas-grub-rje is available, but it gives a lineage not attested elsewhere:[78]

Kha-che Paṇ-chen
|
Chos-rje Sa-paṇ
|
'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge
|
Lte-ra-ba Chos-grags
|
Byang-chub-dpal
|
Mkhan-po Dbang-phyug-dpal
|
Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal
|
Rje-btsun Red-mda'-ba
|
Rin-po-che Dpal-'byor-shes-rab
|
[Tsong-kha-pa] Blo-bzang-grags-pa
|
Mkhas-grub

Other sources record lineages that branched off from the main lineages but which did not continue much beyond the 14th or 15th centuries. Bu-ston, for instance, received the exposition (_bshad pa_) of the PV in this lineage:[79]

Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī
|
Chos-rje Sa-skya-pa
|
'U-yug-pa Bsod-seng
|
Khang-sten 'Od-zer-rgyal-mtshan (=Khang-ston?)
|
Slob-dpon Tshad-ma-pa [Tshad-ma'i-skyes-bu]
|
[Bu-ston]

The _lung_ (reading transmission) of the PV, however, was received by Bu-ston in the lineage of the old school of Rngog and Phywa-pa:[80]

Rngog lo-tsā-ba
|
Khyung Rin-chen-grags
|

Rgya-dmar Byang-chub-grags
|
Phywa-pa
|
Gtsang-nag-pa
|
Dar-ma-bkra-shis
|
Gnyal-pa
|
Bo-dong-pa
|
Ldong-pa Grags-pa-dpal
|
Lho-pa Grub-seng
|
Tshad-ma'i-skyes-bu
|
[Bu-ston]

Another branch of the PV lineage from Sa-paṇ is recorded by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba:[81]

Kha-che Paṇ-chen Śākyaśrī
|
Sa-paṇ
|
'U-yug-pa
|
Zhang-btsun Mdo-sde-dpal
|
'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo
|
Dpal-ldan-pa
|
'Jam-dbyangs Ston-gzhon
|
Nor-bzangs-dpal
|
Grags-rin-pa
|
'Jam-sngon-pa
|
Chos-seng-ba

Rngo-thog-pa Chos-kyi-bzang-po — Rgyal-lha-khang-pa Bsam-grub-ye-shes
|
Slob-dpon Bsam-grub-bzang-po

Mkhan-chen Rin-po-che Rgyal-mtshan-bzang-po

'Gos lo-tsā-ba reports that this lineage (which is noteworthy for the absence of both Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal and Mkhan-chen Brtson-'grus-dpal) was not to be had with others, and that Mkhan-chen Rgyal-mtshan-bzang-po found it through zealous searching.[82]

The lineages recorded in Kong-sprul's compendium the *Shes bya kun khyab* seem to be somewhat confused regarding the earliest period. They apparently give more details for the early generations, but later they converge with the standard lineages listed above.[83] Another difference is that Kong-sprul adds this lineage for the Dge-lugs-pa:[84]

Sa-paṇ
Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal
Mkhas-pa-nor-bzang
Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal
Red-mda'-ba
Tsong-kha-pa

In addition, Kong-sprul does not single out Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal as a central transmitter of the main Sa-skya-pa lineage, but instead mentions him as one of four main disciples of Nyi-thog-pa. He also seems to portray 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo as the direct disciple of 'U-yug-pa as well as of Nyi-thog-pa's disciples.

Rigs gter Lineages

The above Sa-skya-pa lineages for the study of the PV should be taken as also indicating the main lineages through which the exposition of the *Rigs gter* passed, at least down to G.yag-ston and Rong-ston. This is corroborated by the *gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Lama, where the following lineages are listed for the *lung* of the *Rigs gter*:[85]

Sa-paṇ
'U-yug-pa Rig[s]-pa'i-seng-ge
'U-yug-pa [sic] Mdo-sde-dpal
Bla-ma 'Jam-dbyangs-rgyal-mtshan [i.e. 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo?]
Dpang lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa
Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan

Mkhas-pa Brtson-'grus-dpal   Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims

Dkon-cog-grags   Sa-bzang 'Phags-pa   Shar-chen

Gzhon-nu-blo-gros

G.yag-pa Sangs-rgyas-dpal

Ngor-chen

Independent of the lung lineages, the only list of the main teachers of the Rigs gter that I have come across is given by Shākya-mchog-ldan:[86]

[Sa-paṇ]
'U-yug-pa
Te'u-ra-pa
Mdong-ston
Nor-bzang
Nya Brtson
Dkon-grags
G.yag
Rong

The first three names after Sa-paṇ--i.e. 'U-yug-pa, Te'u-ra-pa and Mdong-ston--according to some sources belong to students of Sa-paṇ who were renowned for their mastery of Pramāṇa.[87] However, as seen in the lineage recorded by Mkhas-grub-rje, one of 'U-yug-pa's students was a Lte-ra-ba Chos-grags. Nor-bzang, the fifth name, belongs to a subsequent generation. According to one lineage of Shākya-mchog-ldan and also one of Kong-sprul's lists, he was a student of Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal, though in other lists he is given as a disciple of Sde-bdun-pa Dpal-ldan-seng-ge. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, he was a teacher of Brtson-'grus-dpal, whereas Kong-sprul lists him as a teacher of Nya-dbon.[88] Ngag-dbang-chos-grags also mentions him as an important scholar in the tradition, calling him Sa-skya Nor-bzang but not specifying his exact position in the lineage.[89] Nya probably stands for Nya-dbon [Kun-dga'-dpal].[90] Brtson is short for Brtson-'grus-dpal, who as mentioned above was an important contemporary of Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal. The seventh name, Dkon-grags, belongs to a disciple of Nya-dbon who was a teacher of G.yag-ston.[91] The final two names--G.yag and Rong--are the famed G.yag-ston Sangs-rgyas-dpal and Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig.

All the above were scholars who, according to Shākya-mchog-ldan, did their best to transmit the teachings of the Rigs gter complete and intact. Yet there were also some commentators on the Rigs gter who, while claiming to uphold this tradition, nevertheless made the Rigs gter the target for some of their refutations.[92] These cannot be counted as true transmitters of the lineage. Indeed, Shākya-mchog-ldan complained bitterly that in his time (the late-15th century) the terminology used by Tibetan dialecticians had entirely gone over to other systems, and that there were few scholars who could separate clearly and in detail Sa-paṇ's own views in the Rigs gter from those of the opponents, who were mainly representatives of the bsdus pa traditions.[93]

NOTES

[1] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 588.3 (regarding Sa-paṇ's treatment of mtshan nyid, mtshon bya, and mtshan gzhi): de ltar bshad pa 'di yang/ bod kyi bsdus pa dang mthun par mdzad pa yin la/.

[2] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 29.2.

[3] Bu-ston, Bde bar gshegs, pp. 1049-50, as cited by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 272, note 96. See also S. Nishioka (1983), p. 118. Shākya-mchog-ldan quotes this list in Rngog lo, p. 447, as also noted by van der Kuijp. In addition, Shākya-mchog-ldan refers to this source (though not by name) in his Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 29. See also below, chapter 7, note 15.

[4] Two or three commentaries by Rngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab survive, all of which seem to be "don bsdus pas," though none is accessible to me at present. See note 8 below.

For examples of this genre by others, see for instance the bsdus don found in the collected works of Sa-paṇ:

(A) Smra sgo'i sa bcad (TB no. 8) In the colophon of the work, it is referred to as the Smra sgo'i gnad kyi gnas bsdus don. See p. 117.1.4.

(B) Dri ma med pa'i bsdus don (TB no. 65B), pp. 393.1.6-4.6.

(C) Zung 'jug gsal ba'i sa bcad (TB no. 66)

(D) Bshes pa'i spring yig gi bsdus don (TB no. 114)

(The last is a late and probably spurious accretion to Sa-paṇ's works. Cf. L. Kawamura [1975], pp. 96-113, where it is treated as genuine, and Chr. Lindtner [1982], p. 219, note 184.) On the bsdus don, see also KhJ II 4 (p. 95.1.6, tha 191a.6), where Sa-paṇ discusses two aspects of the bsdus don as applied to teaching: (1) a brief summary of the general contents of a work, and (2) a topical outline.

[5] A more detailed idea of the Pramāṇa texts studied in the Rngog and Phywa-pa tradition down to the early-14th century can be got from Bu-ston, Bla ma dam pa, p. 38. There it is recorded that Bu-ston himself studied the following works in this tradition:

(1) PV (lung only)

(2) PVin

(3) Nyāyabindu

(4) Hetubindu

(5) Sambandhaparīkṣā with commentary

(6) Saṃtanāntarasiddhi

(7) Vādanyāya (this and the above six forming the "Tshad ma sde bdun" of Dharmakīrti)

(8) Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya

(9) Dharmottara's PVin commentary

(10) Dharmottara's Nyāyabindu commentary

(11) Kamalaśīla's Pūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipti on the Nyāyabindu

[6]Such outlines were probably first composed for the purpose of simplifying the work of Tibetan teachers and students by clarifying the often complicated relations of the many levels of topics and sub-topics in the great Indian treatises. One of the Indian paṇḍitas who visited Tibet is said to have noticed the utility of such outlines and commended their use. (Ven. Dezhung Rinpoche, personal communication.)

[7]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 29.2: bdag nyid chen po 'di nas bstan 'chos rgyas par mdzad pa'i dbu tshugs. See also ibid., p. 12.7: bod yul du rtog ge'i srol 'byed kyi rtsom pa byung ba'i thog ma.

[8]Ibid., p. 29. His commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāga (RGV) was probably available then, for it is extant even now. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1969), p. 24, where its title is given as Theg chen rgyud bla'i don bsdus pa and it is described as a 66-folio Lhasa [Zhol] xylograph. L. van der Kuijp (1985c), pp. 49f, has reported the existence of his commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, which survives as a ninety-nine folio Bkra-shis-'khyil xylograph. In addition, Mr. van der Kuijp has kindly informed me that he has located a very brief bsdus don of the Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṃkāra attributed to Rngog: Mdo sde rgyan gyi bsdus don, Don-grub-rgyal-mtshan, ed., Legs par bshad pa bka' gdams rin po che'i gsung gi gces btus nor bu'i bang mdzod (Delhi: 1985), pp. 153f.

[9]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 12.6. Here Shākya-mchog-ldan also quotes from the first lines of the "ṭīk chen." Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 34.

[10]For example, his Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa was available since Shākya-mchog-ldan wrote a commentary on it. See his Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rnam bshad dpag bsam yongs 'du'i ljon phreng, Collected Works, vol. 24, pp.

320.6-348.6. See also above, note 8.

[11]The only source recording the existence of this work is A-khu-chin Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho's Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig (MHTL no. 11810). There it is listed as tshad ma'i bsdus pa kha shas.

References to Rgya-dmar-ba's interpretations on Madhyamaka and the tathāgatagarbha are noted by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 293, note 212.

[12]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 451.3: tshad bsdus dang/ dbu bsdus kyi srol thog mar phye.

[13]Ibid.: gzhung lugs bzhi bcu tsam gyi rnam bshad mdzad. Some of his commentaries are listed by A-khu-chin Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho. See for instance MHTL nos. 11317-11320, as listed by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 299, note 259.

[14]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 32.7: bsdus pa rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum mdzad par grags pa'i nang nas 'bring po tshad ma yid kyi mun sel. Shākya-mchog-ldan thus specifies that the medium-length version was the Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel. The extensive (rgyas pa) version would seem to have been the autocommentary listed as MHTL no. 11804. I have not seen any other mention of the brief (bsdus) summary.

[15]See above, note 12. Actually two Madhyamaka summaries, one greater and one smaller, are attributed to him and listed as MHTL no. 11321: dbu ma'i bsdus pa che chung gnyis. See also Kong-sprul, Theg pa'i sgo, p. 560.4: phywa pa chos kyi seng ges dbu ma sogs la bsdus pa che chung gnyis re mdzad/. Cf. the interpretation of the word bsdus pa as summaries of the whole import of the Buddha's Word and the treatises that explain that Word, quoted by Kong-sprul (ibid., p. 560.5):

rgyal ba'i bka' dang de 'grel bstan bcos kyi//
dgongs don ma lus legs par bsdus pas na//
bsdus pa zhes su mkhas pas mtshan du btags//

These lines were also quoted by L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 62, and p. 294, note 223.

[16]Klong-rdol bla-ma, Collected Works (New Delhi), vol. 1, p. 663.2: bod yul gsang phu la sogs pa'i chos gra chen pos/ slob dpon cha pa chos seng sogs kyi mdo sde pa'i rig[s] pa'i 'gro sa [read 'gros] dang sbyar nas/ bsdus gra zhes pa'i srol gtod pa ni/

kha dog dkar dmar rdzas chos ldog chos gnyis//

'gal dang mi 'gal spyi dang bye brag gnyis//
'brel dang ma 'brel tha dad tha min gnyis//
rjes su 'gro ldog rgyu dang 'bras bu gnyis//
snga bcan bar bcan phyi bcan mtshan mtshon gnyis//
yod rtogs med rtogs dngos rtogs gnyis//

zhes bsdus tshan bco brgyad du byed pa dang/ paṇ chen mchog lha 'od zer nas brtsis pa'i stag tshang ra ba stod pa'i bla ma bcu bzhi pa/ 'phan yul gser khang pa dam chos rnam rgyal gyis/ btsan po ngag dbang 'phrin las lhun grub la brtsi bzhag gnang ba da lta btsan po bsdus rar grags pa sogs la bsdus tshan nyer gcig tu byed pa ni/ . . . .

I am not sure how the number of eighteen is arrived at regarding the topics enumerated in the above verses. On this passage, cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 294, note 220.

On the bsdus grwa tradition of Phywa-pa, see also Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, p. 379, note 350, and Rta-mgrin-rgyal, Bod du tshad ma'i, p. 69. For another recent history of Tibetan Pramāṇa, see Tshul-khrims-bskal-bzang, Tshad ma'i lo rgyus.

[17]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 451.4: khyad par mtshon sbyor gyi rnam gzhag rgyas pa de nas byung/. Here mtshon sbyor should perhaps be understood as mtshan mtshon gzhi gsum gyi sbyor ba. Shākya-mchog-ldan uses the former terminology in his Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 10, p. 270.5. L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 65-68, discusses Phywa-pa's role in this area and also cites the just-mentioned passage.

[18]The attribution of this method of exposition to Phywa-pa was first made by Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 58. See also E. Obermiller (1934), p. 222. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 62, asserts that this method was adopted by Sa-skya-pa scholiasts only in the 14th century. This style of exposition was also known as thal 'phreng ("a string of consequences"). Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun, p. 665 (kha 141a), criticizes some aspects of his contemporaries' use of thal and phyir.

[19]Bsdus ra textbooks too are a type of obligatory manual (yig cha).

[20]MHTL no. 11811.

[21]Dan-'bag-pa criticized Phywa-pa extensively on certain points (e.g. regarding dus rdul phran thug med), but this does not seem to have made a favorable impression on 'Gos lo-tsā-ba. See the latter's Deb ther, p. 298.12 (G. Roerich

tr. [1976], p. 334). Cf. RTRG, p. 171.4.2; L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 70.

Shākya-mchog-ldan evidently had access to Dan-'bag-pa's work, and he refers to it quite a few times. See L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 96.

[22]On Rma-bya-ba, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 230, note 68, and P. Williams (1985). For some additional references to the Rma-bya-ba(s), see below, KhJ III translation, note 158.

[23]See MHTL no. 11330.

[24]MHTL nos. 11324, 11325.

[25]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 453.2.

[26]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 469.3: 'u yug pas rnam bshad rigs mdzod dang/ bsdus pa rigs sgrub mdzad/ rnam 'grel lugs kyi rnam bshad gyi thog ma yin par grags/. Shākya-mchog-ldan seems to indicate that this Summary too belonged to the tradition of the PV (rnam 'grel lugs), which would place it within the Pramāṇa tradition of Sa-paṇ.

[27]On Rnam-rgyal-rdo-rje, see also G. Roerich (1976), pp. 790-792, and J. Naudou (1980), p. 256.

[28]That Summaries (bsdus pa) continued to be studied in the great 14th-century seminaries is indicated by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 469.6, where he speaks of the "tradition of the Summary" (bsdus pa'i srol) as having been followed in many seminaries in accordance with the Rigs gter. This is probably a reference to a bsdus grwa or bsdus rwa class. It is also recorded that Bu-ston mastered a Pramāṇa Summary as a student. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1966), p. 71, note 4. Elsewhere Shākya-mchog-ldan refers to such classes as the bsdus ra, and to the terminology employed in them as bsdus skad. See his Rang lugs kyi dgag gzhi ma'i rnam gzhag, p. 167.3:

col med col chung khyed cag gi//
bsdus ra'i bsdus skad de 'dra na//
lung ra'i lung chos ci 'byung shes//
rigs ra'i rigs pa'ang de ltar go//

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 99.4, also mentions later Tibetan followers of the bsdus pa tradition who were critical of the Rigs gter: tshad ma'i phyogs ni tshad bsdus rnams las 'byung ba dag ches zhib cing dpyad pas rnam par dag la/ rigs pa'i

gter ni ches shin tu rtsing pas sgra ji bzhin par skyong mi nus pas slob rgyud tshad ldan dag kyang ma byung ngo zer mos/.

L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 294, note 220, believes that the attribution of the bsdus grwa textbooks to Phywa-pa as suggested by A. Vostrikov (1935-37), pp. 60f, and supported by G. Tucci (1949), p. 137, cannot be substantiated. On the contrary, it is very likely that the bsdus grwa began as a class in which the bsdus pa textbooks were studied, and that these textbooks had a continuous development down to the present. See also above, note 16.

[29]Klong-rdol bla-ma, Collected Works (Mussoorie, 1963), part pha, p. 263, classified the Rigs gter as one of Sa-paṇ's "three treasures" (gter gsum), though as mentioned above this classification was not known in the Sa-skya-pa tradition. It was usually classed by Sa-skya-pas with the Sdom gsum rab dbye and Thub pa'i dgongs gsal (and sometimes the Legs bshad) as one of three essential treatises of their order.

[30]Sa-paṇ described this treatise as a destroyer of bad dialectics, the eliminator of the bad tradition of previous Tibetan teachers. RT, p. 167.1.2: rtog ge ngan 'joms bstan bcos chen po 'di byas so//. See also ibid., p. 167.1.3: rgan po'i lugs ngan dor nas ngas 'di bshad//. And in the RTRG, p. 167.4.2: yang dag pa'i shes pa la rigs par smra bar khas 'che ba rnams kyang log par rtog pa du ma mthong bas de sun dbyung ba dang yang dag pa'i don gtan la dbab pa'i phyir 'di brtsam mo//.

[31]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 39.4: mdo sems kyi gzhung thad sor bzhag nas bsdus pa'i srol thog mar phye ba ni tshad ma rigs pa'i gter . . . .

[32]See above, note 16, where some of the categories said to have been treated by Phywa-pa are listed. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 96, where the following subjects are enumerated: gzhan sel dang/ 'gal 'brel dang/ mtshan mtshon gyi rnam gzhag sogs 'grel mdzad gzhan la ma rag par/ rang kho na'i rnam dpyod kyis rtsal thon du mdzad pa yin/.

For more details on Phywa-pa's theories, see L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 71-84. This is the text and translation of Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, pp. 33-38.

There is also said to have been a thirteen-chapter division of the Rigs gter maintained by Sa-paṇ's student Ldong-ston. See Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 14.5 (7b.5).

[33]Sa-paṇ also quotes or refers to the views of Prajñākaragupta and other commentators a few times. See e.g. RTRG, pp. 199.4.6, 221.3.5, and 221.4.4. The latter two passages have been discussed by L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 6f.

[34]Sa-paṇ seems to have composed or at least envisaged a third work on Pramāṇa. This is indicated by a passage in his RTRG where he says that he discussed two of the jātis (ltag chod) elsewhere in detail (p. 259.3.3): rab byed dang mtshungs pa dang dus las 'das pa mtshungs pa'i dbye ba mang po zhig yod mod kyi/ yi ge mangs kyis dogs pas ma bris mod/ kho bos gzhan du bshad par blta bar bya'o//. Almost nothing else is known about the work referred to. Glo-bo mkhan-chen refers to it in his Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 392.6 (196b.6), where he mentions that this work was said to exist in early annotations (mchan rnying) but that it was not available in his time and should therefore be searched for. There are several other mysterious citations of unknown works in his writings.

[35]KhJ III 4-10. See RT, pp. 165.4.5-166.1.1; 166.2.3-5.

[36]KhJ III 68. See RTRG, p. 264.1.1.

[37]As mentioned above, Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 467.1, grouped the KhJ together with the Sdom gsum rab dbye and Phyogs bcu'i as one of Sa-paṇ's three major polemical works.

[38]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 470.2: ding sang rnam 'grel gyi bshad rgyun sa skya pa las ma rgyud [sic] pa su yang med do/.

[39]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 39.3: rnam 'grel la 'gyur bcos dang nyin re la tha na'ang chos thun re re gsung ba'i dam bca' mdzad/. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 35.4 (18a.4): chos mthun [read: thun] re nyin bzhin ma chags par mdzad pa'i dam bca' mdzad pas/.

[40]The Rigs sgrub is also mentioned by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 277.7. 'U-yug-pa in his PV commentary, Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa, f. 398b.5 (vol. 2, p. 396.2), himself mentions the work (though here the spelling is rigs grub): 'di dag thams cad ni rigs pa grub par gtan la phab zin pas . . . .

[41]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 469.3: khyad par sde snod dang rnam 'grel gyi bshad rgyun 'dzin pa la/ 'u yug pas rnam bshad rigs mdzod dang/ bsdus

pa rigs sgrub mdzad/ rnam 'grel lugs kyi rnam bshad kyi thog ma yin par grags/ te ra ba byams mgon dang/ ldong ston shes rab dpal dang/ dkar shākya grags dang/ shar pa shes rab 'byung gnas/ nags phug pa shes rab 'od zer dang/ lho pa kun mkhyen la sogs dngos kyi slob ma rnam 'grel mkhas par mkhyen pa dag yin zhes grags la/

phyis ni rgya nor bya gsum dang/ nya dar ma rin chen/ nya dbon po kun dga' dpal/ mkhas pa'i dbang po g.yag gzhon gnyis rnams te/ nyi zla ltar grags pa byon pa rnams ni mtshon pa tsam mo/.

[42]Ibid., p. 469.6: rnam 'grel gyi rnam bshad sa lugs dang bsdus pa rigs gter ltar 'dzin pa'i bshad grwa.

[43]See A. Ferrari (1958), pp. 67, 156.

[44]A. Ferrari (1958), p. 153, note 536: "It was founded in 1225 by the Sa skya pa teacher sTag rtse la rgyab pa Śākya seṅ ge and was restored in 1354 by Ta'i dben Blo gros rgyal mtshan (b. 1332); Re'u mig, pp. 59, 60."

[45]He was perhaps a disciple of 'Jam-dbyangs-don-yod-rgyal-mtshan (1310-1344). See Ngor-chen, Thob yig, p. 77.3.3.

[46]See Bo-dong paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal, Gsang 'dus lung rigs, pp. 468-470.

[47]A. Ferrari (1958), p. 142, n. 417: "founded by the first prince of rGyal rtse, 'Phags pa dpal bzang po (born 1318) [Tucci, Indo Tibetica] IV, 1, p. 14." But in Tucci (1949), p. 664, the date of its founding is given as 1366-71. 'Dzam-thang bla-ma, pp. 38b.7-39b.2, supplies the dates 1285-1379 for Nya-dbon Kun-dga'-dpal. The death date seems reasonable, but both will need further verification for the birth date makes him twenty-seven years older than his teacher Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.

[48]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 452.6, identifies the founder as 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu's disciple Ka-bzhi-rkang-cig (fl. mid-13th c.). This was not Byang-chub-dpal-bzang-po the disciple of Kha-che Paṇ-chen who founded Spos-khang in 1213. On the latter see A. Ferrari (1958), p. 142, note 422. A Byang-chub-dpal who flourished from the late-13th to early-14th centuries appears in Mkhas-grub-rje's PV lineage. See below, note 78 and chart.

[49] Tucci (1949), p. 665. The same ruler founded the Dpal-'khor-chos-sde of Rgyal-rtse in c. 1418, and the Sku-'bum there in 1427. See A. Ferrari (1958), p. 141, note 413.

[50] According to A. Ferrari (1958), p. 162, note 631, Sems-dpa'-chen-po Gzhon-nu-rgyal-mchog (1311-1390) was its spiritual founder in 1367.

[51] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 470.3. See also 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, p. 299.1 (G. Roerich tr. [1976], p. 335). For a list of works studied in this tradition in the early-14th century, see above, note 5.

[52] On Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog, see A. Ferrari (1958), p. 165, note 672. In addition, accounts of the monastery's abbatial succession are found for instance in Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Deb ther dmar po, chapter 20 (Beijing, 1981, pp. 68-73); Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo; 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, Deb ther sngon po; and Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, Vaidurya ser po. Mr. S. Onoda also informs me that an independent manuscript Gsang phu'i gdan rabs survives in the Ōtani University library.

[53] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 452.2, states that this was founded by Mnyal-zhig's disciple Rgya-ston Phying-ru-ba. The year of its founding is said to have been 1205. See A. Ferrari (1958), p. 165, note 668.

[54] The seminary here was founded by 'Jam-dbyangs Shākya-gzhon-nu and the Tshal-pa nobleman Dga'-bde. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 452.4, and A. Ferrari (1958), p. 106.

[55] The seminary for the study of Prajñāpāramitā and Pramāṇa at Khro-phu was founded by Mnyal-pa Dad-pa-bzang-po's disciple Bzang-ring Dar-ma-tshul-khrims. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 452.1.

[56] According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, ibid., p. 453.6, the teaching lineage of Pramāṇa at Snar-thang was founded by Phywa-pa's student Bru-sha Bsod-nams-seng-ge.

[57] According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, ibid., the Pramāṇa lineage at Zhwa-lu came there from Khro-phu, and thus it goes back to Mnyal-zhig. This is confirmed by Bu-ston's lineage, on which see his Bla ma, p. 38.6.

[58] This temple seems to have been located in the upper Nyang valley.

[59]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 470.3: rnam 'grel gyi rnam bshad gdung brgyud zhal ngos mdzad pa ni rje bla ma dam pas rnam bshad rgyas pa dang/ theg chen chos kyi rgyal pos bsdus pa zhig mdzad/ rnam 'grel gyi gzhung skyur len/ sngon nas da lta'i bar du sa skya'i tshogs las mang ba 'byung ma myong la/ nya tīk mdzad pa'i dus der tshig rkang pa phyed re tsam las ma thob pa byung zhes grag go/.

Other teachers from the 'Khon family, such as some of the main masters of the Gzhi-thog bla-brang, taught the Rigs gter at Sa-skya during the late-14th and early-15th century.

[60]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dka' 'grel, p. 443.5:
de yi legs bshad nor bu ni//
phyogs 'dir skal ba dman pa la//
gangs can nor mtsho'i gting zhig tu//
yun rings gab cing nub par gyur//
de nas sangs rgyas bstan pa'i dpal//
ded dpon mkhas pa 'jigs med des//
rnam bshad dang ni [p. 444] phrin las kyi//
rgyal mtshan rtse mor bkod de'o//

[61]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 470.7.

[62]This is Rnam-rgyal Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling. On the conflicting traditions of its establishment, see D. Jackson (1984), p. 42, note 6.

[63]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 471.2.

[64]Ibid., p. 471.4: na lendra btab nas lo nyi shu rtsa lnga pa me mo yos la 'bras yul du bshad pa'i grwa btsugs. According to A. Ferrari (1958), p. 163, note 635, Skyed-mo-tshal in 'Bras-yul was founded by Byams-chen rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas-'phel in 1447. The Rin-spungs-pa ruler Nor-bu-bzang-po was said by Shākya-mchog-ldan to be the patron of the founding of the seminary (bshad grwa) there.

[65]Ibid., p. 471.5: me mo khyi lo la go bo rab 'byams pas rta nag gser gling du bshad grwa btsugs. The date 1478 is found in the Re'u mig of Sum-pa mkhan-po for the founding of Rta-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal by Go-bo rab-'byams-pa. See A. Ferrari (1958), p. 158. L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 120f, gives the year 1472 for the founding of Rta-nag Thub-bstan-rnam-rgyal.

[66]Rta-nag mkhan-po Chos-rnam-rgyal (fl 17th c.), Bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin, ff. 90b-91b:

mdo sngags gnyis las [91a] dang po'i srol 'byed kyi gtso bo g.yag rong gnyis/ phyi mas na lendra'am bod skad du rgyun gyi dbang po zhes pa'i gtsug lag khang btab/ bshad rgyun rgya cher mdzad pas slob ma nor 'dzin gyi rdul tsam byung mod/

de'i nang nas smra [=smar] khams pa grags pa bzang pos grwa tshang chen mo btab/ de'i gdan sa nams sod chen mos bskyangs/

byams chen rab 'byams pa sangs rgyas 'phel gyis 'bras yul skyed mos tshal btab/

de'i gdan sa pa 'jam dbyangs chos rje kun dga' chos bzang gis bskyang/

rong ston don yod dpal gyi[s] se mo lung gi chos sde btab/ de'i gdan sa paṇ chen shākya mchog ldan gyis mdzad nas dgon pa thub bstan gser mdog can du bsgyur/

rong ston dang byams chen rab 'byams pa gnyis char gyi slob ma go rams bstan pa'i nyi mas thog mar skyed tshal gyi zur 'chad mdzad/ phyis thub bstan rnam par rgyal ba'i dgon pa btab/

de'i slob ma mus rab 'byams pa thugs rje dpal bzang gis thub bstan yangs pa can gyis [sic] dgon pa btab/

'bum rams pa byams pa chos don 'grub kyi[s] bya rgod gshong btab/

gzhung brgya pa don [sic] grub dpal 'bar gyis chos 'khor lhun po btab/

mnga' ris pa lha dbang blo gros kyis gzha' ri bskyid [sic] 'tshal btab/

stag [91b] phrug kun dga' dpal 'byor gyis ra ba smad go rams chen po'i bka' gros su bsgyur/

shes grong paṇ chen blo gros chos kyi rgyal pos rdo phud chos 'khor gnas dang/ dags po grwa tshang de'i bka' srol du bsgyur/

ga zi bka' bcu pa shākya blo gros kyis rnam rgyal gser khang gi grwa tshang gtsugs te ga zi grwa tshang du grags so/

Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 121.

[67]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rje btsun thams, p. 309.4.

[68]As quoted above, note 42, Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions that many of the major seminaries maintained the study or class of the "Summaries" in accordance with the Rigs gter.

[69]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 99.3: gzhan phyogs pa'i bshes gnyen chos rgyus can du khas 'che ba dag na re/ . . . . tshad ma'i phyogs ni tshad bsdus rnams las 'byung ba dag ches zhib cing dpyad pas rnam par dag la/ rigs pa'i gter ni shin tu rtsings pas sgra ji bzhin skyong mi nus pas slob rgyud tshad ldan dag kyang ma byung ngo zhes zer mod/.

[70] Ibid., p. 100.2.

[71] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dka' 'grel, p. 443, implies as much through his metaphor of G.yag-ston as a skillful and fearless boat captain who recovers the long-lost jewel (of the Sa-skya and Rngog Pramāṇa traditions) from its concealment in the bed of a jewel-lake. See above, note 60. The key line is yun rings gab cing nub par gyur, which indicates that the tradition was in decline for a long time--if this is not mere poetical fancy. Dr. L. van der Kuijp has also suggested to me that G.yag-ston's activities may have been meant to counter the criticisms of the Rigs gter by Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1375-1451).

[72] Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen in his gsan yig lists these eighteen, and states that this enumeration became established in the time of G.yag-ston and Red-mda'-ba at such places as Sa-skya and Ngam-ring. The eighteen are:

[Three treatises on Pramāṇa]

1. Tshad ma'i mdo (Pramāṇasamuccaya)
2. Tshad ma rnam 'grel (Pramāṇavārttika)
3. Tshad ma rnam nges (Pramāṇaviniścaya)

[Two Vinaya texts]

4. 'Dul ba mdo
5. 'Dul ba mdo rtsa

[Two Abhidharma treatises]

6. Mngon pa kun las bus pa (Abhidharmasamuccaya)
7. Mngon pa mdzod (Abhidharmakośa)

[The five "Dharmas of Maitreya"]

8. Mngon rtogs rgyan (Abhisamayālaṃkāra)
9. Mdo sde rgyan (Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra)
10. Dbu mtha' rnam 'byed (Madhyāntavibhāga)
11. Chos nyid rnam 'byed (Dharmādharmavibhāga)
12. Rgyud bla ma (Ratnagotravibhaṅga)

[Prajñāpāramitā]

13. Phar phyin

[Three Madhyamaka treatises]

14. Dbu ma rtsa ba shes rab (Mūlamadhyamakakārikās)
15. Dbu ma la 'jug pa (Madhyamakāvatāra)
16. Dbu ma bzhi brgya pa (Catuḥśataka)

[Two treatises of Sa-paṇ]

17. Rigs gter
18. Sdom gsum rab dbye

See Zhu-chen, Dpal ldan, vol. 1, pp. 103.5-104.1 (ka 52a-b): rje btsun sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin kun mkhyen g.yag ston sangs rgyas dpal dang/ red mda' ba gzhon nu dpal dag gi skabs su sa skya dang ngam ring sogs su po ti grags chen bco brgyad kyi rnam gzhag mdzad par/

tshad mdo rnam 'grel rnam nges tshad ma'i skor//
'dul ba mdo dang mdo rtsa 'dul ba'i skor//
kun las btus dang mdzod gnyis mngon pa'i skor//
byams chos lnga dang phar phyin dbu ma yi//
rtsa 'jug bzhi gsum ches zab dbu ma'i skor//
sde bdun mdo bcas dgongs 'grel rig[s] gter dang//
sde snod rgyud sde kun 'grel sdom gsum ste//
pu ti grags chen bco brgyad zhes su grags//

73 Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun...nye bar mkho, p. 63.3 (3a.3):
gzhung de nyid la'ang dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍitas [sic]//
rigs tshul gsal bar dpyod ldan 'u yug pa//
rigs pa'i seng ge rigs pa grub pa dang//
rong ston chen pos rigs pa'i snang ba dang//
kun mkhyen lho pa sde bdun gsal ba sde//
don gyi 'grel byed rmad byung rnam gsum byung//
sngon gyi mkhas pa rwa grags stag rdor dang//
phyogs glang gsar ma dpal ldan seng ge dang//
jo btsun grags rgyal mkhas mchog nor bzang dpal//
mtshungs med blo gros gsal ldan gnas drug pa'i//
rnam bshad dang bcas tshig gi 'grel pa drug//
tshig don nyams pa med pa'i rnam 'grel yin//

The first three (one can assume that Ldong-ston is meant instead of Rong-ston, since here what is needed is a student of Sa-paṇ) as well as Dpal-ldan-seng-ge and Nor-bzang-dpal are known from the standard sources and lineage lists. Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his Rigs gter commentary Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad quotes from 'U-yug-pa, Ldong-ston and Lho-pa. In a recent bibliographical list, Phyogs-glang-gsar-ma is asserted, perhaps erroneously, to have written a Rigs gter commentary. See D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 8f.

74 For references to other studies of Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal with Sa-paṇ see Ngor-chen, Thob yig, pp. 49.4.2, 61.1.3, and 84.4.4. 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo is Zhang's disciple also in these minor Tantric lineages.

[75]Dalai bla-ma V Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, Zab pa, vol. 1, pp. 37.5-38.4 (ka 19a.5-19b.4). It is strange that the Fifth Dalai Lama here ascribed to this same lineage also the origin of his bsdus grwa tradition, though he does acknowledge that the latter tradition spread from the time of such masters as Phywa-pa and Gtsang-nag-pa. See ibid., p. 36.5 (ka 18b.5).

[76]Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (D), pp. 20b.6ff.

[77]Peking Tibetan Tripiṭika, vol. 153, p. 158.5.3; Collected Works (New Delhi: 1979), vol. ka, p. 286.4 (gsan yig, p. 28b.4); (New Delhi, Gurudeva, 1978), p. 283.2.

[78]Mkhas-grub-rje, Mkhas grub thams, pp. 40f (4b.6-5a.1).

[79]Bu-ston, Bla ma dam pa, p. 39.4. Cf. the 'Jam-skya lineage, p. 56.3.

[80]Ibid., p. 38.6. Cf. the PVin lineage given in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rnam, pp. 79-80:

Rngog lo-tsā-ba
|
Khyung-phrug Rin-chen-grags
|
Phywa-pa
|
Gtsang-nag-pa
|
Gnyal-zhig Jo-nam
|
Mkhas-pa 'Od-zer-mgon
|
'Jam-dbyangs Shāk-gzhon
|
G.yag-sde Paṇ-chen
|
Rin-chen-tshul-khrims
|
Sangs-rgyas-chos-skyong
|
[Shākya-] mchog-ldan-legs-pa'i-blo

[81]'Gos lo-tsā-ba, p. 308 (cha 9b), and G. Roerich tr. (1976), p. 346.

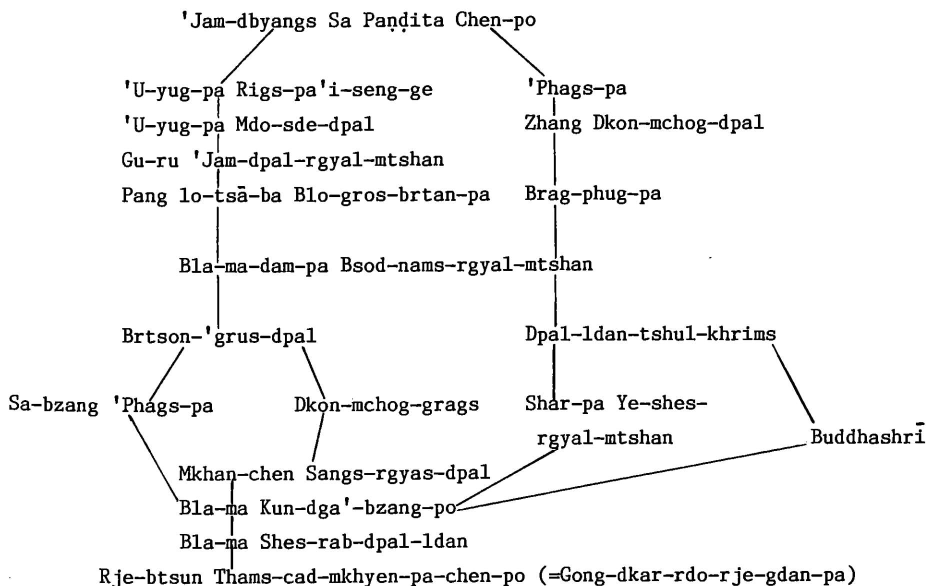
[82]Ibid.: 'di rnam 'grel gzhan rnams la mi snang bas/ mkhan chen rin po che rgyal mtshan bzang pos 'bad pa chen pos btsal bas rnyed pa yin gsung ste/.

[83]Kong-sprul, Theg pa'i sgo, pp. 561f (oṃ 203b). Here Kong-sprul seems to say that Shar-pa Shes-rab-'byung-gnas, (Shar-pa) Rdo-rje-'od-zer, Nub-pa 'U-yug-pa Rig[s]-pa'i-seng-ge, Gung-pa Skyo-ston-dri-med, and ('U-yug-pa's nephew) Nyi-thog-pa Sangs-rgyas-kun-smon were all noteworthy immediate disciples of Sa-paṇ in

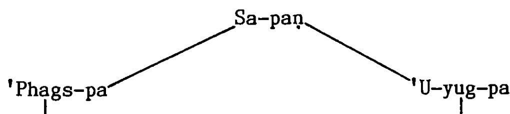
Pramāṇa, and that the latter had four chief disciples: Khang-ston 'Od-zer-rgyal-mtshan, Gnyan Dar-ma-seng-ge, Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal, and Zur-khang-pa Dkar Shākya-grags-pa. But all nine of these are traditionally listed together as Sa-paṇ's disciples who were "the upholders of the lineages of exposition" (*bshad pa'i brgyud 'dzin*). On the lineage see also L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 118, and on the classification of his disciples see *ibid*., pp. 107ff.

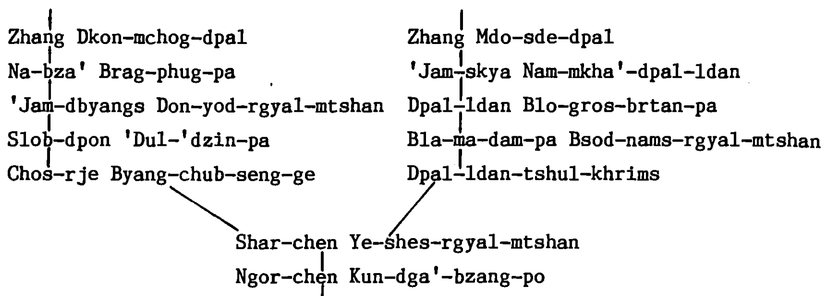
[84] Kong-sprul, *Theg pa'i sgo*, p. 562 (*oṃ* 204a). See also L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 314, note 359.

[85] Dalai bla-ma V Ngag-dbang-bla-bzang-rgya-mtsho, *Zab pa*, vol. 2, p. 131.4 (*kha* 66a.4). A somewhat different record is preserved in Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's *gsan yig*: *Thob yig bum pa bzang po*, f. 221b (=*da* 17b.1): *rigs gter rang 'grel chos rje g.yag pa nas brgyud pa bshad pa dang bcas pa'i brgyud pa/*



Another somewhat differing lineage preserved within the Ngor-pa school is listed by Zhu-chen, *Dpal ldan*, vol. 1, p. 106.2 (*ka* 53b.2):





86 Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 100.2.

87 See above, note 41. Mdong-ston (also spelled Ldong-ston) Shes-rab-dpal-bzang-po was one of a group of thirteen senior disciples who had taken ordination from Sa-paṇ. (This group also included Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal, though the latter also appears in a group of nine disciples who upheld the lineages of explication. See L. van der Kuijp [1983], pp. 107f.) Mdong-ston was also active in transmitting a 'Jigs-byed lineage, receiving it from Sa-paṇ and bestowing it on 'Phags-pa. See Ngor-chen, Thob yig, p. 48.3.2.

Te'u-ra-pa (also spelled Te-ra-pa) Byams-pa-mgon-po was one of four of Sa-paṇ's closest disciples who were both learned and reverend (mkhas btsun gyi thugs sras bzhi).

88 But in the lineage presented by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba (see below), two teachers intervene between 'Jam-dbyangs-skya-bo and him. Nor-bzang was also alluded to in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 469.5. See above, note 41.

89 Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Thimphu edition), p. 258.4 (130b.4).

90 But Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi khor, p. 469.5, lists also Dar-ma-rin-chen (Nya-dbon's uncle) as a great scholar of Pramāṇa.

91 Dalai bla-ma V Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, Zab pa, vol. 2, p. 131 (kha 66a.6). Could he be the Bzang-ldan-pa Dkon-mchog-grags-bzang who is mentioned in Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Thimphu), p. 258.4? See also the passage from the Fifth Dalai Lama's gsan yig cited above, n. 85.

[92]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa p. 100.1. This would seem to refer to the Rigs gter commentary by Rgyal-tshab Dar-ma-rin-chen, which is not included in his accessible collected works. The work does seem to survive in Leningrad as it was used by Th. Stcherbatsky. See above, chapter 2, section (3).

[93]Ibid., p. 96.4. The second complaint must be taken with a grain of salt because this was a very active period of Sa-skya-pa exegesis and scholarship. Nevertheless, Shākya-mchog-ldan was indeed one of the few who took great pains to trace back the pūrvapakṣas of the Rigs gter in detail.

Chapter 7

SA-PAṆ, RNGOG AND PHYWA-PA ON THE INTERPRETATION OF DHARMAKĪRTI

A basic canon of interpretation is that the exegete should explain his text in its own terms and should not impose upon it a philosophy that is foreign to the intent of its author. This principle was accepted--in one form or another--by the Buddhist exegetes of India and Tibet. Yet there do exist cases where commentators disagreed about which philosophy their author followed, a notable example being the different interpretations of the works of Dharmakīrti, the greatest of the Indian Buddhist logicians. Th. Stcherbatsky in his classic study Buddhist Logic described how in India there developed three main schools of interpreting Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa ("logico-epistemology"). There was a "philological" school that included Śākyamati, and a "philosophical" school whose founder was Dharmottara.[1] Different from both of these was the so-called "religious" school founded by Prajñākaragupta.[2] The first two schools were said by Tibetan doxographers to have interpreted Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa works as representing ultimately a Yogācāra viewpoint, whereas the third was said to explain the ultimate intent of Dharmakīrti as being the Madhyamaka.[3]

Not as well known is the fact that in 12th- and 13th-century Tibet too there existed some three different traditions of interpreting Dharmakīrti.[4] Each was identified with an illustrious founder: Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059-1109), Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-1169), and Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251). A key point of difference between them was how to classify the ultimate intent of Dharmakīrti--in the last analysis was he a Yogācārin or a Mādhyamika? Since the positions of these three authors (and especially of Sa-paṇ) on this question have yet to be studied in detail, I will present below some translations of the materials that clarify the opinions of each.[5]

Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab

Rngog lo-tsā-ba more than anyone else was responsible for the founding of Tibetan scholasticism. In addition to his prolific translation activities, he established the main teaching lineages of the Dharmas of Maitreya (byams chos) and

the three eastern Indian treatises of the Svātantrika Madhyamaka (rang rgyud shar gsum). And as previously mentioned, he founded an influential school of Pramāṇa studies. Regarding the latter, it is said that he translated the PV with the Pramāṇālaṃkāra of Prajñākaragupta and the PVin with Dharmottara's commentary, and that by expounding these (especially the PVin with commentary), he established a teaching line which lasted well over five hundred years in Tibet.[6]

Rngog interpreted Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika. Our main sources for Rngog's opinions are the writings of Shākya-mchog-ldan, a 15th-century Sa-skya-pa scholar who originally had studied at Rngog's old monastic seat, Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan's History of Pramāṇa:

> [Rngog] explained the PV as Madhyamaka according to the intent of [Prajñākaragupta's] [PV] Alaṃkāra. And as for the PVin, [he explained the] ultimate as higher than the Mind-Only [i.e Yogācāra] because it rests in [i.e. is consonant with?] just what was said in the passage of the fourth consideration of the fruit [of cognition],[7] [but] having retained as they were the separate passages of the Sautrāntika and Mind-Only.
>
> There are, nevertheless, two widely recognized traditions originating in India for the exposition of the Dharmas of Maitreya and its followers: (1) exposition according to learning and reflection, and (2) exposition according to meditative cultivation. From among these, the tradition of the Great Translator [Rngog] was mainly just the former. Therefore he expounded the identification of all three insubstantialities (bdag med : nairātmya) too as just non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation (med dgag), since the emptiness established through learning and reflection is merely non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation.[8] And regarding [that exposition], he held that also the identification of the ultimate truth here too in the context of Maitreya's Dharmas and in the context of the author of the PV was, on the level of transactional usage, entirely beyond the scope of mind.
>
> [Question:] If the Great Translator commented on the PV as Madhyamaka, which did he explain it as--the two known as Prāsaṅgika and Svātantrika, or that which is known as the Madhyamaka [which maintains that] the cognitive image [is] false (rnam brdzun dbu ma)?
>
> [Answer:] Since he based himself just on the reasoning of the author of the PV, he did not comment on it according to the traditions of Prāsaṅgika or Svātantrika. Nor was it that latter tradition, for he did not expound the identification of emptiness as being Gnosis (ye

shes) according to the expository system of the traditions of meditative cultivation of the Dharmas of Maitreya.

[Doubt:] If it is none of those traditions, there do not exist any other commentarial systems of the Madhyamaka.

[Answer:] This way of commenting is another great doctrinal system that does not rely upon those previous founders of systems. For he said the following in his Spring yig bdud rtsi thig pa:

> "After clearly understanding that entrance gate into the principle of all factors of existence being empty of own natures--which is the highest of correct reasonings taught by Nāgārjuna--from the beautiful works of the author of the [Pramāṇa]vārttika who has reached perfection in reasoning, one should abandon all other traditions like straw."[9]

I [Shākya-mchog-ldan] have seen only a few of the investigations he made of the Alaṃkāra commentary on the PV, whereas he refuted many points in the exposition of Dharmottara that he took to be unacceptable, having retained as they were those [passages] he thought were acceptable.[10]

Thus according to Shākya-mchog-ldan (and the quote from Rngog's own work), the Great Translator linked the thought of Dharmakīrti to Nāgārjuna, though without identifying it as belonging to any later Madhyamaka school. This was the opinion of Shākya-mchog-ldan late in his life when at age 73 (1501) he wrote that History of Pramāṇa. Nineteen years previous to that, however, Shākya-mchog-ldan in his subcommentary (rnam bshad) on the Rigs gter linked Rngog to the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka of Śāntarakṣita:

> Having executed translations, editions, and subcommentaries on a large scale, he explained [the ultimate import of Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa] as the Madhyamaka which accords with the basic treatises of Śāntarakṣita.[11]

Probably still earlier in his life (c. 1475-1480?), Shākya-mchog-ldan portrayed the interpretation of Rngog in more general terms in his history of Rngog lo-tsā-ba and the latter's successors:

> [Rngog understood] the ultimate intent (mthar thug gi dgongs pa) of Dharmakīrti to be in agreement with Nāgārjuna. And as for his identification of the definitive meaning (nges don), he explained it as emptiness of both [apprehended object and apprehending subject] in its aspect of non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation (med dgag). Regarding [the commentaries of] Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta, he refuted those parts that were contradictory and explained the agreeing parts according to his [i.e. Nāgārjuna's?] system.[12]

Elsewhere Shākya-mchog-ldan summarized Rngog's basic approach in this way:

> He revealed the nectar of emptiness, having interpreted the system of the reasoning of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika as that great tradition, the theory of the excellent system of Nāgārjuna.[13]

Finally, in his incomplete commentary on the KhJ, Shākya-mchog-ldan described the tradition of "Rngog together with his followers" (i.e. including Phywa-pa?) as follows:

> The Pramāṇa treatises of Dignāga and his chief successor [Dharmakīrti] were, in general, spread very much by Rngog lo-tsā-ba together with those who followed in his lineage. But as for the way in which they spread it, they let stand the accepted consensus of the world [regarding the mechanism of perception] because the manners of exposition of Sautrāntika and Mind-Only which occur in the basic text itself were not the purport of the author [i.e. of Dharmakīrti]. And from among commentators [on the PV], they [accepted] merely the master of the [PV] Alaṃkāra [Prajñākaragupta], and except for him did not consider the others as definitive (or: as decisive, mtha' gcig tu), besides [using] merely an abridgment of their best points.
>
> As for their own manner of exposition, regarding the system of the surface level, they let stand just the innate consensus of the world. They applied that reasoning taught in the PV of "devoid of oneness and manyness" as being just [a reasoning] which establishes all knowable things as empty of own-nature (rang stong). Regarding the ultimate truth which is the thing to be experienced, they applied that to just the non-dual gnosis and expounded it as being part of the Without-own-nature [i.e. the Madhyamaka], in agreement with Śāntarakṣita. And as for the system of the "exclusion of other" (anyāpoha), logical connec-

tion and incompatibility, definition and defined, etc., they explained them as best they could through just their own powers of discernment, not relying on other commentators. And [Rngog?] expounded [Pramāṇa] at length, having pledged to compose the treatise with these words:

> I shall exactly ascertain the difficult points of the real facts of Pramāṇa which are not well and exactly clarified even in the minds of other composers of treatises.[14]

Shākya-mchog-ldan perhaps could not give a more detailed account since many of Rngog's works were apparently no longer available in his time.[15]

Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge

The school of Rngog was for nearly half a century the sole interpreter of Dharmakīrti in Tibet. Then, in the mid-12th century, a great Tibetan dialectician appeared within Rngog's own school who reinterpreted Buddhist Pramāṇa according to his own acute but idiosyncratic understandings. This great dialectician was Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge.[16]

Phywa-pa is said to have written a commentary on the PVin as well as independent treatises such as his famous "Summary" (bsdus pa), the Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel. The latter work, in its brief, medium and expansive versions, soon eclipsed the tradition of Rngog's own explanations, and for some two generations it was the most influential work on Pramāṇa in Tibet. This was possible because Rngog had not written extensively or in great detail on Pramāṇa; Rngog's successors had much room in which to improvise.[17]

According to Shākya-mchog-ldan's History of Pramāṇa, Phywa-pa's interpretations of Dharmakīrti were strange indeed:

> Having explained the ultimate intent of Dharmakīrti as abiding in the principle of the absence of own-nature (niḥsvabhāva, i.e. as Madhyamaka), [Phywa-pa] expounded the identification of the definitive meaning, emptiness, as just non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation. And he explained the [reasoning of] absence of oneness and manyness as that which establishes that [emptiness]. Regarding the matters he established or confuted, there are very many excellent cases where he let stand as they were the statements in the main commentators and also [commented] according to however it occurred to his own skills of discernment. He paid no heed whatsoever to the Sautrāntika and Mind-

> Only scriptural traditions occurring in Dharmakīrti which refute or establish external objects; rather, he took them as the target for his refutations. Having done so, he made the system of transactional usage of his own school to accord with worldly consensus and the Vaibhāṣikas. But in doing so he did not accord with the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka, for he wrote extremely extensive refutations of the opinions of that school.[18]

A similar account is found in Shākya-mchog-ldan's commentary on the Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (Rigs gter) of Sa-paṇ. Here Phywa-pa is described as the famous originator in Tibet of the custom of writing general, thematic commentaries as aids for the teaching of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti's writings. His best-known work is again said to have been the Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel. In it:

> He [Phywa-pa] explained as being purely unacceptable all the ways of expositions of the systems of the surface level of the Sautrāntika, Sākāra [Mind-Only] and Nirākāra Mind-Only, refuting them through his own reasoning. He set forth his own system as follows: He accepted that an object is cognized by a cognition in which the object appears, in a way that is bare and without a cognitive image, like the Vaibhāṣika [accepts], and said of that tradition that it was in accord with worldly consensus. And as for the way in which he set forth emptiness, the ultimate reality, this he explained according to the system of those who maintain no own-nature [i.e. the Mādhyamikas], [teaching] that all factors of existence are empty of own-nature, and not accepting even the slightest thing that could be termed a "veridically established factor." And he expounded the nature of emptiness as just non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation, and affirmed that that [emptiness] too was something which was critically discernable (dpyad bzod) by means of reasoning.[19]

Later in the same work:

> That reasoning of Phywa-pa which said "[We] refute the Sākāra school by means of Vaibhāṣika reasoning and the reasoning of worldly consensus, and refute the Nirākāra Mind-Only by means of Madhyamaka reasoning, and then explain the seven Pramāṇa treatises [of Dharmakīrti] as being in accord with worldly consensus" ignores all the excellent expositions in the basic treatises and merely puts together with great zeal what had

not been expounded.[20]

Still again near the end of that work Shākya-mchog-ldan described the approach of Phywa-pa in similar terms:

> The lord of Dharma, the lion of reasoning [Phya-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge], in the treatises called The Elimination of Mental Darkness (yid kyi mun sel) refuted the two traditions of Sautrāntika and Mind-Only, and explained the seven treatises [of Dharmakīrti] as the 'Jig-rten-grags-sde-spyod-pa'i Dbu-ma.[21]

Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan

Thus a few decades after Rngog's death, a second and distinctively Tibetan school of epistemology had grown up. This school for a time had no effective rival, and it would have exercised an even longer and deeper influence on Tibetan scholasticism had it not been vigorously opposed some two generations later by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. Sa-paṇ was an all-around scholar, but if he was more erudite in any one branch of scholastics, it was probably in Pramāṇa, one of the most arduous subjects of all.

As already described above in some detail, Sa-paṇ received his first detailed instructions on Pramāṇa from the age of nineteen to twenty-one from Rkyang-'dur-ba Mtshur Gzhon-nu-seng-ge, who belonged to the tradition of Phywa-pa's student Gtsang-nag-pa Brtson-'grus-seng-ge.[22] At that time Sa-paṇ studied the PVin (and according to Shākya-mchog-ldan, the Pramāṇa Summary of Phywa-pa).[23] He is said to have made quick progress, and he was no doubt well on his way to becoming a teacher in this tradition when suddenly there opened up a chance to study in a completely different tradition. What happened was that in 1204 after Sa-paṇ had studied Pramāṇa for about three years, the renowned Kashmiri paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra (1127?-1225) arrived in Tibet accompanied by an entourage of nine other accomplished scholars from East India, Nepal and Kashmir.[24] These scholars belonged to the last generation of savants who had studied and taught in the great Buddhist monastic seminaries of Magadha, the heartland of Buddhism. Only a few years earlier, Turkic brigands had sacked the great seminaries as Nālandā and Vikramaśīla, thus destroying the foremost centers of Indian Buddhist learning and dispersing their scholars. For Sa-paṇ, however, these disastrous developments created a uniquely favorable opportunity.

The young and gifted Sa-paṇ threw himself whole-heartedly into Sanskrit and Pramāṇa studies with the visiting teachers. By the end of the decade he had assiduously studied in Sanskrit all the fundamental Pramāṇa scriptures and had become a full-fledged translator who worked with Śākyasrībhadra himself in re-translating Dharmakīrti's greatest work, the PV.[25] When Śākyasrī departed from Tibet in 1213-1214 at the end of his ten-year visit, Sa-paṇ had become one of the greatest Tibetan experts on Pramāṇa of all time.[26] Some five years later (c. 1219) he is said to have composed his monumental Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter (Rigs gter) with autocommentary (rang 'grel).[27]

As Shākya-mchog-ldan observes, the tradition Sa-paṇ received through his studies with the Indian masters was "not adulterated by Tibetan explanations."[28] Through these studies:

> [Sa-paṇ] saw that the explanations in the Pramāṇa Summaries [of Phywa-pa and others] that had previously appeared were not in accord with the basic scriptures. Thereafter he composed his Tshad ma rigs gter with commentary, which was the first beginnings of a tradition of teaching a topical summary (bsdus pa'i srol) of Pramāṇa in which the scriptural traditions of Sautrāntika and Mind-Only were retained just as they were.[29]

Sa-paṇ's immediate motive for composing his Rigs gter was to correct the misinterpretations of Phywa-pa and his followers:

> If one expounds as above [i.e. as Phywa-pa had done], one will have affirmed the main doctrine that is opposed to the fundamental works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. The reasons are as follows: Those works explain as their own system that very position of the Sautrāntika as long as external objects are affirmed, and they refute the accepted worldly conceptions and opinions maintained by the Vaibhāṣikas. When external objects are negated, those texts at first remain within the tradition of the Sākāra Mind-Only, establishing all appearing phenomena as the mind through the reasons of "illumination and awareness" (gsal zhing rig pa) and "necessary concomitance of the simultaneously apprehended" (lhan cig dmigs nges).[30] In the end they take as their basis that which is the system of those who consider the cognitive image to be false [i.e. the Alikākāra], and establish [mind] as without the duality of apprehending subject and apprehended object.

[Phywa-pa] taught that all factors are empty of own-nature (rang stong). He ultimately did not affirm any veridically established factor, and he expounded the identification of emptiness as an aspect of non-presuppositional and non-implicative negation. But since these teachings do not appear in the great doctrinal system of Maitreya's fundamental scriptures as explained by Asaṅga and his brother, they were not taught also in the fundamental works of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. Therefore the refutation of those points is the direct motive for this treatise [the Tshad ma rigs gter].[31]

One of the key differences between Phywa-pa and Sa-paṇ on Pramāṇa had to do with the number of objects of apprehension that each accepted. In contrast to the threefold scheme of Phywa-pa, Sa-paṇ held that the object of knowledge through perception is only one: the svalakṣaṇa, and he quotes PV III 53d to this effect.[32] In the course of replying to the objections of others concerning this point, Sa-paṇ in his Rigs gter rang 'grel discusses three main topics, viz. (1) the general arrangement of Indian philosophical schools with regard to the ultimate objects of knowledge (which for many schools is an underlying causal or ontological entity), (2) a refutation of the non-Buddhist opinions regarding the above, and (3) the establishment of the Buddhist tradition.[33] Regarding the first, he lists seven major philosophical schools of India, from among which four are non-Buddhist[34] and three Buddhist:

(1) Those (followers of the Cārvāka) who hold that "natures" (svabhāva) are the causes and that all reality arises from the predetermined nature of things (i.e. not from a separate cause).

(2) Followers of Īśvara. They hold that reality was created by Īśvara.

(3) Followers of the Sāṃkhya. They hold that reality is created by pradhāna.

(4) Followers of Kaṇāda, i.e., the Vaiśeṣikas. They hold that the world is made up of "atoms" (i.e. minute indivisible particles).

(5) The Śrāvakas. They too hold that the world is made of "atoms."

(6) The followers of the Mind-Only (i.e. of Yogācāra). They maintain that the world is mind.

(7) The followers of the Madhyamaka. They maintain that on the ultimate level all is free from discursive elaboration, and on the surface level they follow either those schools that maintain existent entities or that maintain a position which accords with worldly consensus.[35]

After rejecting the positions of the first three non-Buddhist schools, Sa-paṇ arrives at part three, the establishment of the tradition of the Sugata. This has two main parts: (1) the identification of the Buddha's intent, and (2) how that was specifically established by the Ācarya [Dharmakīrti]. The Sage (i.e. the Buddha) affirmed "atoms" when he investigated exterior objects. When he investigated the reality (de kho na nyid: tattva) of transactional usage (tha snyad: vyavahāra), he affirmed mind alone. And when he engaged the reality of the ultimate truth, he engaged in that which is free from discursive elaborations.[36]

Now, the real question is where the author of the PV fits into this scheme. Sa-paṇ states that the Ācarya's [i.e. Dharmakīrti's] procedure for establishing the Buddha's intent involved two things: objective cognition (don rig) and "mental cognition" (rnam rig: vijñapti). As for the first, he states: "When one affirms external objects, one must maintain the tradition of the Sautrāntika."[37] But before explaining the second, Sa-paṇ tells how to negate the "constructions" (i.e. the tenets) of others. For instance, one can analyze the Vaibhāṣika notion of a substance that possesses parts through the reasoning of "absence of oneness and manyness."[38] Similarly one analyzes and rejects more subtle entities, such as the "atoms" of the Vaiśeṣikas and the Śrāvakas, through the reasoning of "the simultaneous conjunction of six ['atoms']".[39] According to Sa-paṇ, however, it does not accord with the Pramāṇa tradition to base oneself on worldly consensus as in the Prāsaṅgika tradition of Candrakīrti.[40]

As for the actual establishing of "mental cognition" (rnam rig: vijñapti) Sa-paṇ states: "When investigating means of knowledge within transactional usage (kun tu tha snyad pa: saṃvyavahāra), one should follow the authors of the Sūtra [i.e the Pramāṇasamuccaya] and the [Pramāṇa] Vārttika."[41] Specifically, this is to establish mental cognition by means of two proofs: (1) "illumination and awareness" (gsal zhing rig pa) and (2) "the necessary concomitance of simultaneous apprehension" (lhan cig dmigs nges). Sa-paṇ here also defends cognition or mind against opponents such as Mādhyamikas who criticize it as being [subject to negation] like an atom.[42] He furthermore denies that the presence or absence of the cognitive image (rnam pa: ākāra) is of any relevance to the discussion at hand since all that is meant to be established here is that it is just the mind that appears as the object.[43] Sa-paṇ does, however, discuss the difference between the Sākāra and Nirākāra schools later, in chapter nine, which deals with perception (mngon sum: pratyakṣa). There in one passage he again sums up his position regarding the philosophical classification of Dharmakīrti:

> Thus from among the four philosophical schools, the Ācarya [Dharmakīrti] followed the Sautrāntikas when he affirmed external objects, and

he maintained the Nirākāra when the object of knowledge was "internalized" (nang la 'jug pa).[44]

In spite of such clear statements in the Rigs gter rang 'grel itself and also from the main commentators on the Rigs gter,[45] there are still those who say that Sa-paṇ interpreted Dharmakīrti as being other than a Yogācārin. For example Kong-sprul in his Shes bya kun khyab asserts (without citing his source) that Sa-paṇ commented on Dignāga and Dharmakīrti as being in accord with Yogācāra-svātantrika-madhyamaka, as established by Śāntarakṣita.[46] This we did not find in the Rigs gter. However, even in the Sa-skya-pa tradition some scholars have made similar assertions, though more carefully worded. Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub, for instance, states: "In the opinion maintained by this great master [i.e. Sa-paṇ], the ultimate intent expounded by Dharmakīrti in the PV is precisely the Madhyamaka that agrees with the system of Ārya Nāgārjuna."[47] In this connection Glo-bo mkhan-chen cited PV I 220a and also the famous verse from Rngog lo-tsā-ba's Spring yig bdud rtsi thig pa.[48]

This characterization by Glo-bo mkhan-chen deserves careful consideration since he made it when commenting on Sa-paṇ's own words in the Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo (KhJ III 48, autocommentary). In that passage, Sa-paṇ performs a series of philosophical analyses and negations, much like those in the Rigs gter described above. Yet whereas in the Rigs gter the analysis stopped when he reached vijñapti, here in the KhJ he does not stop at that. Instead, he goes on to say:

> Therefore, having established cognition (rnam rig: vijñapti), the basis for transactional usage, [now] for the sake of establishing the ultimate truth, which is beyond transactional usage . . . .[49]

Next Sa-paṇ quotes the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, the PV (II 252cd, 253ab),[50] and the Yuktiṣaṣṭikā (v.29) of Nāgārjuna. The point he makes through these verses and his subsequent comment is that non-dual cognition is dependent, momentary, and born from conditions. Since being born from conditions is the absence of genuine, independent birth, in ultimate reality the "birthless"--ultimate reality free from discursive elaborations--is established. Then after quoting the Anavataptanāgarāja paripṛccha Sūtra (Rgya mtshos zhus pa), Sa-paṇ concludes:

> Therefore the intent of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika is that if one understands well "cognition" (vijñapti), one will understand the undistorted reality of the Madhyamaka.[51]

Thus, though in his main work on Pramāṇa, the Rigs gter rang 'grel, Sa-paṇ does not allow himself to interpret Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika, here in the KhJ he does. What could account for this? It seems that Sa-paṇ in the Rigs gter rang 'grel never directly concerns himself with explaining the "ultimate intent" (mthar thug gi dgongs pa) of Dharmakīrti. Rather, what he attempts to explain is Dharmakīrti's teachings on the "means of knowledge of transactional usage" (tha snyad kyi tshad ma)[52] or the "reality of transactional usage" (tha snyad kyi de kho na),[53] which is to say the ultimate within the sphere of purposive action and practical application. This is not, however, the means of knowledge of the Buddha or saint (pha rol gzigs pa'i tshad ma).[54] Elsewhere in the Rigs gter rang 'grel, Sa-paṇ specifies that his topic is not the ultimate truth that is free from discursive elaborations (spros bral gyi don dam). Instead, what is in question is the ultimate truth that is causally efficacious (don byed nus pa'i don dam), i.e. the ultimate truth of the Pramāṇa teachings proper.[55]

In the KhJ, however, the goal of the series of ontological analyses and dissolutions was the ultimate truth that is free from discursive developments.[56] Even in the Rigs gter this level of truth is explained as being the ultimate intent of the Buddha.[57] And now here in the KhJ Sa-paṇ asserts that what Dharmakīrti had in mind in teaching vijñapti was that by understanding it, one will come to understand the ultimate truth of the Madhyamaka. Evidently Sa-paṇ means to say that Pramāṇa, with its Mind-Only tenets, was in the last analysis a propaedeutic, and that this was understood by Dharmakīrti.[58]

Such a characterization of the Pramāṇa of Dharmakīrti is not, however, actually made explicit in the Rigs gter rang 'grel. When commenting on the Pramāṇa tradition directly, Sa-paṇ seems to prefer to stay within what he took to be the framework of that system. There he classifies Dharmakīrti as a Nirākāra Yogācārin. In this sense, Shākya-mchog-ldan was right in saying of Sa-paṇ:

> In particular, he refuted the tradition of [Phywa-pa's] Summaries by explaining the ultimate theory of the PV as Nirākārin and [explaining] the provisional theory in exact accord with the Sautrāntika and Mind-Only scriptures.[59]

Whatever the final answer to this problem may be, it will not be reached by uncritically citing the doctrinal classifications laid down by later scholars from other traditions. It would also be wrong to try to base one's answer on just a passage or two of his translations or revisions. To do justice to the problem, one would really have to study all available passages in his works that deal with this subject. Since the Rigs gter with its autocommentary is the main source for

understanding Sa-paṇ's thought on Pramāṇa, one's primary task should naturally be to ascertain what he said there.

Perhaps in the future someone will be able to interpret the _Rigs gter rang 'grel_ differently from how I have outlined above. This is probably to be expected, and it may even come as a welcome advance. But as Go-rams-pa said in a related context:

> Those who explain the intended sense of the _Rigs gter_ as other than this must show where that is in the _Rigs gter_ or its [auto]commentary.[60]

NOTES

[1]F. Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, pp. 39-42. He states, p. 40, that the "philosophical" school can also be termed the "Cashmerian" or "critical" school.

[2]*Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 42-45. Stcherbatsky, p. 43, explains: "The aim of the *Pramāṇa-vārttika*, according to this school, was not at all to comment upon Dignāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, which work was a purely logical treatise, but to comment upon the whole of the Mahāyāna Scripture which establishes the existence, the omniscience and other properties of the Buddha . . . ."

[3]L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 272, note 98, cites two Tibetan authors--Mkhas-grub-rje and Shākya-mchog-ldan--as agreeing on this point.

[4]Cf. the three Tibetan schools of Pramāṇa interpretation, all three of which are said to have interpreted it as Madhyamaka [!], mentioned by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas in his *Theg pa sgo*, vol. *oṃ*, p.204a: *brjod bya gtan la phab pa'i don la dgongs nas* [1] *rngog lo chen pos ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i dbu ma/* [2] *sa lugs pa rnams kyis rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma/* [3] *gzhan dag phal mo che 'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu mar bkral te bod kyi 'grel tshul gsum mo//*. I wonder what source Kong-sprul was basing himself on here.

Some preliminary studies on the Pramāṇa traditions in Tibet during these centuries are L. van der Kuijp (1978), (1979), and (1983).

[5]For brief descriptions of the opinions of Rngog and Phywa-pa on this point, see L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 50 and 63, respectively.

[6]Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma'i mdo*, p. 29.2. It was his PVin lineage in particular that survived and exercised a long-lasting influence.

Before Rngog-lo, there survived from the early propagation period (*snga dar*) mainly just *Abhidharma* and *Vinaya* lineages, though from the mid-11th century there apparently began among the early Bka'-gdams-pa the study of six major scriptures, the so-called *Bka' gdams gzhung drug*:

(1) *Skyes rabs* (*Jātaka*)

(2) *Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms* (*Udānavarga*)

(3) *Byang sa* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*)

(4) Sdo sde rgyan (Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra)
(5) Spyod 'jug (Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra)
(6) Bslab btus (Śikṣasamuccaya)

[7]This "fourth section" refers to PV III 353-367, and the parallel passage in the PVin. According to L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 287, note 182, this fourfold division as a means for PV interpretation was first attested in the Rigs gter rang 'grel, but its locus classicus seems to have been the Madhyamakālaṃkāra.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs, p. 492.4, explains that Rngog (along with Prajñākaragupta, Śāntarakṣita, and Kamalaśīla) took Dharmakīrti to follow a "Great Madhyamaka" (dbu ma chen po) because in the PV there are taught three types of nairātmya. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 36, 274.

[8]Cf. Rigs gter rang 'grel, p. 237.1.5: stong nyid med dgag tu bsgrub pa na . . . , apparently a reference to Rngog lo-tsā-ba.

[9]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 30.3. This quote also occurs in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Spring yig, p. 322.7, and in Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 287a.3. Presumably the readings in Shākya-mchog-ldan's Spring yig are more authoritative since the latter was a commentary on Rngog's work, and Shākya-mchog-ldan probably had a copy of the text before him when writing it (and was not quoting from memory).

Here is the text with variants (S= Spring yig, T= Tshad ma'i mdo, and K= KhJNSh):

chos rnams rang bzhin stong pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo//
yang dag rigs tshogs klu sgrub zhal nas gsungs pa de//
rigs pa'i mthar thug rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i gzhung mdzes las//
gsal bar rtogs nas lugs ngan gzhan kun rtsa bzhin dor//

1 rnams ST: kun K; stong pa'i KS: med pa'i T
2 tshogs S: mchog KT; zhal ST: zhabs K; nas S: las T: kyis K; gsungs pa KS: 'byung ba T; de SK: gang T
3 mthar thug ST: dbang phyug K; mdzes S: bzang KT
4 gsal bar ST: legs par K

If we follow the text of S above, the translation of line 2 should read "collection of reasonings" instead of "the highest of correct reasonings." The "collection of reasonings" (rigs tshogs) is the so-called Yukti-corpus which is made up of Nāgārjuna's five or six main theoretical scholastic works. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 8. Probably rtswa "straw, grass" is to be read instead of rtsa in line 4. Cf. Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba thams, p. 177.5: bzhi mdo'i rtswa

bzhin dor bar bya'o/; Sa-paṇ, Chag lo, p. 336.1.6: sgra yi rnam gzhag rtswa ltar dor nas ni//.

[10]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 29.3-30.4. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 50, 52. For the Tibetan text see also ibid., pp. 49-51. Van der Kuijp, p. 35, speculates that Shākya-mchog-ldan's discussion of Rngog's interpretation is motivated by a desire to discredit the Dga'-ldan-pa, but he offers no justification for this.

For another brief summary of Rngog's Pramāṇa system, see Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, pp. 52.2-54.2 (26b.2-27b.2).

[11]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rigs gter rnam bshad, p. 745:

'grel mdzad blo la ma shar rigs pa'i gsang//
gsal mdzad blo ldan phrin las bzang po yis//
'gyur dang zhus chen rnam bshad rgyas mdzad nas//
zhi mtsho'i gzhung dang mthun pa'i dbu mar bkral//

Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 457.3, where Prajñākaragupta, Śāntarakṣita and Rngog are listed together as similarly interpreting Dharmakīrti's purport.

[12]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 449.6-450.1. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 46. For the Tibetan text see also ibid., p. 286, note 174.

[13]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Sa skya rje, pp. 92.5-93.1. Cf. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 29. For the Tibetan text see also ibid., p. 268, note 71. There is an elaborate pun in this verse. The other translation is: "Having guided the chariot . . . to that great track . . . ."

[14]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, pp. 95f: phyogs glangs yab sras kyi tshad ma'i bstan bcos ni/ rngog lo brgyud par bcas pa dag gis spyi tsam nas shin tu dar bar mdzad mod/ dar tshul ni gzhung nyid du 'byung ba'i mdo sems kyi 'chad tshul de mdzad pa po'i dgongs pa ma yin pas na 'jig rten gyi grags pa sor 'jog pa dang/ 'grel mdzad dag las kyang rgyan gyi mkhan po tsam ma gtogs gzhan la legs btus tsam min pa mtha' gcig tu mi rtsi ba dang/ rang gi 'chad tshul kun rdzob kyi rnam gzhag 'jig rten lhan skyes la grags pa nyid thad sor 'jog pa dang/ rnam 'grel du gcig du bral gyi rigs pa gsungs pa de shes bya mtha' dag rang stong gis gtan la 'bebs byed nyid du sbyor ba dang/ nyams su myong bya'i don dam bden pa ni gnyis [96] med kyi ye shes nyid la sbyar nas ngo bo nyid med pa'i nang tshan zhi 'tsho sogs dang mthun par 'chad pa dang/ gzhan sel dang/ 'gal 'brel dang/ mtshan

mtshon gyi rnam gzhag sogs 'grel mdzad gzhan la ma rag par/ rang kho na'i rnam dpyod kyis rtsal thon du mdzad pa yin te/ ji skad du/

gzhung rtsom rnams kyi blo la yang//
ji bzhin legs par mi gsal ba//
tshad ma'i de nyid dka' ba rnams//
ji bzhin du ni rnam nges bya//

zhes rtsom par dam bcas nas rgyas par 'chad pa yin la/

[15]Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma'i mdo*, p, 29.2, observes that even though few of the treatises by [early] Tibetan masters are extant, the practice of writing extensive original treatises began with Rngog, and numerous works of Rngog such as his PVin *pañjikā* have been listed in [Bu-ston's] history of religion (*chos 'byung*). The latter history would seem to be Shākya-mchog-ldan's main source of information about the full corpus of Rngog's writings, and not the writings themselves:

spyir bod kyi mkhan pos bstan 'chos mdzad pa cha shas tsam las med na yang bdag nyid chen po 'di nas bstan 'chos rgyas par mdzad pa'i dbu tshugs nas rnam par nges pa'i dka' 'grel sogs chos 'byung gi dkar chag tu tshud pa'i rtog ge'i chos phran du ma dag mdzad.

Elsewhere (*Rngog lo*, p. 446.7) Shākya-mchog-ldan enumerates Rngog's works based on the list in Bu-ston's *Chos 'byung*. Cf. S. Nishioka (1983), p. 118. In yet another place he appears to quote an opening verse from a commentary by Rngog. See above, note 14.

Rngog's commentarial summaries of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* are still extant. See above, chapter 6, note 8.

[16]On Phywa-pa (also spelled Phya-pa and Cha-pa), see L. van der Kuijp (1978), *passim*, and (1983), pp. 59-84.

[17]Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Dka' 'grel*, p. 443.4:

de yi rnam bshad tshig nyung bas//
rjes 'jug rnams kyis gzhan du'ang brtags//

[18]Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma'i mdo*, p. 33.1-33.5. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 63. For another brief summary of Phya-pa's Pramāṇa system, see now Glo-bo mkhan-chen, *Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga*, p. 54.2-5 (27b.2-5).

The school of Candrakīrti is characterized as according with "commonly accepted worldly usage" or "worldly consensus" (*'jig rten gyi grags pa: lokaprasiddha*), and was hence sometimes called the Grags-sde-spyod-pa'i-dbu-ma. Here

Shākya-mchog-ldan specifies that Phywa-pa followed the commonly accepted usage of the world, but did not in fact adhere to the Prāsaṅgika school of Candrakīrti. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo, p. 451.4, where Phywa-pa's refutations of Candrakīrti's teachings are mentioned. Cf. below, note 20. Tibetan doxographers did not always identify the Grags-sde-spyod-pa'i-dbu-ma with the Prāsaṅgika. See K. Mimaki (1982), p. 28, and (1983), p. 162.

[19]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs, pp. 452.6–453.2: mdo sde pa dang/ sems tsam rnam bcas pa dang/ rnam rdzun pa gsum gyi kun rdzob kyi rnam gzhag 'chad tshul mtha' dag rang gi rigs pas sun phyung ba'i sgo nas mi 'thad pa nyid du rnam par bshad nas/ rang gi lugs 'jog tshul/ bye brag tu smra ba ltar don snang gi shes pas [453] don rtogs tshul rnam med rjen char gyi tshul khas blangs te/ lugs de ni 'jig rten gyi grags pa dang mthun pa'o// zhes zer zhing/ don dam stong pa nyid kyi 'jog tshul yang ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i tshul ltar bshad nas/ chos thams cad rang gi ngo bos stong pa dang/ bden par grub pa'i chos zhes bya ba cung zad kyang khas mi len pa dang/ stong nyid kyi ngo bo med dgag kho na la 'chad cing/ de yang rigs pas dpyad bzod du khas len par byed do/.

Sa-paṇ and Rngog held that the ultimate was beyond the scope of mind, and not "something that can undergo being critically discerned through reasoning" (rigs pas dpyad bzod). See for instance 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, p. 309.6 (G. Roerich [1976], p. 349) and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 232, note 75. See also below, KhJ III translation, note 95.

[20]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 473.5:

gang yang phya pa'i rigs pa ni//
bye brag smra dang 'jig rten gyi//
grags pas rnam bcas 'gog byed cing//
sems tsam rnam med dbu ma yi//
rigs pas bkag nas sde bdun gzhung//
'jig rten gyi ni grags pa dang//
mthun par 'chad ces gang zer ba//
de yis gzhung nas legs bshad nas//
kun la yid rton med byas nas//
ma bshad nan gyis sbyor bar zad//

See also ibid., p. 647.2, on the pramāṇaphala according to Phywa-pa and his school.

[21]Ibid., p. 745:

chos kyi dbang phyug rigs pa'i seng ge yis//

yid kyi mun sel zhes bya'i bstan bcos su//
mdo sems lugs gnyis bkag nas sde bdun gzhung//
'jig rten grags sde spyod pa'i dbu mar bkral//

The first line is an expansion of Phywa-pa's personal name, Chos-kyi-seng-ge.

[22]Lho-pa, Dpal ldan sa, p. 48b.5-6. Before this, at age 18 (1200) Sa-paṇ is said by a few later sources to have received a little instruction of Pramāṇa from Zhu-ston Rdo-rje-skyabs.

[23]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 39. The chronology given in this passage by Shākya-mchog-ldan is wrong (cf. above, chapter 1). Apparently he was working from memory for he qualifies all his dates with the word tsam "about, circa."

[24]On the visit of Śākyaśrībhadra to Tibet see G. Tucci (1949), vol. 2, pp. 335-339. The most detailed extant biography of Śākyaśrī is Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po, Sa'i steng na 'gran zla dang bral ba kha che paṇḍita shākya shrī bhadra'i rnam thar. A xylographic edition in 66 folios exists at the Bihar Research Society, Patna (provisional catalogue no. 591). It seems to be the Gra-phyi Tshongs-'dus-grwa-tshang xylograph mentioned in Gangs can gyi, p. 212.1. Tucci may have brought a copy of it to Rome.

For another account of Śākyaśrī's visit to Tibet, see 'Gos lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (G. Roerich transl. [1976], pp. 1063-1071). See also A. Ferrari (1958), p. 90, note 53, and A. Vostrikov (1970), p. 111, note 341. On Śākyaśrī's dates see also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Kha che, pp. 556.2-557.6. The dates of Śākyaśrī are also discussed by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1966), p. 42, note 1.

[25]On the date of the PV retranslation, see chapter 5, note 59.

[26]Sa-paṇ may actually have seen Śākyaśrī for the last time in late 1212 or early 1213, for the latter reached Pu-rang in Mnga'-ris by the summer of 1213, and spent the rainy-season retreat there.

[27]Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, Rtsom 'phro kha skong to Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, Dam pa'i chos, p. 316.4. Here Sa-paṇ is said to have composed the Rigs gter in about his thirty-eighth year, i.e. c. 1219. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 101, states that Sa-paṇ "started work on [it] in 1219," taking brtsams to mean "started" instead of "composed." He refers, p. 303, note 293, also to Bkra-shis-

lhun-grub [actually it should be Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen], Dpal ldan sa, f. 11b.2-3.

[28]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 39.2: bod kyi bshad pa'i lhad ma zhugs par.

[29]Ibid., p. 39.3. Cf. van der Kuijp (1979), p. 409. For the text see also ibid., p. 421, note 15.

[30]On these terms see below, KhJ III translation, note 135.

[31]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs ... rnam bshad, p. 453.2-7: de ltar bshad na phyogs glang grags pa'i zhabs kyi gzhung gi 'gal zla'i gtso bo khas blangs pa nyid du 'gyur te/ gzhung lugs de dang de dag tu ni/ ji srid phyi rol gyi don khas len pa de srid du/ 'jig rten gyi grags pa dang/ bye brag tu smra ba'i 'dod pa bkag nas/ mdo sde pa'i phyogs gang yin pa de nyid rang lugs su bshad pa'i phyir dang/ phyi rol don 'gog pa'i tshe/ thog mar sems tsam rnam bcas kyi lugs la gnas nas/ gsal zhing rig pa'i rtags dang/ lhan cig dmigs nges kyi rtags kyis snang ba sems su bsgrubs pa'i phyir dang/ mthar ni rnam rdzun pa'i lugs gang yin pa de nyid gzhir bzhag nas/ gzung 'dzin gnyis med te bsgrubs pa'i phyir dang/ shes bya thams cad rang stong dang/ mthar bden grub kyi chos shig khas mi len pa dang/ stong nyid kyi ngos 'dzin med dgag gi cha la 'chad pa ni/ rje btsun byams pa'i gzhung thogs med sku mched kyi bkral ba'i shing rta'i srol las mi 'byung ba'i rgyu mtshan gyis/ phyogs glang grags pa'i gzhung lugs dag tu'ang ma gsungs pa'i phyir ro//

des na de dag sun 'byin pa ni bstan bcos 'di'i dngos kyi dgos pa yin la/.

This is a continuation of the passage quoted above in note 19. See also ibid., p. 587.4: phyogs snga mas/ sde bdun gyi mthar thug ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i lugs su bkral nas/ de der 'chad pa yin gyi/ rang lugs ma yin te/ rang lugs la de'i dgongs pa rnam brdzun du gnas pas/. . . . See further ibid., p. 745:

'jigs med dpa' bo sa skya'i rje btsun gyis//
mdo sems gru chen bzung nas sde bdun gyi//
rgya mthor zhugs tshe byams pa'i chos lnga yi//
nges don gsal mdzad rigs pa'i gter gzhung mdzad//

[32]RTRG, p. 168.3.6-168.4.1 (da 28b.6-29a.1).

[33] Ibid., p. 169.3.1 (da 30b.1): grub mtha'i rnam gzhag spyir dpyad na/; p. 169.3.4: de la gzhan gyi brtags pa dgag na/; and p. 169.3.5 (30b.5): bde bar gshegs pa'i lugs bsgrub pa.

[34] Compare his list of non-Buddhist schools at the end of the Rigs gter rang 'grel, p. 264.1.6 (da 119b.6):

thub pa ser skya rkang mig pa dang 'ug pa'i bu//
mkha' gos can dang tshu rol mdzes pa'i gzhung 'dzin pa//

Elsewhere Sa-paṇ (and many others) followed a conventional fivefold division of the non-Buddhist Indian schools. See KhJ III 43 and D. Jackson (1985), pp. 4f.

[35] RTRG, p. 169.3.1-3 (da 30b.1): grub mtha'i rnam gzhag spyir dpyad na/

ngo bo nyid dang dbang phyug dang//
gtso bo rdul dang rnam rig dang//
rten 'brel yin zhes grub pa'i mtha'//
tha dad rang gzhan sde pa 'dod//

mu stegs byed ngo bo nyid rgyur smra ba ni/ thams cad ngo bo nyid las byung ba dang/ dbang phyug pa dbang phyug gis byas pa dang/ grangs can gtso bos byas pa dang/ gzegs zan dang nyan thos rdul phran gyis byas pa dang/ sems tsam pa sems dang/ dbu ma pa'ang don dam par spros pa dang bral zhing kun rdzob tu dngos por smra ba de dag gi rjes su 'jug kyang rung/ 'jig rten grags sde dang bstun yang rung ste/ de dag gang ltar yang kun tu tha snyad pa la don dang shes pa gnyis su kha tshon chod do//.

For an expansion and explanation of this passage, see Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 31.4ff (16a.4ff).

Regarding the twofold division of the Madhyamaka according to their approach to the relative, surface level of truth, Sa-paṇ elsewhere adopted a different principle of classification. See his Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan, p. 403.3.2. On this see also D. Jackson (1985a), p. 27.

[36] RTRG, p. 169.3.5 (da 30b.5): dgongs pa ngos bzung ba ni/ thub pas phyi rol dpyod pa na rdul phran zhal gyis bzhes la/ tha snyad kyi de kho na nyid dpyod pa na sems tsam zhal gyis bzhes shing/ don dam pa'i de kho na nyid la 'jug pa na spros pa dang bral ba la 'jug par mdzad do//.

[37] Ibid., p. 170.1.4 (da 31b.4): phyi rol gyi don khas len pa na/ mdo sde pa'i lugs gzung bar bya'o//.

[38] Ibid., p. 170.3.1 (da 32b.1)

[39]Ibid., p. 170.3.2 (da 32b.2).

[40]Ibid., p. 170.3.5 (da 32b.5):
kun rdzob 'jig rten grags pa la//
brten na tshad ma'i rnam gzhag 'gal//

[41]Ibid., p. 170.4.2 (da 33a.2): kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma dpyod pa na mdo mdzad pa dang rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i rjes su 'brang ngo//.

[42]Ibid., p. 171.3.1 (da 34b.1). But cf. the ThGS, p. 31.3.4 (62a.4), where Sa-paṇ is maintaining the Madhyamaka position: gnyis med kyi shes pa mthar dngos po la thug pa'i phyir don dam par mi rung ngo.

[43]RTRG, p. 172.1.4 (da 35b.4).

[44]Ibid., p. 230.1.5 (da 151b.5): de ltar grub mtha' bzhi las slob dpon ni phyi rol gyi don khas len pa na mdo sde pa ltar mdzad la/ shes bya nang la 'jug pa na rnam med zhal gyis bzhes so//. See also Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 555.5.

[45]See Go-rams-pa, Tshad ma rigs, p. 67.2 (34a): tha snyad kyi de kho na nyid la 'jug pa'i tshe sems tsam zhal gyis bzhes la 'di la rnam bden rdzun gnyis yod do// don dam pa'i de kho na nyid la 'jug pa'i tshe chos thams cad spros pa dang bral ba la 'jug par mdzad de/ 'di ni dbu ma'o gang dag rigs gter rang 'grel gyi sa khongs 'di la brten nas/ rigs gter gyi lugs la rnam 'grel gyi mthar thug gi dgongs pa dbu mar skyel ba yin no zhes smra ba ni rang nyid blo gros rtsing bar mtshon pa'i rgyal mtshan 'dzugs pa ste/ gong du phyi nang gi grub mtha' du ma bshad pa'i nang nas skabs 'dir sangs rgyas pa'i grub mtha' la bzhi yod par bstan/ bzhi po de'i nang nas kyang rnam 'grel 'dir mdo sems gnyis kyi grub mtha' gtan la dbab pa sa bcad 'og ma dang sbyor rgyu yin pas 'di 'dra'i 'khrul pa skye ba'i don med pa'i phyir ro/.

See also Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Derge ed.), p. 27a.5.

[46]Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, Theg pa'i sgo, part 1, p. 563.2. (Cf. above, note 4.) This was cited by both L. Zwilling (1981), p. 313, note 20, and L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 107. The latter seems to disagree with Kong-sprul since on p. 310, note 328, he states that "the final position of Sa-skya Paṇḍita is . . . Cittamātra." But L. Zwilling, p. 309, apparently accepts Kong-sprul's assertion and tries to understand Sa-paṇ translation of PV III 3 in light of it. Though Zwilling's article raises some interesting points, its main arguments are

vitiated by the fact that the verse quoted in the RTRG, p. 197.4.4 (da 87a.4), which he takes to be a second translation by Sa-pan of PV III 3, is actually PVin II 56. (The same first pāda also occurs as PV I 166a.) The full PVin verse II 56 as quoted in the RTRG is:

don byed nus pa gang yin pa
de 'dir don dam yod pa yin//
de la rim dang rim ma yin//
'gal phyir skad cig min pa med//

It may also be worth noting in this connection that the later authoritative exponent of the Sa-skya-pa tradition, Go-rams-pa, interpreted PV III 3 as the definitive Sautrāntika statement on the two truths. See Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 391.3.

L. Zwilling (1981), pp. 310f, speaks of the Rigs gter as having been composed prior to Sa-paṇ's retranslation of the PV. However, as described above (chapter 5, note 59), the translation work was done sometime between 1208 and 1213. On the other hand, the Rigs gter was composed at Sa-skya sometime after his full ordination (1208), according to tradition when he was about thirty-seven years of age (c. 1219). It is also best not to draw any conclusions from the Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa about Sa-paṇ's thought, for it is a forgery. See D. Jackson (1985); cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), pp. 103 and 304, note 295, and (1985) passim.

[47]KhJNSh, p. 287a.1: bdag nyid chen po 'di'i bzhed pa la/ chos kyi grags pas rnam 'grel du bshad pa'i dgongs pa mthar thug pa ni/ 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi lugs dang mthun pa'i dbu ma kho nar bzhed cing/.

But in his Rigs gter rnam bshad (Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad), p. 36.2 (18b.2), Glo-bo mkhan-chen explicitly denies this interpretation of Pramāṇa in the Rigs gter. See also ibid., p. 47.1f (24a.1), where Indian interpretations of Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika are discussed but not accepted as Sa-paṇ's system. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen's succinct summary in his Sde bdun mdo...nye bar mkho, p. 61.4-62.3 (2a.4-2b.3):

lha dbang rjes su 'brang ba'i slob dpon dag//
mu stegs rtsod tshe phyi rol khas len cing//
rang lugs mthar thug rnam med tshad mar smra//
rgyan gyi rjes 'brang rigs par smra ba kun//
tha snyad dpyod tshe ji ltar byed kyang rung//
mthar thug kun rdzob dri mas dben pa yi//
don dam dbu ma'i lam chen der 'jug go//
lugs srol de ltar yin yang sa skya pa'i//

bzhed gzhung 'di ni dpal ldan grags pa yi//
dgongs don gnas skabs gnyis la legs sbyar nas//
rnam rig dbu ma bde blag rtogs pa yi//
thabs su gsal bar bzhed ces 'chad do//

48 For the verse of Rngog, see above, note 9.

49 KhJ III 48, autocommentary (D p. 107.4.3): des na kun tu tha dad [read: snyad] pa'i gzhi rnam rig bsgrub nas/ tha snyad las 'das pa bsgrub pa'i phyir. Cf. KhJ I 34 (p. 84.3.4 [170a.4]) and DS, p. 315.1.2:
tha snyad dpyod pa'i rigs pa la//
dgongs nas chos rnams sems su gsungs//
dam pa'i don la dgongs nas ni//
chos kun spros pa bral zhes gsungs//

50 The same verse from the PV is quoted in the RTRG, p. 172.1.3 (da 35b.3).

51 KhJ III 48, autocommentary (D p. 108.1.1): des na rnam rig legs par rtogs na dbu ma'i de kho na nyid phyin ci ma log par khong du chud par 'gyur ro// zhes rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i dgongs pa de yin no//.

52 RTRG, pp. 170.4.2 (da 33a.2), 172.1.2 (35b.2); Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 551.3, discusses tha snyad (vyavahāra) in this context.

53 RTRG, p. 169.3.5 (da 30b.5).

54 Ibid., p. 171.2.4 (da 34a.4).

55 Ibid., pp. 172.1.2 (da 35b.2) and 211.4.6 (da 115a.6). Cf. his ThGS, p. 31.3.1 (tha 32a.1), where he specifies that there he is concerned with the ultimate truth of the Madhyamaka and not with the causal efficiency of Pramāṇa.

56 See above, notes 49 and 51, which mention the goal as being the ultimate reality of the Madhyamaka (dbu ma'i de kho na nyid) that is beyond transactional usage (tha snyad las 'das pa).

57 RTRG, p. 169.3.5 (da 30b.5): thub pas . . . don dam pa'i de kho na nyid la 'jug pa na spros pa dang bral ba la 'jug par mdzad do//.

[58] This was also Glo-bo mkhan-chen's understanding in his Sde bdun mdo...nye bar mkho, p. 62.1-2 (2b.1-2), where he states that Sa-paṇ's method was to apply Dharmakīrti's intended sense to the two contexts of Sautrāntika and Yogācāra, while maintaining that vijñapti was a means for easily understanding Madhyamaka.

lugs srol de ltar yin yang sa skya pa'i//
bzhed gzhung 'di ni dpal ldan grags pa yi//
dgongs don gnas skabs gnyis la legs sbyar nas//
rnam rig dbu ma bde blag rtogs pa yi//
thabs su gsal bar bzhed ces 'chad do//

Sa-paṇ without a doubt interpreted the Pramāṇa scriptures as belonging to the Buddhist teachings, i.e. as revealing the path to liberation. One of the things he took pains to show in his Rigs gter rang 'grel was that Dharmakīrti followed both the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra, and that in so doing Dharmakīrti followed the teachings of the Buddha himself (RTRG, pp. 169.3.5f [=da 30b.5]). Thus I cannot see the justification for saying that Sa-paṇ "maintained that logic is an utterly profane science, containing nothing Buddhistic at all, just as medicine and mathematics are," which is what Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 46, averred. Even if Sa-paṇ thought that Dharmakīrti was ultimately a Mādhyamika, that is all the more reason to think that he believed Pramāṇa to have soteriological content. Pramāṇa would thus be a means for drawing the student ultimately to the liberating view of the Madhyamaka. But Sa-paṇ (in agreement with the usual Indian Buddhist classification) indeed did maintain that Pramāṇa was one of the five main fields of knowledge (rig gnas chen po), and within that context he classified it as separate from doctrinal studies (nang don rig pa). See Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (D), p. 21b.4.

The laying of great emphasis on the religious content of Buddhist Pramāṇa is said to go back in the Tibetan tradition at least to Tsong-kha-pa. See ibid., p. 21b.3. On the religious status of Pramāṇa cf. also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1966), p. 37, note 1.

[59] Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rje btsun sa, pp. 93f. Cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 97. Yet Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 6.5, identifies the ultimate philosophical tenet of this tradition (lugs 'di'i grub mtha' mthar thug) as the Madhyamaka. This, however, is the "Madhyamaka" of the Dharmas of Maitreya as interpreted by Asaṅga. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (D), p. 27b.3, takes strong exception to this interpretation.

[60] Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 556.4: rigs gter gyi dgongs pa 'di las gzhan du 'chad pa rnams kyis ni/ rigs gter rtsa 'grel gang na yod ston dgos so//.

Chapter 8

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF THE MKHAS 'JUG

The main subject of the Mkhas 'jug is the methodology of Indian Buddhist scholarship, and in particular, the methods and principles of the three main activities of the traditional scholar: composition, teaching, and debating. Sa-paṇ devotes one main section of the treatise to each of these. When introducing and concluding the treatise, however, he followed established Indian custom and added brief preliminary and concluding sections. Thus the general outline of the work is as follows:

- I. Preliminaries (3 ff.)
- II. Main Contents (57 ff.)
  - A. Composition (25 ff.)
    - 1. Preliminary sections of a treatise (2 ff.)
    - 2. Grammar (6 ff.)
    - 3. Poetics (17 ff.)
  - B. Exposition (14 ff.)
  - C. Debating (18 ff.)
- III. Concluding matter (1 f.)

The preliminaries include verses of homage or worshipful invocation (mchod brjod) and of the author's resolution to expound his subject ('chad par dam bca' ba). In the subsequent introductory verses he also identifies his motive, his own identity and capabilities, and his subject matter.[1] The concluding matter of the treatise consists of some final verses of explanation, exhortation and dedication, and also a final colophon.

Sa-paṇ composed the work following a format that was well established in India: versified basic text with a prose autocommentary. The basic contents of the work were presented first of all in concise verses which were suitable for memorization. Then, immediately following each verse or group of verses, he expanded and explained the meaning through a prose comment. Usually the comment was just a restatement of the same point in a form that had been made grammatically and semantically more complete through the addition of grammatical particles and explanatory words or phrases that were missing in the basic mnemonic verse.[2] Sometimes, too, the basic verse served merely as the point of departure for an elaborate excursus. Two additional commentarial devices that Sa-paṇ employs are

the "intermediate verse" (bar skabs kyi tshigs bcad) and the "summarizing verse" (bsdus pa'i tshigs bcad).[3] The former usually occur as a verse or group of verses that expand on the subject just preceding, but which do not complete the discussion. The latter are verses which concisely summarize and conclude the foregoing discussion.

It is not known whether Sa-paṇ composed both basic verses and commentary at the same time, or whether he composed first the one and then the other. Nor do there survive any copies of the versified basic text apart from and independent of the prose autocommentary (as one finds in the case of the Rigs gter). It is also not clear whether Sa-paṇ would have included the intermediate and summarizing verses with the basic verses or as an addition to the prose commentary.[4]

When arguing a point in other works such as the Rigs gter, Sa-paṇ often follows a three-step presentation, and in the KhJ he employs it once, in part III:

(1) The refutation of the tradition of others (gzhan gyi lugs dgag pa)
(2) The statement of one's own opinion (rang gi 'dod pa brjod pa)
(3) The rejection of controversy (or objections) regarding the latter (de la rtsod pa spong ba)[5]

Such a manner of presentation belongs to the expository method called "objection and reply" (brgal lan). Sa-paṇ recommends this very method in the KhJ itself (II 33) as the proper method for analyzing apparent mixtures of doctrine and for resolving apparent doctrinal contradictions. He holds that through this method one can use scripture and reasoning to settle very thorny questions, but that without it one will not be able to discern what is correct from incorrect.[6]

The Content of the Mkhas 'jug

Of the three main topics of the Khj--composition, exposition, and debate--Sa-paṇ devotes somewhat more space to the first, mainly because this section contains a long translated passage from an Indian work on poetics. In general, Sa-paṇ seems to have treated each of the three topics as of equal weight and thus accorded a major section to each.

The particular order in which he presented the three topics appears to have been dictated by the subjects themselves. He did not follow the stereotyped order by which this triad is now most commonly referred to: "exposition, debate, and composition" ('chad rtsod rtsom gsum), nor in the order by which Sa-paṇ himself refers to them elsewhere: "exposition, composition, and debate."[7] Exposition here

in the KhJ could not come first because it presupposed a knowledge of grammar. Thus composition had best precede exposition. Moreover, Sa-paṇ thought it most appropriate to begin the main contents of his own treatise by explaining one aspect of compositional practice, the preliminary parts of treatises in general.

The section on composition also deserved a primary position from another point of view. For Sa-paṇ's contemporaries it was this section that contained the most new and unprecedented material. Sa-paṇ's disciple Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal, for instance, considered the KhJ to be the greatest (and most difficult) of Sa-paṇ's three "grammatical treatises" (sgra'i bstan bcos).[8] In putting the most emphasis on the work's grammatical content he seems to be following Sa-paṇ, who in his own Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa described the KhJ as a "treatise on grammar which [teaches] merely as much as is required for Tibet" (sgra'i bstan bcos bod la nye bar mkho ba tsam zhig).[9] But since there is so much else taught in the KhJ, it is not surprising that other Tibetan scholars sometimes classified the work otherwise. Kong-sprul, for example, referred to the KhJ as a treatise on poetics, one of Sa-paṇ's "three treatises [on Sanskrit literary arts] in which he summarized the sense of an Indian basic work" (rgya gzhung gi don bsdus pa'i bstan bcos rnam pa gsum).[10] Shākya-mchog-ldan emphasized still a different aspect of the work, classifying it as one of Sa-paṇ's "treatises which refute those who possess erroneous narrow pathways" (nor pa'i 'phrang yod pa rnams sun 'byin pa'i bstan bcos), i.e. as a polemical treatise.[11] Yet probably the most fitting description of all is given by the writer of a biography of Sa-paṇ found in a history of the teachers of the Lam 'bras lineage. He called this work "the KhJ, which is [a treatise] required for the basic texts in general" (gzhung lugs spyi la mkho ba mkhas 'jug).[12]

Composition

Sa-paṇ's treatment of composition, the first topic, had three main parts: (1) the explanation of the preliminary sections found at the beginning of treatises, (2) language (including grammar) and semantics, and (3) poetics.[13] The first of these explains very briefly how one should begin a treatise (I 7-12). The second two deal with some aspects of language and literary studies that are required for the sophisticated composition of treatises. Sa-paṇ begins his account of language and semantics by explaining the basic units of language on the phonological (yi ge), "morphological" (ming), and "grammatical" (tshig) levels of analysis (I 13-14). Then he explains some basic concepts of semantics. He distinguishes for instance the original arbitrary designations (brda) of natural

language from later, deliberately established terminology (tha snyad) (I 17-18). The latter can be divided into either ironical designations or designations that accord in sense with the original arbitrary designations (I 23-26). He also describes echoic and onomatopoeic words (I 27-29).

Sa-paṇ next (I 30) classifies words (especially nouns) into class-words (common nouns) and name-words (proper nouns), attributing this distinction to Dignāga (based on the latter's PS I 3c, commentary). He also enters into epistemological and logical considerations, briefly treating the relation of object, word and thought, and both assertive and negative statements (I 31-37). He ends this section with some explanations of more properly grammatical topics: cases and case endings (I 38-39), gender (I 40), the sandhi of case endings (I 43), exceptional uses of grammatical particles (I 45-46), verb formation (I 50), and the definition of a sentence (I 51).

The third and last part of the main section on composition introduces certain aspects of Indian poetics. He begins by defining and illustrating the nine aesthetic emotions (rasa), and explaining their proper combinations (I 53-81). He also gives some examples of good and faulty imagery, drawn for instance from Bhoja's Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa (I 82-86). Next he explains a basic typology of literature and principles of prosody (I 87-90). He then embarks on his presentation of materials from Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, including the classification of verse types (I 92-95) and the distinction of the Vaidarbha and Gauḍa poetic dictions (I 99-108). Finally he begins his treatment of the poetical figures of meaning (don rgyan : arthālaṃkāra), which form the longest part of the section on composition. He translated most of the beginning of Kāvyādarśa chapter 2, this being the first ever rendering of a part of this work into Tibetan (I 110). His translation includes descriptions of the following nine figures, together with the examples of the many subtypes of the first eight:

(1) factual expression (svabhāvokti)
(2) simile (upamā)
(3) metaphor (rūpaka)
(4) zeugma (dīpaka)
(5) recurrence (āvṛtti)
(6) objection (ākṣepa)
(7) adducing another matter (arthāntaranyāsa)
(8) distinction (vyatireka)
(9) possibility (vibhavana)

Exposition

Sa-paṇ's presentation of the second main section of the KhJ, that on the principles and techniques of scriptural exposition, can be divided into two parts: (1) a general introduction and (2) a detailed explanation of actual practice.[14] The first consists of a description of the three most important factors involved in any act of exposition: the teacher, the student, and the doctrine or text which is taught (II 1-3). The second main part, the explanation of the actual practice of exposition, sets forth five main topics taught by Vasubandhu in his Vyākyāyukti:

(1) statement of purpose
(2) summarization
(3) explanation of the sense of the words
(4) explanation of the connections between words and topics
(5) explanation by way of objections and replies

The first of these Sa-paṇ had already touched on in his discussion of the preliminary parts of treatises (I 12). This topic in any case seems to have been already commonly understood by the Tibetans of his time.[15] Therefore he quickly passed on to (2) summaries, of which he discerned two main types: (a) concise summaries of the general topic, and (b) more detailed topical outlines (II 4-5). He explained the desired traits and possible defects of each.

Next, when explaining (3) how to expound the sense of the words, he likewise distinguished two methods: (a) the explaining of compound words, and (b) the method of commenting word-by-word. The first mainly applies to Sanskrit, so he did not develop it in much detail (II 6-7). The second method too cannot be applied in full to Tibetan, but Sa-paṇ extracts and adapts some of the most pertinent features, such as basic grammatical parsing, and grammatical analysis through questions and answers (II 8-9). He gives some examples of how to expound a passage and also discusses the classes of terms that require explanation. Words in ordinary usage can be explained in three ways: (i) directly, (ii) through etymology, and (iii) through rearranging or altering the component elements of a word (II 10). He gives examples of each. In this connection he also takes up several grammatical topics, such as the interpretation of "intensive" relative pronouns ("whatever," "whoever," etc.) and their correlatives (II 12), and words in the vocative case (II 13). He goes on to describe the virtues of correct religious teaching, and the possible faults of teacher, student, and teaching method (II 14-20). He concludes his discussion of word-by-word exposition by

treating some of the problems that beset Tibetan teachers (II 22-26). These include the exposition of translations that are difficult to understand because of archaic vocabulary, differences of dialect, varying understandings of the etymology of the original Sanskrit by different translators, mistakes of translation, etc. He also explains other potentially difficult features often found in Tibetan translations, such as the addition of clarifying words (II 27), translation through a repetitive phrase (II 28-29), and common maxims (II 30).

The fourth main topic was the method of explanation by linking together previous and subsequent words and topics. He explains how to do this whether the linking topics or concepts are explicitly mentioned in the basic text or not (II 31-32). Then he treated the fifth main topic, the method of commenting on a thorny doctrinal question by means of objections and replies, i.e. through a presentation that mirrors the exchange of views of participants in a discussion (II 33).

After concluding the account of Vasubandhu's five methods, he very briefly introduces the method of explaining scriptures through the six hermeneutical categories called the "six limits" (mtha' drug), viz. (1) special intent or (2) no special intent, (3) interpretable meaning or (4) definitive meaning, and (5) literal expression or (6) non-literal expression (II 34). (Sa-paṇ also mentions these six "limits" in his commentary on KhJ III 23.)

Debating

The third main section, which is translated in full below, explains the methods of debate and some of the presuppositions upon which such formal philosophical discussions are founded. At first sight this would appear to be a practical guide to debating, for the exposition is arranged according to the three main steps of an actual debate: (1) preparation, (2) the debate itself, and (3) conclusion. In fact, Sa-paṇ does not explain directly or systematically the basic procedures of debate. Rather, he mainly treats various philosophical and textual issues that are related to debating, going into just some of the more difficult or controversial points of debating practice. Only near the end does he begin to set forth connectedly some of the actual steps of debating, and even there he often dwells on what must be considered technicalities. The explanation for such an approach is that debating was in Sa-paṇ's time already established as a standard part of Tibetan scholasticism. Thus Sa-paṇ's treating of particular theoretical or technical points should be understood as attempts to correct or augment specific aspects of current debating practice. The basic steps of debating were

apparently so well known that he considered them not to require a detailed separate exposition.

The Steps of a Debate. Most modern readers are unlikely to have any familiarity with the basic debating practices of Indo-Tibetan scholasticism, and therefore a brief sketch of a somewhat later Sa-skya-pa system of debate will help make the context of many of the discussions clearer. The following is drawn from Shākya-mchog-ldan's Tshad ma rigs gter dgongs rgyan, his detailed amplification and interpretation of the Rigs gter which in these passages takes into account some of Sa-paṇ's explanations in the KhJ, but does not accord with it exactly.[16]

The two main participants in any debate are (1) the proponent (sngar rgol: pūrvavādin) and (2) the respondent (phyir rgol: prativādin). The first asserts a thesis and proves it with a probans. The second disagrees with the proponent's argument and believes that either the thesis or its probans is faulty. His main job is therefore to refute one or the other by demonstrating its faults. In addition to the above two participants, there must also be a witness or arbiter (dpang po: sākṣin), whose duty it is to judge the debate impartially.

The debate begins with the respondent questioning the proponent to elicit his thesis. The proponent replies by stating his thesis. If the thesis is taken to be fundamentally erroneous, then the respondent may straightaway refute it. But if it is accepted as correct, then the respondent inquires about the reason which proves that thesis. The proponent replies by stating the probans. The respondent then asks whether the probans possesses all three logical relations of a sound inference (tshul gsum: trairūpya). In reply the proponent "removes the thorns" (tsher ma 'byin: kaṇṭakoddhāra), i.e. he negates the three possible faulty relations between the probans and the subject and predicate of the thesis.[17] This concludes the first phase of the debate. The three questions of the respondent are subsumed under the single function "inquiring about the [proponent's] opinion" ('dod pa 'dri ba), and the corresponding answers of the proponent are his "setting forth the initial position" (phyogs snga ma 'jog pa).

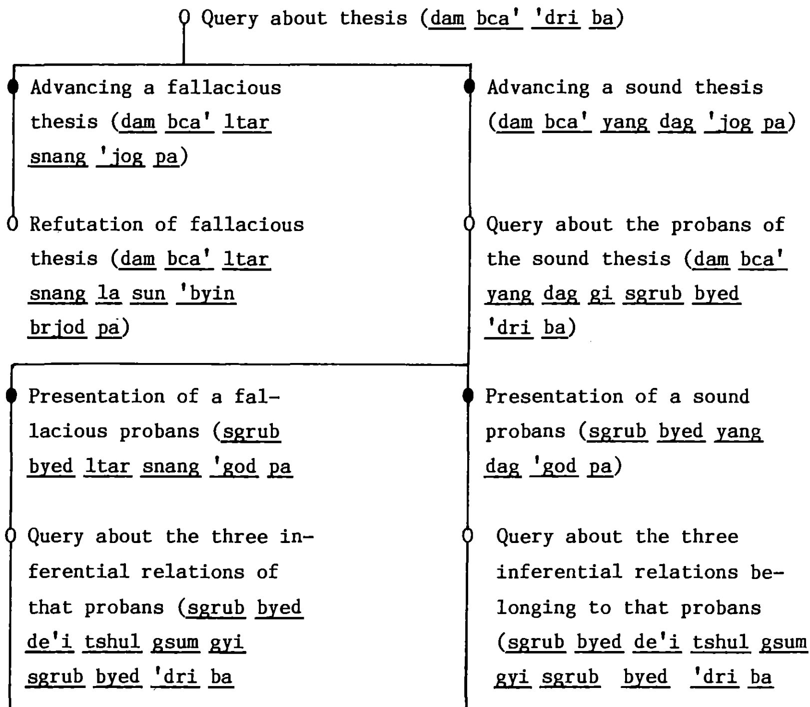
Now, if the respondent agrees that the thesis and probans are sound, he must admit his concurrence. If, on the other hand, he believes that the probans is faulty, he enters into the second main phase of the debate, which for him consists of the statement of refutation (sun 'byin brjod pa). As mentioned above, the respondent may also immediately enter into his refutation if he believes that the thesis itself is unsound. In that case he need not wait to hear the probans. The respondent phrases his refutations in the form of logical consequences (thal 'gyur: prasaṅga) which reveal the faults or inconsistencies entailed by the proponent's reasoning.

After the respondent has concluded his criticism, the proponent begins his second main task, which is the giving of a rejoinder (lan 'debs pa). This he may do only if he believes that the refutation given by the respondent was fallacious, for his rejoinder is simply the identification of the fallacy of the refutation. If the undesired logical consequences stated by the respondent are sound, then the proponent instead of giving a rejoinder must ask the respondent to state the formal proof of the refutation in its positive form (i.e. not as a mere logical consequence, but as an independent, formally stated inference). This the respondent must then do.

These steps of debating can be shown schematically as follows:

Figure 2. The Steps of a Debate

● Proponent O Respondent



Incorrect "thorn removal"

Refutation of fallacious probans (in the form of logical consequence) (sgrub byed ltar snang la sun 'byin brjod pa)

Query about the probans which is complete with regard to the three relations ('khor gsum) of a sound refutation[18] (sun 'byin yang dag gi 'khor gsum tshang ba'i sgrub byed 'dri ba)

Statement of such a probans

Concurrence that the probans is sound (sgrub byed yang dag gi rjes su 'gro ba'i ngag

Correct "thorn removal" (tsher ma 'byin pa) i.e. negation of possible faults

Statement of fallacious refutation (sun 'byin ltar snang brjod pa)

Rejoinder to the fallacious refutation (identifying the fallacy) (sun 'byin ltar snang la lan 'debs pa)

* * * * *

One thing that must be kept in mind when reading Sa-paṇ's account is that for him real debate is a formal confrontation between two scholars who maintain and attempt to defend different tenets.[19] He was not talking about the classroom debates of students by which they tested each other's knowledge.[20] Such practice debates, however, could be useful to prepare one for real debating.[21]

When explaining debating, moreover, Sa-paṇ aimed at presenting the tradition of Dharmakīrti, especially as it is set forth in the latter's Vādanyāya. He quotes that treatise some ten times, and refers to it and to Dharmakīrti several times besides. The opinions that he rejected belonged for the most part either to the Naiyāyikas of India or the earlier dialecticians of Tibet. Most of the Tibetan pūrvapakṣas derive in particular from the teachings of the great Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge and his successors in the early Bsdus pa tradition.

A Subject Outline of KhJ Section III. The following outline will give a quick overview of the contents of section III. For the corresponding (though sometimes not identical) subject headings given by Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his KhJNSh, see below, Appendix I.

I. Preparation: The determination of the three participants (III 1)
- A. Refutation of the opinions of others
  - 1. Erroneous opinions of early Tibetans
    - a. Sixteen occasions of defeat (III 2)
    - b. A witness is not necessary (III 3)
  - 2. The Naiyāyika system of Akṣapāda
    - a. Twenty-two defeats (III 4-7)
    - b. Twenty-four futile rejoinders (III 8-10)
- B. Establishing Sa-paṇ's own system
  - 1. The defeats number four, coming from the basic two (III 11)
  - 2. Proper motivation and goal of debate (III 12)
  - 3. Correct conduct in debate (III 13)
- C. Elimination of further discussion: refutation of the legitimacy of deceitful means (III 14)

II. The actual debate itself
- A. The debating of neophytes
- B. The debating of scholars
  - 1. Debate in which both opponents maintain tenets: the practice of great scholars (III 15)
  - 2. The special case of a respondent who refutes the opponent's thesis without maintaining his own (III 16)
  - 3. Detailed discussion of debate between opponents who each maintain tenets
    - a. Basic subject of debate: one only maintains the immediately relevant tenets, not every tenet of one's school (III 17-18)
    - b. Engaging in debate on that topic

i. Basic similarity of debating through reasoning and scriptures (III 19)

ii. Differences

(A) Debating though scripture

(1) The scope of scriptures in debate: objects of the third kind (III 20)

(2) Contradictions of scripture

(a) Contradictions between Buddhist and non-Buddhist

(b) Internal contradictions of non-Buddhist scriptures

(c) Apparent contradictions between Buddhist schools

(i) Between Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna (III 21)

(ii) Principles of interpretation which resolve apparent contradictions (III 22)

(iii) Those who do not understand these principles imagine contradictions (III 23)

(iv) Summary verses: examples of application of interpretive principles (III 24-26)

(3) Questions and answers when debating on scriptures

(a) Such questions are permissable (III 27)

(b) Answers: The Buddha's four ways of answering (III 28)

(c) Such answers are acceptable in debate, though difficult for the ignorant to understand (III 29)

(d) Two kinds of answers when debating on scriptures: pure scripture and reasoning based on scripture (III 30)

(i) Restricted definition of "scripture" (III 31-32)

(ii) Examples of apparent contradictions of scripture

(iii) Apparent contradictions of theory

(iv) Resolving apparent contradictions

(v) Summary (III 33)

(B) Debating through reasoning: One should determine whether opponents are following tenets or not (III 34)

(1) Persons who claim not to follow tenets

(a) Most can be seen actually to follow tenets, under examination (III 35)

(b) Those who do not out of ignorance (III 36)

(c) Those who do not out of fear of the logical consequence

(d) Learned persons' nonaffirmation (III 37)

A. Through deceit

B. Truthful non-affirmation
(e) Summary (III 38-39)
(2) Maintaining a mixture of tenets (III 40)
(3) Systems of tenets maintained by the learned: Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian sectarians
(a) Some other tenets held by Tibetans (III 41-42)
(b) Schools of the non-Buddhist Indian sectarians
(i) Classification into five (III 43)
(ii) Further criteria of classification (III 44)
(iii) Need to avoid classifications made by Tibetans (III 45)
(c) Buddhist tenets (III 46)
(d) Principles of Buddhist and non-Buddhist debate
(i) Determining the basic subject (III 47-48)
(ii) Objective grounding
A. When investigating external objects, Sautrāntika reasoning has objective grounding (III 49)
B. Impossibility of there being followers of the Mind-Only who assert external objects (III 50)
C. When external objects are negated, Mind-Only reasoning has objective grounding (III 51)
D. When ultimate reality is being determined, Madhyamaka has objective grounding (III 51 cont.)
E. Objection that there is no objective grounding if one affirms tenets (III 52)
(4) Classification of dialectics
(a) Twofold classification (III 53)
(i) non-Buddhist Indian sectarians
(ii) Buddhist
A. Differences between earlier and later Buddhist dialecticians, and features of their debating
1. Early (III 54)
2. Later (III 55)
3. Specific procedures of debating: "removing the thorns" (III 56-59)
B. Explanation of debate for beginners (III 60)
1. Questioning and answering (III 61)
2. Only one logical mark to be stated (III 62)
3. Counter-questioning the respondent when he says

the subject is not established (III 63)

4. The Mādhyamika's reasoning through <u>śūnyatā</u> makes the replies of others unestablished (III 64)

5. Answers to rejoinders phrased as necessary consequences

   a. The practice of others (III 65-67)

   b. Sa-paṇ's system (III 68)

C. The benefits of debating (III 69)

III. The conclusion

A. The witness should summarize and express the arguments (III 70)

B. If the assembly is ignorant or dishonest: record the arguments and show them to an upright judge elsewhere (III 71)

C. Concluding prayer (III 72)

NOTES

[1]These preliminaries are explained immediately afterward, in the first part of the section on composition. See KhJ (D) p. 82.1.6 (tha 165a.6 = 3a.6).

[2]For a traditional classification of commentarial types, see Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, p. 378, note 346, where the following three are distinguished:

(1) tshig 'grel
(2) don 'grel
(3) mchan 'grel

See also A. Vostrikov (1935/37), pp. 72ff, where three main types are described:

(1) rnam bshad
  (a) tshig 'grel
  (b) don 'grel
(2) mchan
(3) mtha' dpyod

[3]On these types of verses see K. Mimaki (1980) and below, KhJ III translation, note 60. Elsewhere in the KhJ (section I, poetics) one finds a few explanatory annotations (mchan bu), though it is not certain that Sa-paṇ put them there. See (D) p. 93.3.6f (tha 188a.6 = 26a.6).

[4]Such verses were included in the independent edition of the basic verses of the Rigs gter.

[5]E. Obermiller (1932), p. 3; (1934), p. 222. Cf. the different Indian methods described by G. S. Huparikar (1949), p. 166. Cf. also the quaestio disputata form in Medieval European scholastic philosophy, described by R. Allers in D. D. Runes ed. (1981), p. 261, and A. Piltz (1981), pp. 87, 148.

[6]KhJ (D), p. 101.2.2-5 (tha 203b.2 = 41b.2).

[7]For an explanation of the three activities of the scholar in what is nowadays their typical order, see Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, p. 382. He explains that this order proceeds from easiest to most difficult. For the order used by Sa-paṇ, see for instance the colophon of his Legs bshad (D), p. 61.2.6 (tha 122a.6 = 23a.6), and the colophon of his Sdeb sbyor, p. 141.3.6 (tha 285a.6 = 33a.6).

[8]Lho-pa, ka, p. 55b.5.

[9]Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 148.4.4 (tha 300a.4).

[10]Kong-sprul, Theg pa'i, p. 596. The other two such treatises were his Tshig gi gter and Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po. Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 95.2.

[11]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Chos kyi 'khor, p. 466.7.

[12]Lam 'bras bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica, vol. 106, p. 553.3. This goes back to the Lam 'bras khog phub by Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.

[13]For the detailed subject headings of section I as given in Glo-bo mkhan-chen's KhJNSh, see below, Appendix I.

[14]For the subject headings of section II as given in the KhJNSh, see below, Appendix I.

[15]KhJ (D), p. 95.1.6 (tha 191a =29a): de thams cad la grags pas re zhig bzhag go. See also above, Introduction, note 6.

[16]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs ... dgongs rgyan, vol. 9, pp. 302-305, 339-342. It is a curious fact that in this system described by Shākya-mchog-ldan, the formal argument is stated by means of a thesis and reason, and not by the two steps prescribed by Dharmakīrti and enumerated in the KhJ, III 55 autocommentary. Dharmakīrti held the statement of a thesis to be superfluous. On the controversy that grew out of Shākya-mchog-ldan's interpretations of the argument forms, see below, KhJ III translation, note 190.

[17]See below, KhJ III translation, note 194.

[18]The 'khor gsum according to modern bsdus ra tradition are:

(1) rtags grub

(2) khyab pa grub

(3) dam bca' la bsal ba

A correct prasaṅga refutation must show the opponent that he is in contradiction with the 'khor gsum. See 'Jam-dpal-'phrin-las, p. 16b.4: 'khor gsum dngos 'gal

blo'i yul du gsal bar ston pa'i ched du thal 'gyur 'phangs la/ de'i tshe thal 'gyur yang dag yin/. Cf. the classification of rejoinders to thal 'gyur replies, KhJ III 65-66, 68, and KhJ III translation, note 220.

[19]KhJ III 15.

[20]On classroom debating in Tibetan monasteries, see A. Vostrikov (1935/37), pp. 60f; F. Sierksma (1964), pp. 130-42; R. A. Stein (1972), pp. 160-163; D. Perdue (1976), pp. 29-31; and Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las, p. 379, note 350. Tibetan scholastic debating has only recently begun to be studied in detail, though its historical development has hardly been touched on. A logical analysis of the bsdus grwa debating problems has been made by Margaret E. Goldberg (1985). There also exist two doctoral dissertations that I learned of too late to consult, both apparently concerned mainly with bsdus grwa: Daniel E. Perdue, "Practice and Theory of Philosophical Debate in Tibetan Buddhist Education," (University of Virginia, 1983), and Margaret E. Goldberg, "Argument and Understanding, A Study of Tibetan Religious Debate" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984). For an account of one modern Geshe's dialectical studies, see Rato Kyongla Nawang Losang, My Life and Lives (1977), pp. 58-74, 105f, and 109-114.

On Indian non-Buddhist practices of debating, see for instance Y. Bagchi (1953) and E. A. Solomon (1976-78). Cf. S. S. Barlingay (1965), pp. 193f. Important Sanskrit works on this topic include Udayana's Bodhasiddhi, Śrī Harṣa's Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya, and Śaṃkara Miśra's Vādavinoda. See U. Mishra (1957-66), vol. 2, p. 238, note.

[21]KhJ III 15, autocommentary.

Chapter 9

COMMENTARIES ON THE MKHAS 'JUG

The Mkhas 'jug, like at least eight other works by Sa-paṇ, became in later times a subject for the commentarial writings of Sa-skya-pa scholars.[1] However, only one systematic, full-length exposition of the KhJ was ever completed. This was the Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed (Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad= KhJNSh) by Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532). Nevertheless, several minor commentarial works were written before and after Glo-bo mkhan-chen's work, and at least one other major commentary was begun but not finished.

The Earliest Commentators

In the colophon at the end of his commentary, Glo-bo mkhan-chen mentions two earlier scholars who had written in connection with the KhJ. One was Sa-paṇ's disciple Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal (fl. c. 1165-c. 1240). He is said by Glo-bo mkhan-chen to have slightly elucidated the section on Buddhist and non-Buddhist tenets in section III of the KhJ (III 43-46).[2] This passage by Lho-pa was in fact intended as a clarification of the teachings on tenets (grub mtha') found in Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Rnam bshad dag ldan commentary on the Hevajra Mūlatantra.[3] Lho-pa's work seems to have been a short treatise entitled Rnam bshad dag ldan gsal byed.[4]

A second early commentarial work belonged to a slightly later period. Though it does not survive, it is described by Glo-bo mkhan-chen as being "a few of 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che's oral sayings set down as notes."[5] Perhaps this refers to a manuscript of the KhJ to which Sa-paṇ's nephew 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235-1280) had added annotations or glosses that consisted of Sa-paṇ's own oral explanations.[6]

Gser-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan

(A) The Incomplete Commentary. Some decades before Glo-bo mkhan-chen completed his commentary, his former teacher Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507) had

already begun a full-length exposition of the KhJ. Yet for reasons that are now unknown, he was not able to finish it. Only the beginning--a very detailed introduction and comment on the first few verses--survives in his published collected works (vol. 24, pp. 67-102).[7] On the first folio there is found the title Mkhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam bshad dri lan dang bcas pa. Probably this title was given by the person who compiled Shākya-mchog-ldan's complete works or this manuscript set of them, for the title refers also to a second work: a series of answers to questions put to him about the KhJ. These answers to questions (dris lan) form in fact the third work grouped under this title; just before it there is yet another incomplete commentary on a different work, Sa-paṇ's Sdeb sbyor me tog gi chun po.

In the extant fragment of his KhJ commentary, Shākya-mchog-ldan used all of eighteen folios to explain only as far as KhJ I 6 with autocommentary. These verses with autocommentary constitute less than three percent of the KhJ. Thus he began it on a large scale and it would have been a monumental work had he finished it. The following subject headings give a good idea of the thoroughness with which Shākya-mchog-ldan treated his subject (the pagination here is that of the work, not of the volume):

I. [ṭīka'i klad kyi don]
- A. mchod brjod (rtsa 'grel) (1b.1)
- B. rtsom par dam bca' ba (rtsa 'grel) (2a.1?)

II. [ṭīka'i gzhung gi don]
- A. sngon du 'gro ba thog ma'i don (2a.6)
  - 1. rang gzhung gi mtshan don la rmongs pa sel byed
  - 2. rang gzhung mdzad po dam par rtogs byed (2b.7)
    - a. rtsa ba gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du sor gzhag pa (2b.7)
    - b. 'grel pa gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du sor gzhag pa
    - c. rtogs par dka' ba 'grel bshad kyis kha bskang ba (3a.1)
      - i. [mchod brjod kyi] dgos pa (3a.4)
      - ii. bsdus pa'i don (3a.5)
      - [iii. tshig don?]
      - iv. mtshams sbyar (3b.3)
      - v. brgal lan (3b.4)
  - 3. brtsam bya ma lus pa mthar son byed do (4a.1)
    - a. rtsom par dam bca' dngos
      - i. gzhung ji lta ba bzhin thad sor bzhag pa
        - (A) dgos pa'i don (4a.2)
        - (B) bsdus pa'i don (4a.3)

(C) mtshams sbyar (4a.4)

(D) brgal lan (4a.5)

ii. ṭīka byed pas kha bskang ba (4b.1)

(A) sgra

(1) rang bzhin

(2) rkyen

(3) rnam 'gyur (4b.7)

(B) rnam par phye ba (5a.5)

(C) byed tshig (5b.6)

(D) dpe (5b.5)

(E) tshig gi rgyan (6a.4)

(F) dbye bsdu (6a.5)

(G) grangs nges (6b.1)

(H) go rims nges pa (6b.3)

b. rtsom pa po nyid kyi mtshan dang yon tan brjod pa (6b.6)

i. rtsa bas mdor bstan pa

ii. de nyid 'grel pas rgyas par bshad pa

iii. 'grel bshad kyis kha bskang ba (6b.7)

(A) mtshan

(B) dgos don

(C) shes par bya ba'i yul bstan pa (8a.5)

iv. [?] bsdus pa'i don (9a.6)

(A) rtsa 'grel gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du bri ba

(B) gal che ba'i don tshan kha cig 'grel bshad kyis kha bskang

(1) rkang pa dang po gnyis: shes bya ji lta ba la nges par mkhas dgos pa'i don la sbyar ba (9a.7)

(a) phyi rol pa dang thun mong gis dbang du byẹd pa

(i) thun mong du grags pa mu stegs kyi (9b.2)

(ii) phyi nang gang du yang mi 'du ba kla klo'i chos su grags pa (10a.2)

(b) thun mong ma yin pa sang rgyas kyi bstan pa'i dbang du byas pa (12b.1)

(i) bye mdo gnyis kyi bdag med

(ii) theg chen las/ dbu ma'i lta ba ngos 'dzin (13b.4)

A. phar phyin lugs

1. rang stong

2. gzhan stong

B. sngags kyi lugs (13b.6)

(2) rkang pa phyi ma dag gis rnam dpyod kyi rtsal grub pas ni

shes bya ji snyed pa'i tshogs la'ang brtson 'grus rtsom dgos par bstan pa (14b.4)

(a) rig gnas chung ba (15a.1?)

(b) tshad ma (15a.5)

(c) sgra (15b.5)

(d) gso ba (16a.5)

(e) bzo (16b.4)

(f) nang rig pa (16b.7)

c. [?] bstan bcos 'di'i lus rnam par gzhag pa (18b.5)

i. mkhas par bya ba'i yul bden gnyis shes tshul

ii. mkhas par byed pa'i yul can rtsom 'chad rtsod gsum la mkhas dgos par bstan pa

(A) ming gi sgo nas mdor bstan

(B) don gyi sgo nas rgyas par bshad pa

(1) rtsom pa la mkhas par bya dgos pa

(2) 'chad pa la mkhas par bya dgos pa

(3) rtsod pa la mkhas par bya dgos pa

(B) [Mkhas 'jug dris lan] The Answers to Glo-bo mkhan-chen's Questions. The second work by Shākya-mchog-ldan on the KhJ is the answers he gave to the questions posed by his disciple Glo-bo mkhan-chen. These questions numbered twenty-one in all. The answers to them fill pages 113-149 of vol. 24 of Shākya-mchog-ldan's Collected Works, and thus they form a work of nearly the same length as the unfinished commentary. As mentioned above, these answers occur in the collected works a bit after the incomplete KhJ commentary, because another unfinished exegetical work--this one on Sa-paṇ's Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po--intervenes between them.[8]

The questions by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, and Shākya-mchog-ldan's answers to them are impossible to date precisely. They were seemingly written sometime after Shākya-mchog-ldan's long visit to Lo in 1472-1474, but probably not many years after the death of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug in 1478, because sometime in the subsequent years their relations soured.[9] When writing his questions, Glo-bo mkhan-chen was thus probably in his late teens or early twenties. Some of the questions may have been suggested to him by his learned tutors.

The subjects of the twenty-one questions are as follows:

(1) Does the sgra spyi'i snang ba of the KhJ (I 13, autocommentary) count as a "sound" (sgra)? (pp. 114.3-115.6)[10]

(2) The *Rnam par bshad pa'i sgo bsdu ba* and the relationship of the *tshig*, *ming*, and *yi ge* levels of language described in KhJ I 13-15. (pp. 115.6-118.4)

(3) The different accounts of the twelve vowels in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. (pp. 118.4-119.4)

(4) The originality of statements by Sa-paṇ in the KhJ.[11] (pp. 119.4-120.7)

(5) Different teaching methods for expounding Sūtras and Tantras. (pp. 120.7-124.4)

(6) The teaching methods definitely needed for any and all scriptures, whether Sūtra, Tantra or Śāstra (KhJ II 5, 8). (pp. 124.4-126.1)

(7) Why do all writers not use a brief introductory outline (*lus rnam gzhag*) (KhJ I 11)? (pp. 126.1-127.4)

(8) Why do these "doors of firm retention" belong only to Saints of the great stages (*bhūmi*) (KhJ II 29, autocommentary)? (pp. 127.4-128.2)

(9) The position of the Pratyekabuddha in *siddhānta* (KhJ III 21). (pp. 128.2-129.4)

(10) The scriptural basis for the fivefold classification of non-Buddhist dialecticians (KhJ III 43).[12] (pp. 129.4-130.4)

(11) What passage in the *Tarkajvālā* states that Tīrthika theories can be classified into one hundred types (KhJ III 43, autocommentary)? (pp. 130.5-131.3)

(12) The twofold division of tenets according to permanence and annihilation in KhJ III 43, autocommentary, and its apparent contradiction of the *Madhyamakāloka*. (pp. 131.3-132.6)

(13) The classification of the Mīmāṃsaka as annihilationist by some Tibetan scholars (cf. KhJ III 43). (pp. 132.6-133.3)

(14) The apparent differentiation between the Sāṃkhya and the Kāpila in the *Jñānasārasamuccaya* (cf. KhJ III 43). (pp. 133.3-134.7)

(15) Origins of the pragmatic, materialistic doctrines of statecraft associated with Kṣatriya rulers (KhJ III 43, autocommentary). (pp. 134.7-135.5)

(16) Different classifications of the Mīmāṃsaka and the Vedāntin in the KhJ (III 43) and in the *Tarkajvālā*. (pp. 135.6-137.3)

(17) Btsun-pa Dge-srungs (Śubhagupta) and his *Phyi rol don sgrub*: Sautrāntika or Yogācārin? (pp. 137.3-138.7)

(18) Interpretation of the statement in the *Jñānasārasamuccaya* about conditioned objects not existing. (pp. 139.1-140.4)

(19) The classification of Dignāga as a Sākārin in the *Jñānasārasamuccaya*. (pp. 140.4-141.7)

(20) Are there taught in authoritative scriptures any classifications of the Madhyamaka besides Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika (cf. KhJ III 46, autocommentary)?[13] (pp. 143.1-147.1)

(21) Are such designations as "Mdo-sde-spyod-pa'i-dbu-ma-pa" acceptable? (Cf. KhJ III 40, autocommentary) (pp. 147.1-148.1)

Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub

The only known extant and complete commentary on the KhJ is the abovementioned Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed (Mkhas 'jug rnam bshad) by Glo-bo mkhan-chen. He wrote this work at the request of Rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po, the king of Gu-ge, beginning work on it at the Namgyal monastery (Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling-gi-chos-sde) in Lo.[14] He completed it after a long delay, in the thams cad 'dul year (=fire-pig, 1527) at the smaller monastery of Bsam-grub-gling, the place in Lo where some five years later he breathed his last. In the colophon he explains that the long delay in completing the work was because of harms caused by "barbarians of the degenerate age" (snyigs dus kyi kla klo). This was a reference to the Turkic Moslem raiders who threatened to attack Lo several times in the early 1500s.[15] While writing his commentary, Glo-bo mkhan-chen was assisted by a secretary (yi ge pa), the learned monk Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po. When he finally completed it, Glo-bo mkhan-chen had reached the then very venerable age of seventy-one.

An old manuscript of this commentary, with alternating lines of gold and silver characters on polished black paper, is preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo; it is manuscript no. 43 in the Tibetan collection. The same text has been published in India.[16] I am told that a different manuscript of the work also exists in the set of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's writings that is preserved in the Lo village of Gelung.[17]

The Tōyō Bunko manuscript of this commentary once formed the last volume in a set of the author's collected works that had been arranged into eight physical volumes. A few other pieces of this set also survive in the Tōyō Bunko, including volume one (ka), which is manuscript no. 44 of the Tibetan collection. This volume is of special importance because on the verso side of the first folio there is an inscription in which the patrons who commissioned the manuscript are named:

a haṃ lha rigs mkhyen brtse'i mgon//
sa dbang bsam grub dpal rab 'bar//
lha sras a mchog skye dgu'i dpal//
chos skyong rgyal mor bcas rnams rgyal//

The Lo ruler Bsam-grub-dpal-'bar belonged to the tenth generation of the lineage counting from the great early king A-ma-dpal, and he flourished c. 1675.[18] His son A-mchog Skye-dgu'i-dpal (also known as Tshe-dbang or Gtsug-rgyan-nor-bu) succeeded him, flourishing in c. 1700. Therefore the manuscript can confidently be dated to the second half of the 17th century.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen felt a special devotion toward Sa-paṇ. He records in his autobiography that one of the turning points in his life was the inspiration and faith that arose in him when as a young monk he read the minor writings of Sa-paṇ.[19] In the course of his scholarly career, Glo-bo mkhan-chen became the most prolific contributor of commentarial and other secondary writings connected with Sa-paṇ's works. In addition to the KhJ commentary, he wrote on the Rigs gter, Sdom sgum rab dbye, and Thub pa'i dgongs gsal.[20] Though as a scholar he never reached the attainments of his senior contemporaries Go-rams-pa and Shākya-mchog-ldan, he was much respected within the Sa-skya and Ngor-pa traditions; he was in fact the teacher of the Sa-skya bdag-chen Sa-lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje ('Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams) (1485-1533) and of several great masters of Ngor, including the tenth abbot, Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557). His writings on the Sdom sgum rab dbye in particular are valuable for an understanding of the late-15th-century schism within Sa-skya-pa scholasticism caused by the controversial questions and doctrines of Shākya-mchog-ldan.[21]

Glo-bo mkhan-chen's interpretations of the KhJ reflected the understandings he had worked out over many decades. He had begun his study of it when a young man, and he tried to resolve some of its difficult points by questioning the outstanding teacher Shākya-mchog-ldan. When he finally wrote his commentary many years later and near the end of his life, he must have viewed this work as a last contribution to the study of Sa-paṇ's writings and as a final token of his loyal devotion to that great saint and genius.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen's general procedure as a commentator was sound. As he explains in his colophon, he sought to understand Sa-paṇ's words in light of the Indian Buddhist treatises on the relevant topics (in their Tibetan translations) and in light of what Sa-paṇ had taught elsewhere.[22] While preparing the commentary, he went through all of Sa-paṇ's accessible works, looking for explanations of the same or similar points. He also set great store by the writings of Sa-paṇ's direct student Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal.[23] One finds several of Lho-pa's works quoted or cited in the commentary.[24]

Glo-bo mkhan-chen's main weakness as a commentator was with regard to Sanskrit language and grammar. He admits in his colophon that his knowledge of Sanskrit was far from perfect, and that therefore he has relied upon the writings of other scholars for this and related topics. He mentions for instance that he

sent questions about various difficult points concerning grammar to the eminent translator Zhwa-lu lo-tsā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (b. 1441), and that when he received the answers he incorporated them into the commentary.[25] He also lists as his sources on alaṃkāraśāstra such great early authorities as Mkhan-po Kha-che paṇ-chen, Dpang-lo chen-po Blo-gros-brtan-pa, Snar-thang lo-tsā-ba Saṃghaśrī, and Sa-bzang lo-tsā-ba Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug.[26] However, neither here nor elsewhere does he mention Shākya-mchog-ldan as one of his informants. Even at this late date--some twenty years after Shākya-mchog-ldan's death--the question of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's early studies under Shākya-mchog-ldan and their subsequent doctrinal opposition was apparently still a sensitive issue.

As an exegete, Glo-bo mkhan-chen is often disappointing because his explanations are either too brief or non-existent. On many occasions instead of a gloss or a paraphrase he simply gives a quotation of the passage in extenso, with no comment besides an introductory subject heading. It seems that where he thought Sa-paṇ's text was understandable he preferred to let it speak for itself. But we should be grateful for these quotes for another reason: they sometimes contain different readings which help clarify textual problems.

Some of the most valuable and interesting parts of the commentary are Glo-bo mkhan-chen's discussions of a general topic (spyi don) that introduce his comments on the actual words of a particular section of the treatise (gzhung don). He gives a useful preliminary discussion of poetics (pp. 83b.3-101a.1) and an interesting sketch of the origins of the dialectical treatises that were the basis for Indian traditions of debate (pp. 237b-254a). These general discussions indicate to what extent Tibetan scholars of the 15th and 16th centuries were familiar with the Indian sources of their scholarly traditions.

Another important section of the commentary is the introductory biography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita. It is one of the longest extant biographies of Sa-paṇ, being some forty folios long in the Tōyō Bunko manuscript and thus constituting about one-eighth of the work. Printed in the Derge long-page (ldeb ring) format, the biography comes to some thirty folios, and thus it was the longest biography of Sa-paṇ that is known to have existed in that time.[27] (The later versified biography composed by Rin-spungs-pa Ngag-dbang-'jigs-med-grags-pa in 1579 comes to some 78 folios in its Derge edition, making it the only extant biography that is greater in sheer length.[28]) This biography by Glo-bo mkhan-chen became as long as it did because it was filled out with extensive quotations from Sa-paṇ's minor writings and with some related materials that were then only recently recovered from Khams.[29]

This biography won the approval of the discerning Sa-skya-pa scholar and historian 'Jam-mgon A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597-1659). The

latter in fact admired it so much that he incorporated nearly the whole of it into his classic history of the Sa-skya 'Khon family, the Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo.[30] In the colophon to that work, A-mes-zhabs lists many of his sources, but strangely enough he does not mention the source of this biography, even though it forms nearly one-tenth of his work.[31] Nevertheless, Glo-bo mkhan-chen's name does appear at least once in this lengthy quotation. On p. 100.2 (50b.2), A-mes-zhabs indicates that Glo-bo mkhan-chen was the source of a short explanatory note (mchan bu). The note reads: 'di'i khri yol zangs tsha'i mdzad pa'ang khyad par 'phags pa yin zhes chos rje glo bo mkhan chen pas bshad do. In the commentary itself (p. 7b.7) there is this similar note, apparently the addition of one of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's students: 'di'i khri yol zangs tshas mdzad pa'ang khyad par 'phags gsung ngo.

A-mes-zhabs copied the biography almost word-for-word (compare KhJNSh, pp. 4a.3-43b.3). One significant departure from Glo-bo mkhan-chen's text that I have noticed is an addition by A-mes-zhabs to the list of Sa-paṇ's writings on pp. 60a.4-61a.6 (compare KhJNSh, p. 22a.3). Others are the letter of invitation purportedly sent by the Mongol prince Ködän to Sa-paṇ (pp. 156.4-162.1 [78b.4-81b.1]), and the letter ostensibly sent by Sa-paṇ to the Tibetans after his meeting with Ködän (p. 134.1-6 [67b.1-6]).

Mkhan-chen Ngag-dbang-chos-grags

The most recent commentarial work on the KhJ came from the pen of mkhan-chen Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641). This commentary itself is not now available, and it is known only from lists of its author's writings. One of these lists is found in a bibliography of Sa-skya-pa works entitled Dkar chag chos mdzod bye ba'i lde mig that was compiled in the early 1960s by the Venerable Khenpo Appey and slightly supplemented later by another scholar.[32] For the contents of rare collected works, Khenpo Appey based himself mainly on a notebook of 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820-1892) written in the latter's own hand. Khenpo Appey was able to borrow this notebook from the Mkhyen-brtse mchod-dpon in 1960 when compiling the bibliography in Sikkim, but its present whereabouts are unknown.

In that bibliography, the title of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's commentary is given as Mkhas pa 'jug sgo'i dgongs pa spyi'i ngag gis bstan pa legs bshad nor bu'i phreng mdzes. This title indicates that the work was a general exposition of the purport of the work. An almost identical title for this work is given in the biography of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, the second source where the work is

mentioned.[33] The only difference between the wordings of the titles is that the biography gives ston pa in the place of bstan pa.

It is regrettable that this commentary is not available, for it promises by its title to discuss the main points that Sa-paṇ had in mind when writing the KhJ. One would expect that Ngag-dbang-chos-grags explained in it some of the thornier passages in the work. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's comments would in any case deserve careful consideration because he was one of the last great paṇḍitas of the Sa-skya-pas.

There is reason to think that this commentary is still extant. The collected writings of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags are reported by a recent Tibetan visitor to Sa-skya to survive there still, in the Lha-khang chen-mo. With a little luck, this work may turn up among them.

Conclusion

Thus the KhJ was commented upon by some of the greatest scholars of the Sa-skya-pa tradition. But strangely enough, no living Sa-skya-pa scholar known to me remembered reading any of these commentaries in Tibet. A possible reason for this was that the KhJ was not one of the works regularly studied and taught in the Sa-skya-pa seminaries in recent times (nor was it a core work in the Sa-skya-pa curriculums during the previous periods of highly flourishing scholarship).[34] The greatest scholars of all traditions no doubt continued to read it from Sa-paṇ's time down to the present, but one would guess that the formal public exposition (bshad pa) of the work within the Sa-skya-pa had died out by the late-17th or early-18th century as a part of the general decline of Sa-skya-pa scholarship in an era dominated politically and economically by the Dga'-ldan pho-brang and the great Dge-lugs-pa convents.

Another reason some of these commentaries were unknown to recent scholars from Tibet was that the writings of most of these commentators were, in general, very scarce in Tibet. The writings of Glo-bo mkhan-chen, for instance, did not circulate widely, except for the few works that had been published from Ngor by xylographic printing; even those of his works that had been printed at Derge remained more or less unknown.[35] In the case of Shākya-mchog-ldan's writings, there was an additional reason for their scarcity: they had been forcibly suppressed by the Dge-lugs-pa authorities since the 17th century.[36] Of course his writings that have to do directly with the KhJ are minor or fragmentary works--they would not in any case have been likely to circulate widely apart from the collected works. One might have expected at least the commentary by Ngag-dbang-

chos-grags to have been known to modern Sa-skya-pa scholars. He was a highly reputed savant, and many of his works were not only printed but also in common use as textbooks (yig cha) in the college of scriptural and dialectical studies (bshad grwa) at Sa-skya. But the KhJ itself was not part of any curriculum of studies, and this commentary on it was certainly not a required textbook. Indeed, it is not yet definitely known whether it was actually ever printed together with the numerous other published works of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags.

NOTES

[1]See D. Jackson (1983a). There I listed commentaries on eight works including the KhJ. Since then I have come across a commentarial writing on a ninth work. This is Ngor dpon-slob Ngag-dbang-legs-grub's Phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig las 'phros pa'i dris lan, which was a clarification of Sa-paṇ's small Phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig (TB no. 75). This "commentary" (actually it was a reply to questions) was published at the end of Ngag-dbang-legs-grub's Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i nyams len sdom pa gsum gtan la 'bebs pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i dgongs rgyan. See pp. 192f of the Khams xylograph of both works that has been republished from New Delhi in 1979 by T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche.

[2]KhJNSh, p. 301b.2: lho pa kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyis dag ldan grub mtha'i gsal byed du/ le'u gsum pa'i phyi nang gi grub mtha'i gsal byed cung zad byas pa/. This apparently refers to the passage on pp. 263a.6-265b.5. Lho-pa is again quoted on the Madhyamaka view on pp. 281a.6-283a.2. The quote from the Rnam bshad dag ldan begins on p. 265a.1.

[3]Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Brtag pa gnyis pa'i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnams 'joms par byed pa'i rnam 'grel dag ldan, SKKB, vol. 3, pp. 133.2.4-3.4. Cf. KhJNSh, pp. 265a.1-265b.5. The verse commented upon is Hevajra Tantra I,x,12. See D. Snellgrove (1959), vol. 2, pp. 36f and the commentary, p. 132.

[4]Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub's Gsan yig (Chos kyi rje, p. 144a.1) records that the lung transmission for this work existed in the 16th century. There it is listed as: lho pas mdzad pa'i dag ldan grub mtha'i gsal byed. Also listed is Lho-pa's (and Dmar-ston's) Legs bshad sgrung 'grel.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his KhJNSh, p. 263a.6, introduces the passage with the words: 'di dag gi don la chos kyi rje'i gsung sgros dge ba'i bshes gnyen lho pa kun mkhyen gyis bkod pa ni. Compare the later reference to Lho-pa's unavailable Gsung sgros ma commentary on the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (KhJNSh, p. 281a.6): 'di dag gi don bdag nyid chen po'i dgongs pa ji lta ba bzhin tu/ lho pa kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyis spyod 'jug ṭi ka gsung sgros mar bkod [281b] pa ni.

[5]KhJNSh, p. 301b.2: bla ma chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che'i gsung gi sgros mchan bur btab pa phran tshegs tsam.

[6] If this is the meaning, as I take it to be, a better reading would be rin po ches instead of rin po che'i. 'Phags-pa would then have been merely the recorder of the "oral sayings" (gsung gi sgros), and Sa-paṇ would be the probable source of them, as in the case of the above-mentioned Gsung sgros ma commentary of Lho-pa. 'Phags-pa himself was not known to have been a great master of grammar, poetics, Sanskrit, or Pramāṇa, and thus it is unlikely that he originated these explanations. See also the Blue Annals of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba (G. Roerich [1976], p. 784), where 'Phags-pa is said to have admitted not having learned Sa-paṇ's works Tshig gi gter and Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po. 'Phags-pa, however, did know some poetics and was certainly capable of elegant composition.

[7] I am indebted to Mr. E. Gene Smith for first showing me this work. Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Zhen pa, p. 24a.3, also referred to this work in a list of Shākya-mchog-ldan's minor works. Other works by Shākya-mchog-ldan are found listed in Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Rnam thar zur, pp. 4a-4b.

[8] On this commentary see D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 7f.

[9] Glo-bo mkhan-chen records in his autobiography (Rje btsun bsod nams, p. 27a) that the signal of Shākya-mchog-ldan's worsened attitude toward him came in the latter's reply to Glo-bo mkhan-chen's request that he write a detailed biography of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478). As it turned out, Glo-bo mkhan-chen himself wrote the only known biography of Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug. This is a short work entitled Bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen phreng ba, of which I once read a 16-folio manuscript in Lumbini. It also exists in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, where it is found in the fragments of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's works, vol. ka, pp. 146b.1-178a.1. He wrote this work in a dog year (1490?).

Relations between the two were still good as late as 1479, for that is when Shākya-mchog-ldan wrote a history of Rngog lo-tsā-ba Blo-ldan-shes-rab and his school at Glo-bo mkhan-chen's request. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rngog lo tstsha ba chen pos bstan pa ji ltar bskyangs pa'i tshul mdo tsam du bya ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mo, Collected Works, vol. 16, p. 456.

[10] Shākya-mchog-ldan in his answer to this question refers to a criticism of the KhJ by Dpang lo-tsā-ba, but states that Dpang lo erred there in considering the sgra spyi snang ba as permanent.

[11] Shākya-mchog-ldan's answer was that the KhJ was not intended to teach anything that was new or not contained in the great treatises of Buddhist India.

But because in Sa-paṇ's time the methods of composition, exposition and debate had so far not been well explained in Tibet, Sa-paṇ was motivated precisely to expound these topics.

[12] I have studied this question (and Shākya-mchog-ldan's answer) in more detail in D. Jackson (1985), p. 9, note 7.

[13] This question gave Shākya-mchog-ldan an opportunity to explain his position regarding the gzhan stong tradition of Madhyamaka. Glo-bo mkhan-chen could never agree with Shākya-mchog-ldan's teachings on this point.

[14] KhJNSh, p. 301b.4. The Gu-ge king may have been Glo-bo mkhan-chen's cousin since the latter's mother was a Gu-ge princess. The king may also have been the Rnam-rgyal-dpal-bzang-po of Gu-ge mentioned near the beginning of a long list of Shākya-mchog-ldan's students. See Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Paṇḍita, p. 228.

[15] KhJNSh, p. 301a.5. The threatened invasions--which apparently never materialized for Lo proper--disrupted life in many parts of Western Tibet in the early 1500s. See for instance Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Dpal ldan, pp. 90b.2, 93a.5, and 106a. See also the biography of Legs-ldan-bdud-'joms-rdo-rje in Khetsun Sangpo, Biographical Dictionary, vol. 3, pp. 383 and 385. The disturbances referred to in the latter seem to date to 1520-21. See further the biography of the 'Ba'-ra-ba teacher Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje (1486-1553) in the Bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo, vol. 2, p. 591, where it is mentioned that there were such dangers c. 1527: dgung lo bzhi bcu zhe gnyis kyi dus su/ stod phyogs nas hor gyi 'jigs pa chen po 'byung ba. Other references are found in Dkon-mchog-yon-tan-rgyal-mtshan, Ri-khrod-pa, Dgos 'dod kun 'byung, pp. 229.5, 677.2, 998.5 and 1001.3.

The general Mirza Haidar under the Chagatay sultan Sa'id of Yarkand invaded Ladakh and western Tibet in 1531 and 1548, according to N. Elias ed. and E. Denison Ross, trans., A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, pp. 12-15, 270 and 456. H. Hoffmann (1975), p. 31, mentions invasions in 1517 and 1533.

[16] New Delhi, Ngawang Topgye, 1979.

[17] Another manuscript may survive in the Sa-skya Lha-khang-chen-mo. One of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's main disciples was Sa-lo 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (also called 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje). The practice of reciting the lung of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's collected works continued at Sa-skya until at least the time of Sngags-'chang Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517-1584). See A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam

gling, p. 546.3. At one time one or more manuscripts of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's writings also existed at Ngor.

Some of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's main commentarial writings were also printed at Derge, perhaps as late as four decades ago. See below, note 20. In addition, manuscripts of many of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's works were taken to Beijing and are now kept in the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang there. See vol. 1 of the library catalogue, Bod gangs can, under Klo-bo mkhan-chen.

[18]On the dating of this ruler and his son, see D. Jackson (1984), pp. 129f.

[19]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Rje btsun bsod nams, p. 21a. This event happened when he was about 16.

[20]On the Rigs gter, Glo-bo mkhan-chen composed the commentary Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo. According to the colophon, he wrote it in 1482, i.e. when only twenty-six years of age (he could be expected to have received considerable help from his tutors). This work has already been published twice: once from Gangtok (S. T. Kazi, 1970) on the basis of a cursive MS from Glo-bo, and a second time from Dehra Dun (Pal Ewam Choden Ngorpa Centre, 1985) on the basis of the Derge xylograph, which has a different title. Another important work on the Rigs gter was his Rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba. Finally, Glo-bo mkhan-chen also composed a work which identifies the pūrvapakṣas in the Rigs gter: Tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed.

In connection with the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, Glo-bo mkhan-chen wrote at least three works. One of these is a collection of Sūtra quotations which are intended to help teachers expounding the text. It is entitled Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter. A silver-letter manuscript of this work survives in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo. In addition, he wrote at least two other teaching aids ('chad thabs) on the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal. One is potentially of great importance because it gives an account of the obscure proverbs or fables (gtam brgyud) that Sa-paṇ alludes to as illustrations of certain points. In one index of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's works, this commentary is listed by the title Rgyal sras lam bzang gi skabs kyi gtam brgyud nyer mkho. A similar commentary was composed by Sa-paṇ's disciple Zhang Mdo-sde-dpal, and it was printed at Derge, apparently with Glo-bo mkhan-chen's works. As for the third "teaching aid" for the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal, there is some confusion in the indexes regarding its title; there may in fact exist a fourth such work. See D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 4f. But the extant xylograph from Derge is said to bear the

title Thub pa'i dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen wrote at least five works in connection with the Sdom gsum rab dbye:

(1) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa zhib mo rnam 'thag

(2) Sdom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel

(3) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma

(4) Skal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje

(5) Sdom pa gsum gyi skabs kyi bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed

Probably all five have some connection with the controversy raised by Shākya-mchog-ldan's questioning of the Sdom gsum rab dbye. The first and longest of these was an explication of certain difficult points in the Sdom gsum rab dbye. This and the second work were printed from wooden blocks at Ngor. I have seen a 136-folio manuscript copy made from the Ngor par-ma edition of the first work, through the kindness of Mr. E. Gene Smith. An original xylograph of the work (and also of number 4) was photographed in 1984 by the German-Nepal Manuscript Preservation Project. See L. van der Kuijp (1985b), pp. 92f. Number 4 is also accessible as a silver-letter manuscript now in the Tōyō Bunko. For more details, see D. Jackson (1983a), pp. 18f.

Of the above-mentioned commentaries and polemical works, fortunately most were also printed at Derge, seemingly in the late 1940s. These are listed in the recent index to the Derge printery by Bkra-shis-rdo-rje (Chendu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1983), pp. 328-330, as follows: mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas kyi gsung 'bum la/

[1] Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel ba'i rnam bshad rig lam gsal ba'i nyi ma ldeb 207

[2] Thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan ldeb 15

[3] Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter ldeb 78

[4] Thub pa'i dgongs gsal rgyal sras 'phags pa'i lam gyi sgrung 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer ldeb 144

[5] Dkar chag ldeb 1

[6] Spyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i [sic] dgongs rgyan ldeb 11

[7] Slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer ldeb 44

[8] Mngon par rtogs pa rin chen ljon shing gi gsal byed rin chen sgron me ldeb 49

[9] Sdom gsum gyi rab tu 'byed pa'i dris lan lung gi tshad ma 'khrul spong dgongs rgyan ldeb 57

[10] Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo yi rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed 'phrul gyi me long ldeb 304

[11] Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal byed ldeb 4

[12] Tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rig lam gsal byed ldeb 29 rnams mkhan chen gsungs so/.

Prints of numbers 6 and 7, as pointed out to me by Mr. Tashi Tsering, are available on microfiche from IASWR, Stonybrook. See also J. Kolmaš (1971), nos. 11.073 (1449) and 11.074 (1450). Somehow in Kolmaš's index the title pages of these works were included among those of the writings of Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho. Most if not all of these Derge xylographs have now been reprinted by the Pal Ewam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, Manduwalla, Dehra Dun. Eleven of these Derge prints are also listed in an index of the Tibetan holdings of the Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang, Beijing. See Bod gangs can, vol. 1, pp. 88f.

For two detailed indexes of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's complete works, see below, Appendixes J and K. Cf. the list of many of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's works--fragments of at least two manuscript sets of his works which probably came from Sa-skya or Ngor--found in vol. 1 , pp. 68-88, of Bod gangs can (the Beijing Mi-rigs-dpe-mdzod-khang index of some one hundred and eighty collected works) under the heading "Klo-bo mkhan-chen," and E. Gene Smith (1970a), which is based on the Sa skya pa'i dkar chag compiled by Khenpo Appey.

[21]Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Thimphu ed.), p. 259, also cites Glo-bo mkhan-chen in this connection.

[22]KhJNSh, p. 301b.5. In addition, Glo-bo mkhan-chen used materials that Sa-paṇ had translated, having apparently had access to a collection of his translations. He mentions in an introduction that he wrote to a Sa skya bka' 'bum index the interesting fact that there were traditionally a four-part and a six-part collection of Sa-paṇ's complete works. The latter included the works that he had translated, whereas the former, which was taken as the more authoritative collection, did not. See his Skyes rtsa, p. 304.5: chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita'i bka' 'bum la/ dum bzhi dang/ dum drug tu grags pa gnyis byung ba las/ phyi ma la ni 'gyur mdzad pa rnams kyang bcug par snang bas/ snga ma dbang rtsan la/. For instance, one of the works he consulted in preparing his Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, was the supplementary explanations that Sa-paṇ added to the Viśeṣastavaṭīka of Prajñāvarman. See the colophon appearing in the Peking Tanjur, vol. 46, p.

26.3.3-8: khyad par du 'phags par bstod pa'i rgya cher bshad pa/ slob dpon shes rab go chas mdzad pa las/ bar skabs su tshigs su bcad pa bcu gnyis kyi 'grel pa rgya dpe ma rnyed nas/ dus phyis shākya'i dge slong kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po zhes bya ba/ dpal sa skya'i dgon par sbyar ba rdzogs so//. I am indebted to Mr. L. van der Kuijp for the latter reference, which reached me as this book was going to press. Thus this completion of that commentary is a work mentioned in some gsan yig lists, including Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's where it was listed as (9) Khyad par 'phags pa bstod pa rgya cher 'grel pa'i kha skong, 5 folios. See also Dalai bla-ma V, no. 14, and Rin-spungs-pa, no. 69.

[23]See above, note 4.

[24]KhJNSh, pp. 5a.5, 59b.3, 242a.5, 251a.1, 263a.6, 281a.6. These works included his biography of Sa-paṇ (p. 5a.5), a biography of Prajñākaramati (p. 251a.1), his Dag ldan grub mtha'i gsal byed (p. 301b.2), and his Gsung sgros ma commentary on the BCA (p. 281a.6). The latter in particular is thought to preserve Sa-paṇ's own explanations, being based on Lho-pa's notes set down during or after Sa-paṇ's lectures. The recent Khams xylograph of the latter is not now accessible. Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his Rigs gter commentary, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 38.3 (19b.3) and 404.4 (202b.6), also quotes from Lho-pa's Pramāṇa commentary, the Sde bdun gsal ba'i rgyan. See also his citation of this work in Sde bdun mdo...nye bar mkho, p. 63.3 (3a.3), as quoted above, chapter 6, note 73.

[25]KhJNSh, pp. 301b.6-302a.4. In the commentary itself, Zhwa-lu lo-tsā-ba is referred to on pp. 83b.2, 220b.5, and 221b.2. Cf. Glo-bo mkhan-chen's letter to Zhwa-lu lo-tsā-ba entitled Zha lu lo tsā ba la dris lan mdzad pa, Collected Works, vol. 3, pp. 53.1-55.3.

[26]These are cited for instance in the following places:

Mkhan-po Kha-che paṇ-chen (='Jam-dbyangs Kha-che Bsod-nams-dpal, teacher of Rong-ston), p. 178b.6.

Dpang lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-brtan-pa, pp. 145a.5, 162b.1, 172b.1, 178b.6, 184b.5, and 187b.2.

Snar-thang lo-tsā-ba Saṃghaśrī, pp. 127b.2, 128a.6, 152a.4, 159b.3, 161b.5, 162b.1, 172b.4, 176a.1, 176b.5, 180a.5, 184a.6, and 187b.1.

Sa-bzang lo-tsā-ba Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug, p. 153b.3.

[27]I have taken this count from the biography as it is incorporated in the Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo (i.e. 'Dzam gling . . .) of A-mes-zhabs, pp. 94.4-154.5

(47b-77b). The approximate lengths of the main extant biographies in their Derge editions are:

Rin-spungs-pa, 78 ff.
Glo-bo mkhan-chen, 30 ff.
Rin-chen-dpal, 19 ff.
Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, 11 ff.
The Gsung sgros ma (i.e. Dpal sa . . .), 10 ff.

[28]Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.), vol. ka, pp. 67b-145a.

[29]KhJNSh, p. 33b.5. A brief note here states: dris lan gyi rim pa gsum po 'di sngan chad dar ba ma byung ya[ng]/ mdo khams nas rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi phyag tu byung ba las bris pa yin no. The first three replies to questions are:

(1) Mdo khams kyi ston pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan (pp. 30a.3-32a.4; see TB no. 97)
(2) Rnal 'byor pa phru ma pa zhes pas dris pa'i lan (pp. 32a.5-33b.4; see TB no. 99)
(3) A very brief and probably apocryphal untitled reply to a question about Sa-paṇ's criticism of the ring bsrel relics (pp. 33b.4-34a.4). This passage also appears in the Gsung sgros ma biography ascribed to Ngor-chen, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.), vol. 1, pp. 62b.5-63a.2.

A little later in the KhJNSh, a fourth work ascribed to Bi-ji appears:

(4) Rtogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan (pp. 39a.3-42a.6; see TB no. 32).

Though all four purport to be the work of Lha-rje Bi-ji, one of Sa-paṇ's disciples, the first two and the fourth came to be included in Sa-paṇ's bka' 'bum by the time of the tenth Ngor abbot Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557), and they were printed in the Derge edition of the Sa skya bka' 'bum. As Glo-bo mkhan-chen indicates, these three works became known in Central and Western Tibet only in the time of the fourth Ngor abbot Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).

That Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug had searched out such materials in Khams and later brought them to Glo-bo is also indicated by Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his index to a Sa skya bka' 'bum whose arrangement was mainly based on Ngor-chen's gsan yig. See his Skyes rtsa, p. 304.5: de yang gsan yig rgya mtsho las ji ltar byung ba bzhin bzhag pa'i stengs su bka' 'bum 'thor bu ba'i nang tshan 'ga' zhig bdag gi 'dren pa dam pa kun dga' dbang phyug gis mdo khams nas dpe rtsad chod nas 'dir bsnams byon pa 'ga' zhig kyang chud yod pas shin tu rgyas pa zhig bzhugs la/.

[30]KhJNSh, pp. 4a.3-43b.3, is found in A-mes-zhabs, _'Dzam gling_, pp. 94.5-154.5 (47b-77b).

[31]A-mes-zhabs, _'Dzam gling_, p. 666 (333b).

[32]I am grateful to Mr. E. G. Smith for first showing me this index and for indicating that a KhJ commentary by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags was listed in it. The supplements seem to have been added mainly from Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, _Bod kyi mkhas_.

[33]Dgon-gsar-ba Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, _Dpal ldan bla ma_, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Dehra Dun ed.), vol. 4 (_nga_), p. 356.3 (178b.3).

[34]I know of only three references to the formal public exposition of the KhJ by great Sa-skya-pa scholastic teachers. Two of the teachers were Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449) and Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428-1507). See respectively the biography of Rong-ston by Shākya-mchog-ldan: _Rje btsun thams cad_, p. 320.1, and the biography of Shākya-mchog-ldan by Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, in the former's collected works: _Paṇḍi ta_, p. 76.6. In addition, the much earlier Sa-skya-pa scholar Mi-nyag paṇ-chen Rig[s]-pa'i-seng-ge (1287-1375) formally studied the KhJ in Gtsang in about 1322. According to his biography _Mkhan chen bka' bzhi pa rig pa'i seng ge'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i rgya mtsho_ (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre), p. 24 (12b), he studied the following works of Sa-paṇ mainly under Slob-dpon Gzhon-nu-mgon-po:

(1) _Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter_
(2) _Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo_
(3) _Sdom gsum rab dbye_
(4) _Sdeb sbyor me tog chun po_
(5) _Thub pa'i dgongs gsal_
(6) and (7) _Sems bskyed chen mo dang de'i Lung sbyor_
(8) _Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshig bcad_
(9) _Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la bstod pa'i phreng ba_ [sic]
(10) _Snyi mo rtogs ldan gyi dris lan_

Before that he had studied an eleventh work, the _Rigs gter_ with slob-dpon Byams-mgon-pa, also known as Phyogs-glang-gsar-ma. See _ibid._, p. 21.1 (11a.1).

[35]At least two works connected with the _Sdom gsum rab dbye_ by Glo-bo mkhan-chen were reprinted at Ngor--the _Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa zhib mo rnam 'thag_ and _Sdom gsum brgal lan tshig don mun sel_--

and quite a few of his other commentarial writings were printed at Derge. See Gangs can gyi, p. 217.4, and above, note 20.

It seems likely that these works of Glo-bo mkhan-chen were carved rather late at Derge, and that this accounts for their not having circulated widely. T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche was the only scholar I have met who came into contact with any of these works in their Derge edition. He remembered that his teacher mkhan-po Me-nyag Dam-chos had used Glo-bo mkhan-chen's Rigs gter commentary for detailed explanations when teaching the Rigs gter in 1951 at the Rdzong-gsar bshad-grwa, near Derge.

[36]It is said that along with the writings of Shākya-mchog-ldan (whose gzhan stong theory linked him with the similarly proscribed Jo-nang Tāranātha), the works of the other great 15th-century Sa-skya-pa savants Stag-tshang lo-tsā-ba and Go-bo rab-'byams-pa were also suppressed, their printing being prohibited. All three were guilty of the same offence: criticism of Tsong-kha-pa. It was not until the fairly recent publication of Go-rams-pa's works from Derge by Sga bla-ma 'Jam-dbyangs-rgyal-mtshan (1870-1940) at the suggestion of Mkhan-chen Gzhan-dga' Gzhan-phan-chos-kyi-snang-ba (1871-1927) that the Sa-skya-pas regained easy access to one of these scholars' complete works in printed form. That printing is mentioned for instance by E. G. Smith (1969b), pp. 32f, and it is described in detail by Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma in his biography of 'Jam-dbangs-rgyal-mtshan: Rje btsun bla ma dam pa 'jam dbyangs rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus skal bzang rna rgyan (New Delhi: T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, 1983), pp. 25.2-37.2 (13a.2-19a.2).

Chapter 10

THE CRITICAL EDITION: SOURCES AND METHOD

A. The Texts

The following edition of the third main section (le'u) of the KhJ is based on a comparison of four exemplars:

B: a Bhutanese manuscript

D: the Derge xylographic edition

G: a manuscript from Glo-bo Smon-thang (Mustang)

C: The commentary on the KhJ by Glo-bo mkhan-chen (KhJNSh), in a manuscript from Glo-bo

The first three embody the complete work, while the last is a commentary which contains many extensive quotations. Many other quotes of the KhJ--especially of the basic verses--can also be found in Tibetan literature. Yet since these are almost never decisive in improving the readings, I have not collated them systematically.[1]

B: The Bhutanese Manuscript

Text B is a Bhutanese manuscript preserved in Pha-jo-lding monastery in Bhutan. A reproduction of the manuscript was published from Thimphu in 1979 by Tulku Kunsang Gyatso. The title page of the new publication begins Bśes pa'i 'phring yig gi ṭī ka and 'Phags pa klu sgrub kyi rtogs brjod mdor bsdus because in fact this same volume also contains the reproductions of some other manuscript works from that monastery. These include a commentary on the Suhṛllekha of Nāgārjuna,[2] and a brief biography of Nāgārjuna by one Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-dge-legs-rgya-mtsho'i-sde. At the end of the volume there appear three works of Sa-skya Paṇḍita:

(1) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (52 ff; pp. 131-234)

(2) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (1 f; pp. 234-235)

(3) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa (11 ff; pp. 235-255)

However, at the beginning of the first work (p. 131), on the title page and in the table of contents of the recent reproduction there appears the title Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo, a combination of the titles of the first and third works.

I have not had the chance to examine the Pha-jo-lding manuscript itself; I have only had access to the reproduction, which does not yield sufficient information to date the manuscript precisely.[3] In any case, the manuscript itself cannot be earlier than the mid-15th century, for the texts of Sa-paṇ's works derived from a xylographic edition of that period. The manuscript preserves at its end (p. 255) what appears at first sight to be the colophon from that earlier printed edition:

// oṃ swasti/
rgyal sras kun las lhag pa'i snying stobs can//
sa la thub bstan spel mdzad chos kyi rje//
rje btsun kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i//
bka' bzhin byis pa bde blag 'jug pa'i gzhung 'di par du sgrub pa yi//
'thun rkyen grong rnying dge ba'i grong nas bsgrubs//
dag byed chos kyi spyan ldan dpal 'dzin bzang//
par gyi rig byed mthar son bzod pa 'phel//

The fourth line thus identifies the original xylograph as having been one of the many Sa-skya-pa works that were printed in the mid-15th century under the patronage of the noble monk Gong-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432-1496).

The ultimate origin of the Bhutanese manuscript in the Gong-dkar-ba edition is further indicated by the marginal notation of nga ca that was retained by the later manuscripts. These characters mark the works as forming the fifth fascicle (ca) of the fourth main section (nga) of a major collection. That major collection was the Sa skya bka' 'bum, with its five main sections made up of the writings of the five great founders of Sa-skya in their chronological sequence. The other extant fragments of this edition, a few writings of Slob-dpon Bsod-nams-rtse-mo and Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, are similarly marked as belonging to the second (kha) and third (ga) main sections, respectively.[4] The Bhutanese manuscript is probably a few copies removed from the Gong-dkar-ba edition. It contains many scribal errors. Moreover, it incorporates two folios out of order, and one of them contains a dittography some sixteen syllables in length (or

twenty-nine written characters long, counting three shad).[5]

If the Bhutanese manuscript contained the original colophon, it would establish that the blocks were carved in or after 1458, for that is when Gong-dkar-ba received the ordained name Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal. But in fact the wording of the original xylograph is different. I was fortunate enough to come across in Tibet a fragment of this same fascicle (nga ca) of the original Gong-dkar edition. What survived was the last page of the KhJ as well as the next two complete works:

(1) Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo. Fascicle nga ca, f. 46a.1-5. The text begins with the words mkhas pa 'dod pa'i skye bo nyung bas na//.

(2) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa. Fasc. nga ca, f. 46a.5-46b.6.

(3) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa byis pa la phan pa. Fasc. nga ca, ff. 46b.6-55a.7.

The numbering of the last folio is given as nga lnga byon, indicating that this fascicle was complete in fifty-five folios. The printing colophon (par byang) for the fascicle begins at 55a.8, and it reads:

// oṃ swasti/
rgyal sras kun las lhag pa'i snying stobs can//
sa la thub bstan spel mdzad chos rgyal byung//
de ni dpal ldan grwa lngar brjod pa des//
mkhas rnams 'jug pa'i sgo khang gts[u]g gyur pa//
mtshungs med gzh[u]ng 'di par du sgrub pa yi//
'thun rkyen grong rnying dge ba'i grong nas bsgrubs//
dag byed chos kyi spyan ldan dpal 'dzin bzang//
par gyi rig byed mthar son bzod pa 'phel//

In this version, then, the name of the patron is given as Grwa-lnga, and he is referred to as a "religious ruler" (chos rgyal). This is no doubt the original colophon. The version found in the Bhutanese manuscript substituted the following three lines for lines 2-5 of the original:

sa la thub bstan spel mdzad chos kyi rje//
rje btsun kun dga' rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i//
bka' bzhin byis pa bde blag 'jug pa'i gzhung 'di par du sgrub pa yi//

This change was probably introduced by a later scribe or patron who wished to clarify who the original sponsor of the Gong-dkar-ba edition had been. Some other tampering with the text is evident, for example in the long unmetrical fourth line which would not have been allowed to stand in a printed edition.

D: The Derge Edition

For the living Tibetan tradition, the Derge xylographic edition is the standard edition of the Sa skya bka' 'bum as a whole and, by extension, of the particular treatises contained in it, such as the KhJ. The exemplar of D is the print brought out of Tibet by the former Ngor Thar-rtse mkhan-po, Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho, which was subsequently reproduced under his supervision in 1968 when he was at the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo.

The original blocks of the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum (most of which still survive in the Sde-dge Par-khang-chen-mo) were carved in Derge in the mid-1730s.[6] This large project was undertaken initially as the result of a request made to the Derge king Bstan-pa-tshe-ring by the 30th mkhan-po of Ngor, Bkra-shis-lhun-grub.[7] That Derge king was a great patron of Buddhism, and he had especially close ties with the Ngor-pas.[8] By that time he had already sponsored the printing of the more than one hundred volumes of the Kanjur, and later in his life he would have the rest of the Tibetan Buddhist canon--the even more massive Tanjur--carved onto printing blocks. When asked on this occasion by Bkra-shis-lhun-grub to sponsor the printing of the Sa skya bka' 'bum, he is said to have immediately given his joyful assent.

According to the record preserved in the index this edition, the king deputed one of his main ministers, Gnyer-pa A-srung, to be the chief overseer of the project.[9] The secretary (drung yig) Tshe-ring-'phel and the bursar (phyag mdzod) Gu-ru-bkra-shis were appointed to be foremen of the workers and to assist in handling the responsibilities of the work. The worker in charge of bringing out and storing the completed blocks--a formidable task when dealing with large collections--was the par dpon Gzung-skyabs.

The Sa skya bka' 'bum was indeed a large collection, consisting as it did of fifteen volumes in the Derge long-page (ldeb ring) format. Each volume had about three hundred folios and thus about six hundred printing blocks. The problem of editing and proofreading such an enormous corpus (approximately 9,000 pages in all) posed great difficulties. Errors could be incorporated at any stage, but the most difficult and dangerous stage was the establishing of a correct original (ma dpe). For this the method of the Derge editors was to

compare the readings of all available manuscripts and xylographs, and to chose the best reading where differences were detected. The editors of the Sa skya bka' 'bum had the following manuscripts at their disposal:

(1) from Skyor-mda' Bsam-gling-dgon-pa (in Chab-mdo district): a "very correct" set of the complete Sa skya bka' 'bum.

(2) from Sga Khri-'du-dgon: the collected works of Sa-paṇ and Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa arranged into six volumes and written in gold and silver letters. These manuscripts may have dated from the late-13th century since they are said to have been the sacred possessions of Sga A-gnyan-dam-pa (fl. second half of the 13th c.).[10]

(3) from Sga Thar-lam-dgon: a complete set commissioned by Rab-'byams-pa Kun-dga'-ye-shes, a disciple of Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig and Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po.

(4) from Sde-dge dgon-chen: two complete sets, one commissioned by former rulers and the other by the present king Bstan-pa-tshe-ring.[11]

(5) from Lcags-ra Bsam-grub-rtse and Bsam-grub-gling [two monasteries near Derge], one complete set from each.

(6) several volumes from an incomplete set originally commissioned by the earlier Ngor mkhan-po Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs.

Thus there were a total of six complete and two incomplete sets.[12] In addition, they had access to an undetermined number of works in the 15th-century Gong-dkar-ba edition. Though the mention of the latter is strangely absent from the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum index, it is found in the autobiography of the chief editor and proofreader, Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen.[13]

Zhu-chen was only one member of the editorial staff which established the text of the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum. Beneath him there also worked three other editors and proofreaders, including Rmugs-sangs-pa Sbyin-pa-rgya-mtsho and Bstan-'dzin-rgyal-mtshan who are described as experts in ancient and modern terminology and orthography.[14]

When comparing the various manuscripts, Zhu-chen noticed an interesting fact regarding certain works of the first three Sa-skya founders. He found that where the wording of the different witnesses varied greatly, three types of "edition" or version could often be discerned. One "edition" type was extremely concise, and it probably represented the form of the composition when it was first completed and immediately disseminated by the authors' disciples. A second "edition" type seemed certain to be a later expanded revision by the authors themselves. The third type of "edition" was where Sa-skya Paṇḍita had evidently

edited the works of his predecessors, sometimes slightly expanding passages and sometimes slightly condensing very extensive topical summaries.[15]

In the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum index Zhu-chen also explains a little about how he and his assistants solved textual problems and chose among the different readings they found. When dealing with commentarial works, their first recourse was the basic text that the commentary aimed to expound. Where discernable, they followed the reading that best accorded with the basic text. Those passages that could not be clarified in this way were examined by the editors (and, according to the index, by mkhan-po Bkra-shis-lhun-grub) to see if they could decide the correct reading on the basis of their own knowledge. Where they felt certain of the correct meaning, they emended the text or chose the best reading. Where they could not be sure, they left the doubtful reading, marking it with a sign or small annotation so that it could be examined later.[16]

In theory their editorial policy should have been very conservative. The writings of the founders were thought of as sacred and immutable vajra-words (rdo rje'i tshig); to tamper with their substance was a great sacrilege. But with regard to the "accidentals" of the text such as spelling and punctuation, they had freedom to emend. In this perhaps they simply followed the editorial style already established by Si-tu Paṇ-chen during the editing of the Derge Kanjur.[17] The assistant editors included experts in old and new terminology and orthography,[18] as well as in the established practices of the system of Tibetan grammar attributed to Thu-mi Sambhoṭa.[19] Thus they followed the practices preferred by the most learned scribes and scholars of early-18th-century Khams. No doubt they found much to "correct," for their materials consisted of works composed in a much earlier era, the 12th and 13th centuries, and the physical books themselves dated from as early as the 13th to as late as the 18th century.

The editors modernized and standardized the spellings of certain nouns and adjectives. They also emended the spellings of some verbs (sometimes changing their "tense" or aspect). They regularized the sandhi of the various grammatical particles (such as zhes, ces, etc.), thus bringing them in line with current grammatical usage (under the influence of Si-tu's grammar?). They also seem to have done more sometimes--substituting phonetically similar grammatical particles (such as gyi for gyis) one for the other, where the sense of the passage seemed to demand it. This, however, was emendation of a different order. It would require a sure understanding of the sense of the passage, since such changes could alter the substance of the text. Unfortunately, the editors probably had neither the time nor the background in studies to be able to determine accurately the sense of each sentence. Indeed, they lacked the time to compare slowly and carefully the six or more witnesses word by word (they were able to hand over the corrected and

proofread copy for all fifteen volumes in about a year and a half). Instead, they probably followed a less thoroughgoing procedure that was common in other printing projects of Khams in the present century: First they would select the "best" manuscript or xylograph as the base text (phyi mo)--here for many works the base text was probably the "very correct" manuscript from Skyor-mda' monastery.[20] This would be read aloud by one person while some or all of the other manuscripts were read silently by the others, every difference or problem being noted. Phonetically similar readings could thus be easily overlooked. Careful letter-by-letter, word-by-word examination of all witnesses was probably limited to passages where serious differences or problems were found.[21]

Some details of the economics of this printing project are also recorded in the index. For the preparation of the master manuscript and for the actual block carving, sixteen scribes of special merit and about one hundred and fifty skilled carvers were assembled. For their work they received payment in whatever form they desired--horses, cattle, tea, cloth, etc.--but the wage scales were reckoned in measures of barley:[22]

The editors received 11 'dong per day.

The carvers of the depictions of deities that appeared on the first folios (dbu lha) received 1 khal, 2 zho for each figure.

Scribes of the highest level received 15 'dong for each page, those of medium level received 14 1/2 'dong, and those of the lowest level received 12 'dong.

Carvers of the highest level received 2 khal, 2 zho for each page; those better carvers of the middle level received 2 khal, 1 zho, 5 'dong; those ordinary carvers of the middle level received 2 khal, 1 zho; and those of the lower level received 2 khal.

The drawers of lines and the preparers of paper received 4 'dong per day.

Wood cutters were paid 1 zho for every 7 zhar of wood they cut.[23]

The work was done at Sde-dge Lhun-grub-steng. It began on the fifteenth day of the fourth lunar month--one of the great Buddhist holy days--of the wood-tiger year (1734). The scribes finished writing out the master copies on the fourteenth day of the eighth lunar month of the next year (1735).[24] The carving was finally completed and the blocks arranged in their storage racks during the fire-dragon year (1736) that followed.

Much of the above information about the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum derives from its index, a work entitled Dpal sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig that was

written at the time of the block carving and that forms the last work in the final volume. By all appearances the work was written by the mkhan-po Bkra-shis-lhun-grub: his name is mentioned as author in the colophon, and elsewhere in the work where the word "I" (bdag) appears, it refers to him.[25] But the actual compiler and author of the index was the chief editor, Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, who is referred to in the work as "my attendant" (rang gi nye ba 'khor).[26]

Here we have an instance of false ascription, a fairly common occurence in later Tibetan literature.[27] Sometimes when a great religious figure would arrange for the composition of a work, that great person's name and not the name of the real author eventually appeared in the colophon. In the present case, the Ngor mkhan-po was the main instigator of the whole printing project, and he had been specifically requested by the royal patron to compose the index. But when the time came to write it, he fell ill with an ailment called 'bam (thrombosis?) that prevented him from working on it. Moreover, conveniently near at hand was the modest Tshul-khrims-rin-chen, who anyhow was probably his superior as a writer of elegant prose and ornate verse. (Ghost writing of this sort is sometimes still practiced by Tibetans even today, though its propriety now does not go completely unquestioned.)

Falsely ascribed works such as this are usually impossible to detect from internal evidence alone. Here it could be identified mainly because another account of the preparation of this edition survives in the autobiography of the true author.[28] Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen recounts that originally the plan was for him to lay the groundwork of the index (i.e. to do the basic work of compilation and a draft of any additional sections that were needed?), and for the mkhan-po to correct and embellish this as necessary. Because of the mkhan-po's illness, however, the entire job in the end fell upon Zhu-chen's own shoulders. After he had composed the index, the mkhan-po approved it without any major changes or additions, and sent it to the ruler Bstan-pa-tshe-ring for his inspection. Since the latter also liked it very much, it was carved onto blocks immediately.[29]

G: The Glo-bo Golden Manuscript

This is a beautiful manuscript from Glo-bo Smon-thang, written in gold dbu can characters on polished black paper. I located it in Nepal in June of 1983, and I was able to borrow it long enough to have it microfilmed. The text is 95 folios long, with each folio measuring 8.7 x 35.9 cms. The text forms fol. 46-140 of vol. 16 (ma) of a manuscript of the Sa skya bka' 'bum. Sa-paṇ's works

comprised at least four volumes in this manuscript collection, for the following fragments in Nepal are among those that survive[30]:

(1) Rol mo'i bstan bcos. Vol. ma, ff. 36-45.
(2) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo. Vol. ma, ff. 46-140.
(3) Sgra la 'jug pa. Vol. ma, ff. 141-154.
(4) Thub pa dgongs gsal. Vol. tsha, ff. 42-209.
(5) Glo bo lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen la spring yig. Vol. dza, ff. 266-269.
(6) Zhang lo tsā ba la spring yig. Vol. dza, ff. 269-271.
(7) Bka' gdams do bskor ba'i zhus lan. Vol. dza, ff. 271-275.
(8) Thos bsam sgom gsum gyi bris [sic] lan. Vol. dza, ff. 275-278.
(9) Snye mo sgom chen gyi bris [sic] lan. Vol. dza, ff. 278-283.
(10) Blo gsal zhing don du gnyer ba'i skyes bu rnams kyi bris [sic] lan. Vol. dza, ff. 283-284.
(11) Rta nag ri khud kyi rnga bo che la bstod pa. Vol. dza, ff. 284f.
(12) Mu stegs gyi ston pa drug tshar bcad dus sbyor ba'i snyan ngag. Vol. dza, ff. 285f.
(13) Ba gor zhes bya'i sgra la grangs pa'i stod [sic] pa. Vol. dza, ff. 286f.
(14) Chos spyod bcu pa. Vol. dza, ff. 288f.
(15) Smra ba gnyis pa. Vol. dza, f. 289.
(16) Yum rgyas 'bring sdus gsum gyi don. Vol. dza, ff. 289f.

Of these, numbers 14 and 16 are of special interest since neither is found in the Derge edition.[31]

The ultimate origin of this manuscript was the library of the Lo Mustang rajas, and a golden manuscript (gser chos) of this quality would most likely have been commissioned by one of the past Lo rulers. The precious materials and excellent craftsmanship of the manuscript mark it as the product of one of the high points in the cultural history of Lo, such as the reigns of the great kings of the 15th century. Manuscript sets of the Sa skya bka' 'bum are recorded to have been commissioned by the kings A-mgon-bzang-po (r. ca. 1435-1460) and A-seng Rdo-rje-brtan-pa (r. ca. 1489-1496).[32] At present there is not enough evidence for a firm dating of this manuscript, but a more accurate determination may one day become possible if the first or index volume of this set can be located.

C: The KhJ Commentary of Glo-bo mkhan-chen (KhJNSh)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Glo-bo mkhan-chen's commentary on the KhJ contains extensive quotations from the basic text, and thus it is valuable also for textual reasons. The available copy of the work is a manuscript from Lo now preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo (Tibetan collection, vol. 43). It is 303 folios long and is written in gold and silver dbu chen characters on black paper. It formed the eighth and final volume of a manuscript set of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's collected works that was commissioned by the late-17th-century Lo ruler Bsam-grub-dpal-'bar (see above, chapter 9). A modern edition of this work also exists, having been published from New Delhi in 1979. Though printed in black letters on white paper, the text is identical to the above-mentioned manuscript in all but a few very minor details.[33]

Glo-bo mkhan-chen does not specify the source of his KhJ text. He wrote the work in Lo in the early 1500s and probably had access to more than one manuscript there. When trying to wrest some sense from corrupt passages, he must have searched in other manuscripts for better readings. Occasionally he must have emended the text if he felt certain of what Sa-paṇ intended.[34]

T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, New Delhi, 1967

In addition to the above four exemplars, there are three modern editions, each of which is derived from the Derge edition. The first to appear was the edition calligraphed and published by T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche from New Delhi in 1967. It includes a four-page introduction by the publisher, as well as a verse on the title page enjoining all who want to practice scholarly activities to study this book. This is a fairly faithful copy of a Derge print of the KhJ, with only a few corrections and minor errors. The original print which was the basis for this edition was from the library of H. H. the Sakya Trizin.

Beijing, 1981

This next edition of the KhJ was published from Beijing in 1981 by the Mi-rigs-par-bkrun-khang. It includes a very brief introduction (p. i) that identifies the author and main contents of the book. The two men who prepared the text for printing are named on the last page (p. 158): Rgyal-sras Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang and Mgon-po-rgyal-mtshan. On that same page it is also written that the book was

published in accordance with a Lhasa xylograph (deb 'di lha sa'i shing par ltar bsgrigs nas bskrun pa yin). If this statement is accurate, the edition was based on a previously unknown xylographic edition. A careful examination of the text, however, reveals that it is almost identical with D. What differences there are seem to be just printing errors and minor, obvious corrections. If there was in fact a Lhasa edition, it must have been copied from the Derge edition and thus would possess no independent value.[35]

Rajpur (Dehra Dun), 1983

Almost as soon as a copy of the Beijing edition found its way to India, it was reprinted. There could be no better indication of the enthusiastic reception many of the new Tibetan publications are receiving from the Tibetans living outside of Tibet and China. Moreover, since these publications are not bound by any copyright restrictions, they can be freely reproduced.[36] In this case the publisher of the Indian reprint was Migmar Tsetan of the Sakya Centre, Rajpur.

B. Method of Editing

My basic goal in preparing this edition was simply to find and remove as many errors as possible. To do this, my first step was to study the textus receptus (edition D) with teacher and commentary, in order to understand the general contents of the work and to note any particularly problematical readings. When I came to the actual editing work, I began by collating the four exemplars and noting every difference except those of punctuation. Then I selected the best reading by considering the probable intent of the author and the nature and possible causes of the differences.

I was not able to follow a strict method of recension and stemmatic analysis. This was because several of the exemplars are probably conflated, i.e. they have double or multiple ancestors. For example, it is recorded that the editors of D had direct access to seven different manuscripts and possibly one earlier xylograph when preparing their edition. Since text B also derives from a xylograph, it too may easily have been contaminated during its preparation. Even the KhJ quotations in the autograph KhJNSh (the ancestor of C) were probably conflated in places by its author when the latter checked other manuscripts to verify or correct possibly corrupt passages.

Still, collating the four exemplars was indispensable for locating and understanding many errors. The work of collating uncovered many slight and unimportant differences in the "accidentals" of the text such as orthography and punctuation. D for example followed a later, standardized orthography that was different from that of the others. Collation also uncovered many more substantial errors, quite a few of which could be recognized as typical scribal errors such as dittography and homoeoteleuton (eye-skip to a similar word below). But the most difficult passages--i.e. where more than one variant seemed acceptable or where none was probable-- could only be resolved by considering the author's intent in light of the immediate context of the passage, the author's other works, and the tradition in which he stood.

For elucidating many of the difficulties in the text, I am much indebted to the Venerable Khenpo Appey, principal of the Sakya College, Rajpur. In 1982 he explained to me part III of the KhJ line by line, and in the course of this he often pointed out problems of grammar and likely corruptions. At that time our text was D (in Dhongthog Rinpoche's edition), and so we often compared D (TB), B, and where possible, C. (At that time G had not yet been located.) In a few passages the Khenpo suggested emendations, but in this he was very conservative: emending the text was considered the last and most desperate measure.

I did the collating and final editing in 1983-84, after I had left India and reached Japan. By then I had located text G in Nepal and could thus base the edition on a comparison of three and sometimes four exemplars. The discovery of G was valuable. I was gratified several times to find that G supported the emendations that Khenpo Appey had proposed.

Orthography and Punctuation

Two styles of orthography can be discerned among the four exemplars. One is an older orthography and is witnessed to by B, C, and G. The other is the newer standardized orthography of D. In my edition I have attempted to follow the earlier orthography since it is more likely to reflect the original usage of the author.

For the punctuation, however, in most cases I have followed D. The main exceptions were where the placement of a shad or its absence made the versification wrong or made the passage hard to understand. Punctuation in general is the most fluid aspect of Tibetan texts. Since it is also relatively much less important than spelling, I decided not to note all variants of punctuation or to try to reconstruct an earlier punctuation.

Versification

Sa-paṇ wrote most of the KhJ in two parts: (1) a versified basic text (rtsa ba : mūla), and (2) a prose autocommentary. Unfortunately the divisions between the verse and prose portions are not always clear in the available exemplars. The problem of separating the two and of numbering the verses is made even more difficult because Sa-paṇ did not always employ verses of four lines each. He states in his KhJ and Rol mo'i bstan bcos that in religious or mundane compositions, a śloka (tshigs bcad) or verse can consist of from two to six lines, whereas in kāvya (snyan ngag) each verse must have four lines.[37] Accordingly the KhJ itself, which is not a work of kāvya but a technical treatise, contains verses that number from two to six lines. Often this is obvious because there is prose autocommentary between verses of, say, two or three lines. But where several verses appear consecutively, they can only be divided according to the completeness of sense of the lines. In many cases they could be divided into the usual four-line verses, while occasionally other divisions were required, and I have numbered the verses accordingly.

In a text written or printed in dbu can script, all verses--whether by the same author or quotations from other works--should be indicated by the presence of two shads after each line. In the KhJ, however, scribal or editorial errors have confused the borders of verse and prose at various places in the four exemplars. In some passages, verse has been assimilated into the prose commentary, while in a few other passages two shad have been added at appropriate intervals in the prose, thus creating what seem to be more lines of verse in the basic text. I have tried to sort these out by comparing the different exemplars and considering the sense.

As a rule, Sa-paṇ does not break or divide individual lines of verse to gloss or explain. But there are two exceptions in the KhJ: verses I 13 and I 14. The third line of I 13 begins yi ge zhes bshad and ends dbyangs gsal byed.[38] Between these two pieces, he inserts the definition of a yi ge. Moreover, the fourth line of I 13 is one of the few versified lines that stand alone (see also I 45c and II 2a, b, c).[39] The division of I 14 also occurs in the third line. It begins ming yin and later concludes de yi khyad par dag.

One problem I faced in numbering the verses was how to deal with the several summary verses (bsdu ba'i tshigs bcad) and intermediate stanzas (bar skabs kyi tshigs bcad). Though it could be argued that they belong more properly to the autocommentary, here I have numbered them among the verses of the basic text.[40] Still another problem was how to number the first six and final six verses of the work, i.e. the introductory verses before the real beginning of part I and the concluding verses after part III proper has ended. Rather than establish two more

parts (O and IV), I have included them within parts I and III.

The Typeset Text and the Annotation

The edited text presented below is an enlarged and corrected photocopy of R, the 1983 Rajpur reprint of the 1981 Beijing edition. I have chosen to present the text in Tibetan characters because in this form it is more likely to be used by its widest potential readership: scholars and students of Tibetan nationality. In the Beijing edition, all verses--whether from the basic text or from quotes--are indented and given line by line.[41] To the basic verses I have added my own verse numbers in parentheses at the end of the final line of each verse. In the text and in the left margin, I have indicated for the sake of easy reference the places where each page of the three complete texts (B, D, and G) begins. But to avoid cluttering up the margins, I have indicated the locations of the quotes from C only in the notes. In the right margin I have added numbers to every fifth line to facilitate counting.

In the notes I have listed the variant readings consecutively and according to the line and page in which they occur. I have listed the preferred reading (i.e., the one actually shown in the edited text) first, the most similar readings next, and the more different ones last. The sources of the variants are indicated by the initials of the texts (B, C, D, or G). Variants of one and the same word or phrase are separated by colons, while variants of different words or phrases are separated by semicolons.

Finally, in C and G it sometimes happens that a misspelled word or redundant phrase (e.g. a dittography) was noticed by a later scribe or proofreader and was marked as such by the placement of three dots over each unnecessary or incorrect character or syllable. I have indicated this in the notes either by underlining the incorrect character (e.g. brtsod G) or by stating "marked as incorrect."

NOTES

[1]See for example Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dam pa'i chos mngon, pp. 332-335, which quotes KhJ II 1-5, 8-10, 14-23, and III 54-58, 61-69. The locations of other quotations of KhJ III are given in the notes to the translation.

[2]The printed edition from Gra Byams-pa-gling of a work on this topic by Byams-gling paṇ-chen (1400-1475) is listed in Gangs can gyi, p. 212.2 (22b.2): gra byams pa gling du/ paṇ chen byams gling gsung bshes spring 'grel par/ 62.

[3]Pha-jo-lding was the seat of the Rje mkhan-po Shākya-rin-chen (1710-1759) and was the source of the surviving manuscript of Shākya-mchog-ldan's collected works. Could the ancestors of these manuscripts too have been gathered from Tibet at the same time?

[4]For more on the Gong-dkar-ba edition, see above, chapter 3, and D. Jackson (1983), pp. 7-16.

[5]The folios out of order in B are: (1) p. 141.4, beginning with nus pa and ending on p. 142.4, mtshan pa, and (2) p. 142.4, beginning with rnams la skyon and ending on p. 143.6, nges par mi. The dittography occurs on p. 142.3: kyi yul ma yin te/ shes bya ma yin pa'i phyir ro/ 'jig rten tha snyad.

[6]On the Derge printery and the works printed in it, see Lokesh Chandra (1961), pp. 507-516; J. Kolmaš (1971); and the recent indexes published from China: Bkra-shis-rdo-rje, Ko-btso, Sde dge par khang. It is technically incorrect to speak of the Derge edition because over the years some blocks must have become damaged, broken or worn out, and thus required replacing. It would be more exact to speak of "printings" of Derge blocks.

[7]On the king Bstan-pa-tshe-ring, see J. Kolmaš (1968), pp. 36-40.

[8]On the religious patronage of the Derge kings, see E. Gene Smith (1970), pp. 23, 25.

[9][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.1.4 (ba 272a).

[10]Sga A-gnyan-dam-pa is said to have been a monk who was appointed a regional ruler in Khams under 'Phags-pa. He appears in some mgon po lineages. Sometimes his name is given as "A-nan," i.e. as "Ānanda" (i.e. Kun-dga' [grags]). See also above, chapter 3, note 18.

[11]In the index ([Zhu-chen], Dpal sa), p. 341.2.4, these two are described as "extremely excellent" (shin tu legs pa). But in Zhu-chen, Chos smra, p. 474, only one set from Derge is mentioned. The set commissioned by Bstan-pa-tshe-ring is elsewhere said by Zhu-chen (ibid., p. 473) not to have been known for having a very correct text.

[12]In Zhu-chen, Chos smra, p. 474, the complete sets are said to have numbered only five. The manuscript set commissioned by Bstan-pa-tshe-ring that was mentioned in the previous note was apparently not actually used.

[13]Ibid., p. 475. Cf. [Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.2.5. On Zhu-chen's family background and his study of iconometry and painting, see D. Jackson (1984a), pp. 144f.

[14]Zhu-chen, Chos smra, p. 474, lists his three assistants as follows:

(1) Gsal-ldan Mgon-po-bkra-shis
(2) Spo-lung drung-yig Blo-gros-pa
(3) Rmugs-sangs Sbyin-pa-rgya-mtsho

[15]Ibid., p. 475. As Zhu-chen noted, Sa-paṇ at one point intended to write on Tantra in depth. Later, however, he decided that it would be better if the Tantric writings of the three early founders circulated widely. See Sa-paṇ, Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 151.3.4 (tha 305b). Therefore instead of composing his own treatises on this subject, Sa-paṇ undertook to revise some of their main Tantric works. For another mention of Sa-paṇ's editorial work, see Zhu-chen, Dpal ldan, vol. 2, p. 401, as quoted below, note 20.

[16][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.3.2: ma nges pa rnams sor bzhag la rtags dang mchan bu yod par bgyis nas dpyad rung bzhag ste/. So far in my readings I have not noticed any such marks or notes. This procedure was not specified again by Zhu-chen in his autobiography (Chos smra), p. 476. Moreover, in the latter account there is no mention of Bkra-shis-lhun-grub having actually participated.

[17]The same style was presumably continued by Zhu-chen when he edited the Derge Tanjur.

[18][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.2.6: gsar rnying brda'i khyad la mkhas pa.

[19]Zhu-chen, Chos smra, p. 474: dpal ldan thu mi lo tsā ba'i gzhung gi lugs srol la rnam pa dpyod pa'i 'dren byed.

[20]Zhu-chen elsewhere records that Gong-dkar-ba xylographs were used as the base text at least once. This was for Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Rgyu sde spyi'i rnam gzhag dang rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i stong thun sa bcad, SKKB, vol. 3, pp. 70.2.1-81.2.6. See Zhu-chen's Dpal ldan, vol. 2, p. 401: stong thun sa bcad mgor/ bla ma dang dpal ldan birwa pa la phyag 'tshal dang/ sangs rgyas kyi chos thams cad kyi gsung gi don kye'i rdo rje zhes yod pa/ 'di'i phyi mo gong dkar ba'i par ma las bshus pas thun mong ba'i lam rim skabs kyi sa bcad bsdus tsam las med kyang 'di nyid yongs grags yin pa dang/ slad nas sa paṇ gyis gzhung gnyis po'i zhus dag mdzad pa'i skabs cung zad bsdus pa yin nam snyam/ gzhan du sngon gyi dpe rnying rnams las spyi ljon gyi gzhung nas ji ltar 'byung ba'i sa bcad shin tu rgyas pa can mang po 'byung/.

This same passage occurs in the Derge Sa skya bka' 'bum index ([Zhu-chen], Dpal sa), p. 323.1.3.

[21]The result of this procedure was conflation of the texts. The readings of one text would predominate, but here and there the readings from some other witnesses were introduced.

[22]Salaries of officials were always expressed in measures of barley in Tibet. See T. W. D. Shakabpa (1967), p. 10; N. Rhodes (1980), p. 261.

[23][Zhu-chen], Dpal sa, p. 341.3.3.

[24]Ibid., p. 342.1.6: shing yos khrums stod zla ba'i tshes bcu bzhi/ rje brtse ba chen po dang sa skya paṇ chen gnyis ka'i thugs chos [342.2.1] dbyings zab mo mnyam par gzhag pa'i zla dus kyi mchod pa'i nyin. Khrums stod zla ba is the eighth lunar month. Sa-paṇ actually passed away in the eleventh lunar month (smal po or mgo zla).

[25]Ibid., p. 341.3.2: bdag gis kyang dpyad pa'i grogs byas. From the colophon (p. 343.1.4-5): dge slong bkra shis lhun grub kyis/ . . . bgyis pa.

[26]Ibid., p. 431.2.6.

[27]See E. Gene Smith (1969b), p. 102, and (1970), p. 19 and notes 38 and 40, who mentions several works falsely ascribed to the Fifth Dalai Lama and Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho.

[28]The Venerable Dezhung Rinpoche has pointed out to me that in this case a connoisseur of Tibetan literature might also detect Tshul-khrims-rin-chen's distinctive style at least in the versified passages of the work.

[29]Zhu-chen, Chos smra, pp. 477-478.

[30]Through the help of Mr. Leonard van der Kuijp, it was also possible to have these manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Project, running nos. D 1784-D 1800. Three fragments of this same manuscript survive in the Tōyō Bunko Tibetan collection (manuscript 42). I have also determined that the Rigs gter rang 'grel manuscript in the library of H. H. Sakya Trizin also belongs to the same set. On this manuscript see also below, Appendix D.

[31]Both works, however, are found in the list of Sa-paṇ's writings in Rin-spungs-pa, 'Jam pa'i (see Appendix E, nos. 70 and 71). The Chos spyod bcu pa alone is found in the list of A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam gling (see Appendix F, no. 30), and it is referred to in the ThGS, p. 8.3.6.

[32]The Tsarang Molla, p. 10a, states that A-mgon-bzang-po commissioned a set of the Sa skya bka' 'bum in gold letters. See D. Jackson (1984), pp. 147 and 164. The more detailed genealogical history Blo bo chos rgyal, p. 22a, also mentions a Sa skya bka' 'bum commissioned by the same king, though not specifying that it was in golden letters. The same work, p. 35b, mentions a Sa skya bka' 'bum manuscript of 20 volumes on white paper in black letter, and on p. 36a it mentions a set consisting of 31 volumes that was written out in gold letters on black paper under the patronage of A-seng Rdo-rje-brtan-pa. The set on white paper is said to have been offered to Glo-bo mkhan-chen, the younger brother of this ruler. The latter set is said to have been commissioned in commemoration of the passing of their mother, who had been a princess of Gu-ge. Still another manuscript Sa skya bka' 'bum is recorded to have been commissioned in Lo at the death of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478). See Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Bla ma'i rnam thar, p. 176b.2.

[33]Both have identical handwriting and pagination. Also note that ff. 192-193 are out of order in both. There also exists a Derge edition of this commentary, which was recently reproduced in India. It reached me too late to be used.

[34]See for example his reading rkyang pa ba at the end of the autocommentary to III 43 (edited text, p. 133.2), KhJNSh, p. 261b.4. In ibid., p. 266b.3, Glo-bo mkhan-chen explains this terminology as being the opinion of Gtsang-nag-pa's disciples.

[35]Compare the 'Phan-po Nalendra edition of the Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa (a forgery attributed to Sa-paṇ) that is preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala (kha, 7, 9, 2954). It seems to have been a direct copy of a Derge print. It has, for example, the same pagination and the same tha in the margin. But the location of the blocks is stated in the final xylographic colophon:

spar byang smon tshig bcas pa 'di ni dge sbyong ngag dbang blo gros kyis so/
spar 'di shri nalendra'i mthong smon grwa tshang la bzhugs/.

[36]China at present has no domestic copyright laws, and therefore it cannot join any international copyright convention.

[37]KhJ I 89 = p. 89.2.5 (tha 17b.5) and Rol mo'i, p. 79.1.3 (4b.3):

rkang pa gnyis nas drug gi bar//
ngag don 'brel na tshigs bcad gcig//

Cf. the Abhidharmasamuccaya, commentary by Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon, p. 279.1 (140a.1), where tshigs bcad pa'i sde is defined as from two to six rtsa bas.

[38]KhJ I 13c = D, p. 83.2.1 (tha 167b.1).

[39]KhJ I 13d = D, p. 83.2.3 (tha 167b.3):

de yi dbye bsdu 'dir ma bshad//.

KhJ I 45c = D, p. 85.4.1 (tha 172b.1):

'ga' zhig brjod pa bde ba'ang phyir//.

KhJ II 2a = D, p. 94.3.3 (tha 90a.3):

gtsang mkhas gzhan la phan par 'dod//.

KhJ II 2b = D, p. 94.3.4 (tha 90a.4):

blo gsal shes 'dod bla mar gus//.

KhJ II 2c = D, p. 94.3.5 (tha 90a.5):

lung rigs rjes su gdams pa'o//.

[40]On these types of verses, see below, KhJ III translation, notes 60 and 84.

[41]But some verses were overlooked and some prose passages erroneously considered as versified text. These I have tried to correct.

THE MKHAS 'JUG
SECTION III

EDITED TEXT OF THE MKHAS 'JUG

SECTION III

དེ་ལྟར་བཤད་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་ནས། གྲུབ་པའི་མཐའ་སྨྲང་བ་དང་ངོར་བར་ཤེས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྩོད་པའི་ཚུལ་བཤད་ན།

འཕེལ་བའི་གནས་ལ་སྦྱོར་དངོས་རྗེས།།
G65b སྦྱོར་བ་རྩོད་པའི་ལམ་སྲུང་ཕྱིར།།
རྒོལ་བ་གཉིས་དང་དཔང་པོ་རྣམས།།
ངེས་པར་བྱས་ནས་''རྩོད་ལ་འཇུག། (III 1)

ཆོས་དང་འཐུན་པའི་བདེན་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་ནོར་བ་འདོར་བའི་བློ་ནས''འཕེལ་བའི་གནས་ཀྱིས་རྩོད་པ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ལ་གསུམ་སྟེ། སྦྱོར་བ་རྒོལ་བ་ངེས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྩོད་པའི་ལམ་སྲུང་བ། དངོས་གཞི་བསྟན་པ་བསྲུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་བརྒལ་ལན་གྱིས་དོན་གཏན་ལ་དབབ་པ། མཇུག་ཚིགས་པས་གཟུང་བདེ་བའི་ཕྱིར་ངག་བསྡུས་ཏེ་བཛ་སྦྲུད་པའོ།།

B203 °དང་པོ་ནི་རང་རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཛིན་པར་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་རྒོལ་བ་དང་། དེ་སྙན་འཛིན་པར་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་བ་དང་། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན:[ཡོན་]དྲང་པོར་འབྱེད་པར་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་དཔང་པོ་གསུམ་ངེས་པར་བྱས་ནས་བརྩད་པར་བྱའི། དེ་དག་ངེས་པར་མ་བྱས་པར་བབ་ཅོལ་དུ་རྩོད་པ་ནི་མ

རབས་ཀྱིས་ཤགས་འགྱེད་པ་ལྟར་མཁས་པས་སྨད་པའི་གནས་སུ་འགྱུར་བས་རང་རང་གི་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་ནུས་པ་མཁས་པས་བསྔགས་པའི་འཕེལ་གདམ་ ་ལ་འཇུག་པར་བྱའོ། །རྩོལ་ཕྱིར་རྩོལ་ལ་ཚར་བཅད་པ་དང་རྗེས་སུ་གཟུང་ G66a བའི་གནས་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལ་གཞན་གྱི་ལུགས་དགག་པ། རང་གི་འདོད་པ་བརྗོད་པ། དེ་ལ་རྩོད་པ་སྤང་བ་གསུམ་ལས། དང་པོ་ལ་གཉིས་ཏེ། གངས་ཅན་པའི་ལུགས་དགག་པ་དང་། རྐང་མིག་པའི་ལུགས་དགག་པའོ། །དང་པོ་ནི།

རྩོལ་བ་གཉིས་དང་དཔང་པོ་ལ།།
ཚར་བཅད་གནས་ནི་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཟེར།། (III 2)

D43b ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་བོད་རྣམས་རྩོལ་བ་ལན་འདེབས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཚར་བཅད་གསུམ། སྐྱོན་སྤོང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཚར་བཅད་གསུམ་སྟེ་དྲུག་དང་། ཕྱིར་རྩོལ་འདྲི་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཚར་བཅད་གསུམ། སྐྱོན་བརྗོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་གསུམ་སྟེ་དྲུག་དང་། དཔང་པོས་རྣམ་པར་འབྱེད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཚར་བཅད་གསུམ། ཐུན་མོང་དུ་ན་མི་གཏོད་པ་······སྟེ་ཚར་བཅད་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། །ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་འདི་མི་བཞེད་དེ། རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར།

སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་ཅིང་།།
སྐྱོན་མི་བརྗོད་པ་གཉིས་པོ་དག །
ཚར་བཅད་པ་ཡི་གནས་ཡིན་ཏེ།།
གཞན་ནི་མི་རིགས་ཕྱིར་མི་འདོད།།

ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །རྩོལ་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནསབཅུ་གཉིས་པོ་དེའང་ཚར་བཅད་ཡིན་ན་རྩོལ་བ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་

G66b པ། ཡན་ལག་མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པ་གཉིས། ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་ལ་སྐྱོན་མི་བརྗོད་པ་དང་སྐྱོན་མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པ་སྟེ་གཉིས་ལས་ཕྱི་བའི་བཞི་པོ་གང་ཟུང་དུ་འདུ་ལ་དེ་དག་ཏུ་མི་འདུ་ན་ཚར་བཅད་ཉིད་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དཔང་པོ་ལ་ཚར་བཅད་མེད་དེ་གཉིས་པོ་དག་ཚར་བཅད་པའི་གནས་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཞེས······

B204 གསུངས་ལ་གཞུང་གི་ཆ་འགར་ཡང་དེ་མ་གསུངས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།

ལ་ལ་དཔང་པོ་མི་དགོས་ཟེར།།
མཁས་པའི་དཔང་པོས་མ་ཕྱེ་ན།།
རྒོལ་བའི་མཁས་རློམ་མི་ཤེས་པས།།
རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར་དགོས་པར་གསུངས།། (III 3)

ལ་ལ་རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་དཔང་པོ་མི་དགོས་ཏེ། རྟོག་གེའི་གཞུང་ལས་མ་བཤད་པས་སོ་སྙམ་ན། མི་འཐད་དེ་རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པ་ལས། སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་ཡང་དག་པར་བརྗོད་པའམ། སྐྱོན་ཡང་དག་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། རིགས་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འཇུག་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དཔང་པོས་དངོས་སུ་གོ་

D44a བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །དེ་ལྟ་ན་དམ་པ་རིགས་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་བའི་རྩོད་པའོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །གཉིས་པ་རྐང་མིག་གི་ལུགས་དགག་ན།

དམ་བཅའ་ལ་གནོད་དམ་བཅའ་གཞན།།
དམ་བཅའ་འགལ་དང་དམ་བཅའ་སེལ།།
G57a གཏན་ཚིགས་གཞན་དང་དོན་གཞན་དང་།།
དོན་མེད་པ་དང་དོན་མི་ཤེས།། (III 4)
དོན་བྲལ་དུས་ལ་མ་བབ་དང་།།
མ་ཚང་ལྷག་དང་ཡང་བརྗོད་དང་།།

རྗེས་སུ་མི་སྨྲ་མི་ཤེས་དང་།།
སྤོབས་པ་མེད་དང་རྣམ་གཡེང་དང་།། (III 5)
འདོད་པ་ཁས་ལེན་བརྒལ་བརྟག་འདོར།།
རྗེས་སུ་སྦྱོར་མེད་ལ་སྦྱོར་དང་།།
གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཉམས་དང་རྟགས་ལྟར་སྣང་།།
སྒྲུབ་པ་ཀང་མིག་གིས་བཤད་པའི།།
ཚར་བཅད་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ཡིན།། (III 6)
དེ་ལ་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྲགས་པ་ཡིས།།
འགའ་ཞིག་ཚར་བཅད་མིན་པར་བཤད།།
ཚར་བཅད་ཡིན་ན་གཉིས་པོར་སྡུད།། (III 7)

ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་པོ་འདི། འགའ་ཞིག་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་མ་ཡིན་ལ། ཡིན་ན་སྔར་བཤད་པའི་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པར་འདུ་བར་ལེགས་པར་རིགས་པའི་གཏེར་དུ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།།

ཕྲད་དང་མ་ཕྲད་གཏན་ཚིགས་དང་།།
རྟག་ ་དང་མ་སྐྱེས་མ་སྐྱེས་དང་།།
འབྲས་བུ་ཆོས་འཐུན་མི་འཐུན་དང་།།
རྣམ་རྟོག་ཁྱད་མེད་དམིགས་པ་དང་།། (III 8)
ཐེ་ཚོམ་དོན་གོ་ཐལ་འགྱུར་རྣམས།།
ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་ཡིན་རིགས་བརྟག་ལས།།
G67b འཕེལ་འགྲིབ་བརྗོད་དང་མ་བརྗོད་དང་།།
རིགས་པ་དང་ནི་སོ་སོའི་དཔེ།། (III 9)

B205 •བསྒྲུབ་བྱ་མི་རྟག་རབ་བྱེད་དང་།།
དུས་འདས་མཚུངས་པའི་ལྷག་ཆོད་ནི།།
ཏྲི་ཤུ་ཙ་བཞི་ཕྱོགས་གླང་གིས།།
བཀག་ཕྱིར་གྲགས་པས་བཏང་སྙོམས་མཛད།། (III 10)

D44b ལྷག་ཆོད་ཏྲི་ཤུ་ཙ་བཞི་པོ་འདི་དག ཇི་ལྟར་རིགས་པས་འགལ་•མ་ངེས་མ་གྲུབ་གསུམ་དུ་འདུ་ལ་དེར་མི་འདུ་ན་ཚད་མ་ཉིད་དུ་དགོངས་ཏེ། རྩོད་རིགས་ལས་ཇི་ལྟར་རིགས་པས་གཏན་ཚིགས་ལྟར་སྣང་བ་དག་གི་ནང་དུ་འདུ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །ལྷག་ཆོད་འདི་དག་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གླང་པོས་རྒྱས་པར་བཀག་པས། རྣམ་འགྲེལ་མཛད་པས་བཏང་སྙོམས་སུ་མཛད་དོ། །གཉིས་པ་རང་གི་ལུགས་ནི།

ཚར་བཅད་གཉིས་ལས་ཕྱེ་བའི་བཞི།།
ཉིད་ཡིན་དེ་ལས་གཞན་མི་དགོས།། (III 11)

རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར།

སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་ཅིང་།།
སྐྱོན་མི་བརྗོད་པ་གཉིས་པོ་དག །
ཚར་བཅད་པ་ཡི་གནས་ཡིན་གྱི།།
གཞན་ནི་མི་རིགས་ཕྱིར་མི་འདོད།།

ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །རྒོལ་བ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་པ་དང་།
G68a ཡན་ལག་མ་•ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པ་གཉིས། ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་སྐྱོན་མི་བརྗོད་པ་དང་། སྐྱོན་མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པ་གཉིས་སོ། །འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡིན་གྱི། གཞན་ནི་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་མ་ཡིན་པར་དགོངས་སོ།།

ཆོས་དང་འཐུན་པའི་རྩོད་པ་ལ།།

ཕྱོགས་རྟོག་བཟློག་ཕྱིར་བརྩད་བྱ་ཡི།།
ཆགས་སྡང་དབང་གིས་རྒྱལ་འདོད་དང་།།
ཕ་རོལ་ཕམ་པ་བསྐྱེད་ཕྱིར་མིན།། (III 12)

གང་ཟག་དམ་པ་རང་རང་གི་བསྟན་པ་གཟུང་བར་བྱ་བའི་དོན་དུ་འཁྲུལ་པ་བཟློག་ཅིང་མ་འཁྲུལ་བའི་དོན་གོ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། རྩོལ་ཕྱིར་····· རྩོལ་བ་བརྩད་ཀྱི། ཆགས་སྡང་གིས་ཀུན་ནས་བསླངས་ཏེ་རང་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་ཕ་རོལ་ཕམ་པ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྩོད་པས་ནི་བསྟན་པ་སྐྱོང་མི་ནུས་ཤིང་ཕྲ་བ་དང་ཁོན་དུ་འཛིན་པར་འགྱུར་བས་དམ་པ་དག་མི་བཞེད་དེ། དབྱིག་གཉེན་གྱིས།

གང་ཞིག་རྒྱལ་འདོད་འབའ་ཞིག་གིས།།
རྩོད་སྨྲ་དམ་པ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི།།
དེ་ཉིད་སེམས་ཉི་ངེས་པར་བྱེད།།
D45a ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱས་པར་གསུངས་སོ།།

དེས་ན་མཁས་པས་གྲུབ་མཐའི་སྐྱོན།།
B206 གཟུ་བོར་བརྗོད་པས་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི།།
གང་ཟག་སྐྱོན་དང་བདག་བསྟོད་པ།།
G68b ངན་འགྲོའི་རྒྱུ་ཕྱིར་མཁས་པས་སྤད།། (III 13)

སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པའི་རྩོད་པ་ནི་རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་དང་། གཞན་གྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ནོར་བ་རྣམས་སུན་དབྱུང་གི་མ་ནོར་བ་སུན་མི་འབྱིན་པ་དང་། ངམ་པ་དང་། བདག་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་སྨོད་པ་དང་། མཚང་འདྲུ་བའི་སྒོ་ནས་གདུང་བ་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཁྲུལ་ཡང་ཞེན་པས་ཁས་ལེན་པ་དང་། གཞན་གྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མ་

འཕྲུལ་ཡང་སྣང་བས་སུན་འབྱིན་པ་དང་། ཙ་ཙོ་དང་། བཞད་གད་དང་། གར་དང་། འདོན་པ་བསྒྱུར་བ་དང་། ཧ་ཅང་ཤུར་ཆེས་པ་དང་། ཚིག་མཐོ་དམན་དང་། སུབ་སུབ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པས་རྩོལ་བའི་སྤོབས་པ་ཟིལ་གྱིས་གནོན་པར་འདོད་པ་ནི། སྨྲ་བའི་ཡན་ལག་མི་བརྗོད་པའམ། མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཚར་བཅད་དུ་འགྱུར་མོད། གཞན་ཕམ་པར་མི་ནུས་ལ། ཆོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་རྩོད་པ་ངན་འགྲོའི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པས་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤང་བར་བྱའོ། །གསུམ་པ་དེ་ལ་རྩོད་པ་སྤང་བ་ནི།

བསྟན་པ་བསྲུང་ཕྱིར་དམ་པས་ཀྱང་།།
གཡོ་སྒྱུས་སླུ་བ་འཐད་ཅེ་ན།།
གཡོ་སྒྱུས་བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་མི་ནུས།།
དེ་འདྲ་ ་རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར་བཀག། (III 14)

G69a ཤུ་སྨིགས་འགའ་ཞིག་བསྟན་པ་བསྲུང་བའི་ཕྱིར། གཡོ་སྒྱུའི་སྒོ་ནས་ཀྱང་སྐབས་དེར་ཕ་རོལ་མི་སླུ་བར་འདུག་ནའང་བདག་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་ནི། གཡོ་སྒྱུས་བསྟན་པ་བསྲུང་དགོས་ན། བསྟན་པ་ཉིད་མ་དག་པར་འགྱུར་ལ། མི་སླུ་བར་གྱུར་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་སྐབས་དོན་འགྲུབ་ན་
D45b མཚོན་དང་མེ་ལ་སོགས་པས་བསྡིགས་པས་མི་སླུ་བ་ཡང་དེར་འགྱུར་བས''' ཧ་ཅང་ཐལ་ལོ། །རྩོད་རིགས་ལས། གཞན་གདུང་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དམ་པ་ ་འཇུག་པའམ། བསྟན་བཅོས་བྱེད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།།

གཉིས་པ་དངོས་གཞི་ལ།

རྩོལ་བ་རྣམ་གཉིས་རང་རང་གི།
གྲུབ་མཐའ་བཟུང་ནས་རྩོད་པ་ནི།།

སྔོན་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུགས།། (III 15)

ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དག་མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་དང་རྩོད་པ་ན།
B207 སངས་རྒྱས་པ་དང་གཟེགས་ཟན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་བཟུང་ནས་རྩོད''
ཀྱི།བསྟན་པ་འཛིན་མི་ནུས་པ་གང་ཡང་རུང་བའི་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་གཞུང''''
དུས་བུར་བཏོན་ནས་སྒྲུར་བ་ཁོད་ཅེས་ཟེར་བ་ནི་བྱིས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས'''''
སད་པའི་རྩོད་པ་ཡིན་གྱི། མཁས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཛིན་པའི་རྩོད་
G69b པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །འདི་ལྟ་བུ་འཆད་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྩོད་པར་བཤད་ཀྱི།
རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྩོད་པར་མི་རུང་སྟེ། གྲུབ་མཐའ་བླང་དོར་མི་ནུས་
པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །གྲུབ་མཐའ་བླང་དོར་གྱི་སྐབས་བཙལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་
འདྲི་ན་འཇུག་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱང་སྲིད་དོ།།

ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མི་འཛིན་པར།།
རྒོལ་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་སུན་འབྱིན་པ།།
རིགས་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་འགའ་ལ་སྣང་།། (III 16)

དབུ་མ་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་རང་''གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པར་རྒོལ་བ'' ཡོད་མེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཁས་ལེན་ཡང་སུན་འབྱིན་ཏེ། སློབ་དཔོན་འཕགས་པས།

གལ་ཏེ་དངོས་གང་དམ་བཅས་ཡོད།།
དེས་ན་ང་ལ་སྐྱོན་དེ་ཡོད།།
ང་ལ་དམ་བཅའ་མེད་པས་ན།།
ང་ནི་སྐྱོན་མེད་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།།

གལ་ཏེ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་ཡང་།།

གཞུང་ནས་བཤད་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཀུན།།
རྗོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་བླང་མི་དགོས།།
རྗོད་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཉིད།།
སྒྲུབ་པ་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུགས།། (III 17)
དཔེར་ན་ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་སྒྲུབ་ཚེ།།
D46a རྣམ་རིག་གཞུང་གིས་འདིར་མི་གནོད།།
དེ་བཞིན་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཀུན་ལ་སྦྱར།། (III 18)

G70a སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་བླངས་ནས་རྗོད་ཀྱང་མུ་སྟེགས····
བྱེད་ཐུན་འབྱིན་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མདོ་སྡེ་པ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་བླངས··
ནས་རྗོད་མོད་ཀྱི་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་གཞུང་ལ་སྣང་བ་སེམས་སུ་བཤད་པ་དང་····
འགལ་ལོ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པས་མི་གནོད། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སེམས་ཙམ་ཁས་ལེན་
པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མདོ་ལས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་གསུངས་པའང་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་དམ···
བཅར་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། དབུ་མ་རྗོད་པ་ན་རྣམ་རིག་ཀྱང་ཁྱེད་
རང་གི་མདོ་ཡིན་པས་དམ་བཅར་འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་
དུ་མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་ནང་ལ་ཡང་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ལ་གྲངས་ཅན་པས་སྒྲ་མི་རྟག་པའི་
B208 སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་བརྗོད་པ་ན་རང་གི་གཞུང་ལས་སྒྲ་ནམ་མཁའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡང་དམ··
བཅར་འགྱུར་བས་དེ་དང་འགལ་བ་ཡང་དམ་བཅའ་དང་འགལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ··
ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱོན་གྱིས་མི་གནོད་དེ། གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་དུ་ཟིན་ཡང་།
རང་ཉིད་འདོད་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དོན་དེ་ཉིད་དམ་བཅར་འགྱུར་གྱི་ དགོས་པ··
ཐ་དད་ལ་དགོངས་པའི་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་བཅར་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའི་ཕྱིར···
རོ། །རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

ཚད་མས་མ་གྲུབ་དོན་ཅན་གྱི།།

G70b

གྲུབ་མཐའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་ངམ་ཅི།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།།

ལུང་དང་རིགས་པའི་རྩོད་པ་གཉིས།།
ལེགས་པར་ཤེས་ན་མཚུངས་མོད་ཀྱི།།
གཞལ་བྱ་གཉིས་ལ་མངོན་སུམ་དང་།།
རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པའི་རིགས་པས་གནོད།། (III 19)

ལུང་གི་རྩོད་པ་དང་རིགས་པའི་རྩོད་པ་་་་གཉིས་་་་་་་་་དགག་པ་དང་སྒྲུབ་པ། རང་རྒྱུད་དང་ཐལ་འགྱུར། གཏན་ཚིགས་དང་བསྒྲུབ་བྱ། སྒྲ་སྐྱོན་དང་དོན་སྐྱོན་ཐམས་ཅད་རིགས་པའི་རྩོད་པ་ལ་སྐྱོན་ཡོན་དུ་ཇི་ལྟར་ D46b འགྱུར་བ་ལྟར། ལེགས་པར་ཤེས་ན་ལུང་གི་རྩོད་པ་ལ་ཡང་ཚུལ་དེ་ཉིད་མཚུངས་པར་འཇུག་གོ །འོན་ཀུང་ཚད་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་མངོན་གྱུར་དང་ལྐོག་གྱུར་ལ་འཇུག་ལ། སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་དང་གནོད་བྱེད་ཀུང་མངོན་སུམ་དང་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པ་ཡིན་གྱི་འདིར་ལུང་མི་འཇུག་གོ །ལུང་གི་ཡུལ་གང་ཡིན་ཞེ་ན།

གཞལ་བྱ་གསུམ་པ་དཔྱོད་པ་ན།།
རང་རང་ལུང་དང་འགལ་ན་གནོད།།
དཔེར་ན་ཆགས་སོགས་སྡིག་པ་དང་།།
ཆགས་བྲལ་ཆོས་སུ་འཆད་བཞིན་དུ།།
ཁྲུས་ཀྱིས་སྡིག་པ་འདག་པ་དང་།།
འཆི་བ་ཆོས་སུ་སྨྲ་བ་བཞིན།། (III 20)

ཤིན་ཏུ་ལྐོག་གྱུར་སྐྱེ་བ་སྔ་ཕྱི་དང་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་དང་མཐོ་རིས་དང་
G71a ངན་སོང་གི་བྱེ་བྲག་ལ་སོགས་པ་དཔྱོད་པ་ན་ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་དགོས་ཏེ།

གནས་གསུམ་པར་ནི་འཕོ་བ་ན།།
བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེན་པ་རིགས་ལྡན་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །ཤིན་ཏུ་ཕྱོག་ཕྱུར་གཞི་ཉིད་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ལ་ཁྱད་
པར་གྱི་ཆོས་བདེན་བརྟན་དུ་ཇི་ལྟར་གྲུབ་ཅེ་ན། དེ་ལྟར་དྲི་བ་རིགས་མོད།
རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་ལན་འདི་ཡིན་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་པ་དང་རིག་བྱེད་པ་
གཉིས་རྩོད་པ་ན། སྐྱེ་བ་སྔ་ཕྱི་དང་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བདེན་པར་
B209 འདོད་ཅིང་ཆགས་སྡང་རྨོངས་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལས་སྡིག་པ་དང་།
མ་ཆགས་པ་དང་ཞེ་སྡང་མེད་པ་དང་གཏི་མུག་མེད་པའི་ལས་དགེ་བར····
རྩོལ་བ་གཉིས་ཀ་འཐུན····ལ། སྡིག་པས་འཁོར་བ་དང་སྡིག་པ་ལས་གྲོལ་
ན་ཐར་པ་ཐོབ་པར་རྩོལ་བ་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལུང་འཐུན་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཐབས་
ཀྱི་ལུང་མི་འཐུན་པ་ལ་རྩོད་དེ་རིག་བྱེད་ལས།

གཙྷའི་སྨྲ་དང་ཀུ་ཤ་འཁྲིལ།།
ཐིལ་བ་ཅན་དང་སྦོན་པའི་རི།།
ཀ་ན་ཁ་ལའི་འཇུག་ངོགས་སུ།།
ཁྲུས་བྱས་ཡང་སྐྱེ་སྲིད་མ་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་འདོན་པ་ནི་ཁོང་རང་གི་ལུང་ནང་འགལ་ཏེ། སྡིག་པའི་རྩ་བ་འདོད་
G71b D47a ཆགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་སེམས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཡིན་ལ། དེའི་རྩ་བ་སེམས་མི་འཁྲུད་
པར་འབྲིལ་མེད་ཀྱི་ལུས་འཁྲུད་པ་འགལ་ཏེ། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྲོག་ཆགས་གསོད་
པ་ལ་ནགས་ལ་མེ་སྲེར་བ་བཞིན་ནོ། །ངེད་ཀྱི་ལུང་ནི་ཕྱོགས་རེ་མགོ་
གནོན།

འདོད་ཆགས་ཤས་ཆེ་མི་གཙང་ཤ་ཚིལ་དང་།།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། མཐའ་དག་དཔྱིས་འབྱིན།

འདོད་པ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཙ་བ་ནི།།
ཤེས་ཏེ་ཀུན་ཏུ་རྟོག་ལས་བྱུང་།།
སྤྱོད་ལ་ཀུན་ཏུ་མི་རྟོག་པས།།
དེ་ཕྱིར་ང་ལ་མི་འབྱུང་ངོ་།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། འཁོར་བའི་ས་བོན་བདག་འཛིན་བཅད་པས་དེས་
བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉོན་མོངས་པ་འགག དེ་འགགས་པས་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ལས་གྲོལ་ཏེ་
བྱུད་ཤིང་ཟད་པས་མེ་ནུབ། དེའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་དུ་བ་མི་འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན་ནོ།།
དེ་བཞིན་དུ་མདོ་རིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དགེ་བར་འདོད་བཞིན་དུ། རྒྱལ་རིགས་ལ་ནི་
རྒྱལ་རིགས་གསད། །ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རང་གི་གཞུང་དང་འགལ་ལ།
སངས་རྒྱས་པས་ནི།

ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་བདེ་འགྲོར་འགྲོ།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་།

བསོད་ནམས་མིན་པས་ངན་འགྲོར་འཕེན།།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རང་གི་ལུང་ཕན་ཚུན་འགལ་བ་མེད་དོ། །སངས་
G72a རྒྱས་པ་ཉིད་ལའང་མདོ་ཕན་ཚུན་འགལ་བ་མཐོང་ངོ་ཞེ་ན།

བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ལ།།
ཉན་ཐོས་དང་ནི་ཐེག་ཆེན་གཉིས།།
རྣམ་གཞག་ཕལ་ཆེར་མི་མཐུན་པས།།
དེ་དག་ཀུང་ནི་འགལ་ཞེ་ན།། (III 21)

སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་གཞུང་ལ། ཉན་ཐོས་དང་ཐེག་ཆེན་གཉིས་པོ་
B210 ཕྱིར་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འགལ། བྱེ་བྲག་ཉན་ཐོས་ཙ་བའི་སྡེ་བཞི་ལས་ཕྱེས་པ་
བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པོ་ལྟ་སྤྱོད་ཕལ་ཆེར་འགལ་བར་སྣང་། ཐེག་ཆེན་ལའང་ཕ་

D47b རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་གསང་སྔགས་གཉིས་ཕལ་ཆེར་མི་འདྲ་བར་སྣང་ལ། ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལའང་སེམས་ཙམ་དང་དབུ་མ་མི་འདྲ་ཞིང་། གསང་སྔགས་ལའང་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་བཞིའི་ རྣམ་གཞག་མི་འདྲ་བར་སྣང་བས་ཁྱེད་རང་གིའང་ལུང་འགལ་བས་ཡིད་བརྟན་དུ་མེད་དོ་ཞེ་ན།

གང་ཟག་གཞུག་པའི་རིམ་པ་དང་།།
འཆད་ཚུལ་ཤེས་ན་འགལ་བ་མེད།། (III 22)

གང་ཟག་དམན་པ་དང་མཆོག་ལ་མོས་པ་དང་། རང་དོན་དང་གཞན་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པ་དང་། ཟབ་པ་དང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་དགའ་བ་དང་། དྲང་དོན་དང་ངེས་དོན་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་ཐབས་མཁས་པས་བཀྲི་བ་མི་འགལ་ཏེ། སློབ་དཔོན་འཕགས་པས།

G72b
དེ་ཉིད་ཚོལ་ལ་ཐོག་མར་ནི།།
ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་ཅེས་བསྟན་པར་བྱ།།
དོན་རྣམས་རྟོགས་ཤིང་ཆགས་མེད་ལ།།
ཕྱིས་ནི་རྣམ་པར་དབེན་པ་ཉིད།།

ཅེས་བྱ་བ་དང་།

བདག་གོ་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བཏགས་གྱུར་ལ།།
བདག་མེད་ཅེས་ཀྱང་བཏགས་པར་གྱུར།།
སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདག་དང་ནི།།
བདག་མེད་འགའ་མེད་ཅེས་ཀྱང་བསྟན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།།

འདི་འདྲའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མི་ཤེས་པ།།
འགལ་བར་བསམས་ནས་རྟོད་མོད་ཀྱི།།

ལེགས་པར་ཤེས་ན་འགལ་བ་མེད།། (III 23)

གང་ཟག་དབང་པོ་རབ་འབྲིང་དང་། ཁམས་དང་། མོས་པ་དང་། མཆོག་དམན་གྱི་ རིམ་ པ་ ལ་ དགོངས་ ནས་ ཐེག་ པའི་ རིམ་ པ་ མི་ འདྲ་ བ་ གསུངས་པ་དང་། གང་ཟག་གི་བསམ་པ་ཐ་དད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཚུལ་ཐ་དད་གསུངས་པ་ལ་བླུན་པོ་དག་ལུང་འགལ་བར་སེམས་མོད་ཀྱི། ཐུབ་པའི་དགོངས་པ་མཐའ་དྲུག་ལེགས་པར་ཤེས་ན་འགལ་བ་མེད་དོ།།

ཐེག་པ་འགལ་བ་ལྟར་སྣང་བ།།
གང་ཟག་རིམ་གྱིས་གཞུག་ཕྱིར་གསུངས།།
ཕ་དང་མ་ནི་གསད་བྱ་སོགས།།
D48a ལས་དང་ཉོན་མོངས་སོགས་ལ་དགོངས།། (III 24)
G73a དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་སོགས།།
བདག་འཛིན་ཅན་རྣམས་དྲང་ཕྱིར་ཡིན།།
བསད་པས་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཐོབ་པ་སོགས།།
སྒྲ་དེ་བདག་འཛིན་གསོད་ལ་འཇུག ། (III 25)
དེ་འདྲའི་འགལ་བས་རྩོད་པ་ལ།།
མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལན་འདི་གདབ།། (III 26)

བར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚིགས་བཅད་དོ།།

ལུང་ལ་རྩོད་པའི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ།།
ལུང་གི་དོན་ལ་འདྲི་བའམ།།
མིན་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཕྲོག་གྱུར་ཀྱི།།
དོན་ལ་འདྲི་བ་འགལ་བ་མེད།། (III 27)

B211 ལུང་ གི་ ཚིག་ ལ་ རྩོད་ པ་ ན་ སྡེ་ སྣོད་ གསུམ་ གྱི་ དོན་ ཚུལ་ ཁྲིམས་

དང་ཤེས་རབ་དང་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལས་བརྩམས་ཏེ་འདྲི་བའམ། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་
བཞིའི་དོན་སྨིན་པར་བྱེད་པ་དང་གྲོལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ལས་བརྩམས་ཏེ་འདྲི་
བའམ། མདོ་རྒྱུད་ལས་མ་གསུངས་པ་ཟློག་སྒྱུར་གྱི་དོན་སྐབས་གནས་
དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལས་གཞན་དབང་ཕྱུག་ལ་སོགས་པའམ། ལྷ་བ་ངགའ་
རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱུག་རྒྱ་ལས་གཞན་བདག་དང་གང་ཟག་ལ་སོགས་པའམ། སྤྱོད་
པ་དབུ་མ་ལས་གཞན་བསོད་ཉམས་དང་ངལ་ཞིང་དུབ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལས་
G73b བརྩམས་ཏེ་འདྲིའམ་མ་རྟོགས་པ་དང་ལོག་རྟོག་དང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་འདྲི་
ན། འདྲི་བར་འོས་པས་བཞད་གད་ཀྱི་གནས་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེའི་ལན་ཡང་།

མདོ་ལས་ལན་གདབ་རྣམ་བཞིར་གསུངས།།
མགོ་གཅིག་རྣམ་ཕྱེ་དྲི་དང་གཞག །
རིམ་བཞིན་འཆི་དང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་།།
བཟང་དང་བདག་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་སོགས།། (III 28)

བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱིས་ལན་གདབ་པའི་ཚུལ་བཞི་གསུངས་ཏེ། སྐྱེས་
པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཆི་མི་འཆི། ཞེས་འདྲི་ན་ངེས་པར་འཆི་ཞེས་མགོ་གཅིག་
ཏུ་ལན་གདབ། ཤི་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱེ་མི་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་འདྲི་ན་བདག་འཛིན་ཅན་
D48b སྐྱེ། བདག་འཛིན་མེད་ན་མི་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་རྣམ་པར་ཕྱེ་སྟེ་ལན་གདབ། མིར་
སྐྱེས་པ་བཟང་ངམ་ཞེས་འདྲི་ན་གང་ལ་ལྟོས་ཞེས་འདྲི། ངན་འགྲོ་ལ་ལྟོས་
ན་བཟང་། ལྷ་ལ་ལྟོས་ན་ངན་ཞེས་ལན་གདབ། བདག་རྟག་གམ་མི་རྟག་
ཅེས་འདྲི་ན། བདག་མ་གྲུབ་པས་དེ་ལ་རྟག་པ་དང་མི་རྟག་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་མི་
འགྲུབ་པོ་ཞེས་གཞག་པར་ལན་གདབ། མཛོད་ལས།

མགོ་གཅིག་དང་ནི་རྣམ་ཕྱེ་དང་།།
དྲི་དང་གཞག་པར་ལུང་བསྟན་པ།།

འཆི་དང་སྐྱེ་དང་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས།།
བདག་གཞན་ལ་སོགས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།།

G74a ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། འདི་འདྲའི་རིགས་ཅན་གྱི·····དྲི་བ་ཀུན་ལ་ལན་གྱི་
རྣམ་གཞག་དེ་ལྟར་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་མདོ་ལས་གསུངས་སོ། །གཞན་ཡང་
བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ལ་ཀུན་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་སེན་རིངས་ཀྱིས་གསོལ་པ། གོའུ་ཏ་མ་བདག་
གིས་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་བཟོད་དོ། །བཀའ་སྩལ་པ། མི་བཟོད་ཅེས་པའི་ཚིག་
དེ་བཟོད་དམ་མི་བཟོད། བཟོད་ན་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་བཟོད་པ་ཉམས་སོ། །མི་
B212 བཟོད་ན་མི་བཟོད་པ་(མི)བཟོད་ན་བཟོད་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཏེ། དགག་པ་བཀག་
པ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ་སྙམ་དུ་དགོངས་སོ། །ཀུན་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་ཅང་མི་སྨྲ་
བར་གྱུར་ཏོ། །ཡང་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ལ་ཟད་བྱེད་པ་དག་གིས་གསོལ་
པ། གོའུ་ཏ་མ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ལ་མཐའ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཅུ་
བཞི་ཞུས་པ་ལ་ཅང་མི་གསུང་བར་བཞུགས་སོ། །རིན་ཆེན་ཕྲེང་བ་ལས།

འཇིག་རྟེན་མཐའ་དང་ལྡན་ནམ་ཞེས།།
ཞུས་ན་རྒྱལ་བ་མི་གསུང་བཞུགས།།
གང་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་ཟབ་པའི་ཆོས།།
སྣོད་མིན་འགྲོ་ལ་མི་གསུང་བ།།
དེ་ཉིད་ཕྱིར་ན་མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས།།
ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་གོ།

G74b ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེས་ན་ལུང་དུ་མ་བསྟན་པ་ནི་གཞག་པར་ལན་
གདབ་པ་ལས་མ་འདས་སོ།།

D49a ལུང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་འདི་འདྲ་ཡི།།
རྩོད་པའི་ལན་ལ་འགལ་བ་མེད།།

རིགས་པ་ལ་ཡང་མི་འགལ་མོད།།
འོན་ཀྱང་བླུན་པོས་གོ་བར་དཀའ།། (III 29)

ལུང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་རྩོད་པ་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པས་འཐད་ལ། རིགས་པ་ལ་ཡང་འདི་ལྟར་ འཇུག་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་བླུན་པོས་བདེ་བླག་ཏུ་གོ་དཀའ་བས་རིགས་པ་ལ་གྲགས་པའི་ལན་གདབ་བོ།།

ཡང་ན་ལུང་གི་ ལན་རྣམ་གཉིས།།
ལུང་ངམ་ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་ཡི།།
རིགས་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དེ་བཟློག་བྱ།། (III 30)

ཡང་ན་ལུང་གི་ཚིག་རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། སྐབས་དེ་དང་འཚམ་པའི་ལུང་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ལན་གདབ་པ་དང་། ལུང་དེ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་རིགས་པ་ གཞན་གྱིས་ལན་གདབ་པའོ།།

ལུང་ཡང་གང་ལ་རྩོད་པ་ཡི།།
སྐབས་དང་འབྲེལ་པ་དེ་ལུང་ཡིན།།
སྐབས་མིན་ཀྲོལ་བ་མི་འདོད་པའི།།
ལུང་གཞན་འགལ་ཡང་སྐྱོན་མ་ཡིན།། (III 31)
དཔེར་ན་ཉན་ཐོས་ཐེག་ཆེན་དང་།།
རྣམ་རིག་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་མེད་སོགས།།
ཕན་ཚུན་འགལ་ཡང་སྐྱོན་མིན་བཞིན།། (III 32)

G75a ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ་ཕན་ཚུན་རྩོད་པ་ན་ཐེག་པའི་རིམ་པ་དང་ལྟ་བའི་…བྱེ་བྲག་དང་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པ་རང་གི་གཞུང་དུ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཁས་བླངས་པ་དེ…ལུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན་འདུལ་བ་ཁས་ལེན་པ་ན། རྩ་བའི་སྡེ་བཞི་རང་རང་གི་ལུང་དུ་ཁས་བླངས་པ་དེ་ལུང་ཡིན་པས་དེ་དང་འགལ་ན་ལུང་…

དང་འགལ་བ་ཡིན་གྱི། ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོད་སྨྲའི་ཁས་བླངས་ནས་གནས་བརྟན་
པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྡེ་པ་གཞན་གྱི་ལུང་དང་འགལ་ཡང་ལུང་དང་འགལ་བར་···
B213 མི་འགྱུར་ལ། གནས་བརྟན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཁས་བླངས་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་
ཡོད་སྨྲ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གཞན་དང་འགལ་ཡང་ལུང་གི་སྐྱོན་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་།
D49b དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཉན་ཐོས་ལས་གསེར་དངུལ་ལེན་པ་ལྟུང་བར་འགྱུར་ལ་ཐེག་པ་··
ཆེན་པོ་ལས་མ་བླངས་པ་ལྟུང་བར་བཤད་པ་དང་། ཉན་ཐོས་པས་རྣམ་
གསུམ་དག་པའི་ཤ་ལྟུང་བ་མེད་ལ་ཐེག་ཆེན་པས་ལྟུང་བར་གསུངས་པ······
དང་། ཉན་ཐོས་ལས་ཟས་བཅད་པ་དང་མི་སྨྲ་བའི་བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་ལྟུང་བར་
གསུངས་པ་ལ། རྒྱུད་སྡེ་འགའ་ཞིག་ལས། སྨྱུང་གནས་དང་མི་སྨྲ་བའི་
G75b བརྟུལ་ཞུགས་ཀྱིས་གསང་སྔགས་བསྒྲུབ་པར་གསུངས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྤྱོད་པ་
འགལ་བ་ལྟར་སྣང་བ་ནི་རང་གི་གཞུང་དེ་ཉིད་ལ་གནས་སྐབས་དེ་ཉིད་དུ···
སྤྱོད་པ་དེ་དང་བཀག་སྟེ··· སྤྱོད་པར་གསུངས་ན་ལུང་འགལ་བར་འགྱུར་གྱི་
གནས་སྐབས་ཐ་དད་དུ་གསུངས་པ་ནི་སྤྱོད་པའི་དབྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པས་མི་འགལ··
ཏེ་ནད་ཐ་དད་ལ་སྨན་ཐ་དད་གཏོང་བ་བཞིན་ནོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ལྟ་བ་
ཡང་ཉན་ཐོས་ལས་རྡུལ་དང་སྐད་ཅིག་གིས་བསྡུས་པའི་གཟུང་འཛིན་དོན····
དམ་པར་བཤད་ལ། སེམས་ཙམ་པས་སྣང་བ་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་དོན་
དམ་པར་གསུངས་ཤིང་། དབུ་མ་པས་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་མེད་
པར་བཞེད་པའི་ལུང་རྣམས་ཕན་ཚུན་འགལ་བར་སྣང་བ་ནི་རང་རང་གི····
གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་པའི་ལུང་གིས་གནོད་ན་འགལ་བ་ཡིན་མོད། རང་
རང་གི་གཞུང་དང་མི་འགལ་ན་གཞན་དང་འགལ་བ་སྐྱོན་མེད་དེ་རང་གི····
གྲུབ་མཐར་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཞིང་ལས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། །དེའང་
རང་དང་འགལ་བའི་གཞུང་གཞན་རིགས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་དྲང་དོན་ནམ····

དགོངས་པ་ཅན་དུ་བསྒྲུབས་ནས་རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ངེས་དོན་ནམ་དྲང·····
G76a པོའི་དགོངས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་ཤེས་ན་འགྱུར་གྱི། དེ་ལྟར་རིགས་པས་བསྒྲུབ་མི་
ཤེས་ན་ལུང་དང་འགལ་བ་ལས་མི་འདའོ།།

རང་འདོད་ལུང་དང་འགལ་གྱུར་ན།།
དེ་ཡི་དགོངས་པ་ཕྱི་སྟེ་བཤད།།
D50a གལ་ཏེ་དགོངས་པ་མི་ཤེས་ན།།
ཚར་བཅད་པ་ཡི་གནས་སུ་འགྱུར།། (III 33)

བསྡུ་བའི་ཚིགས་བཅད་དོ། །ཡང་ན།

B214 རིགས་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་སྟོད་པ་ན།།
གྲུབ་མཐའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་མི་འབྲང་།།
རྣམ་པར་ཕྱེ་སྟེ་གསལ་བར་སྟོད།། (III 34)

རིགས་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲངས་ནས་སྟོད་པ་ན། རིགས་པ་དེའང་རང་རང་གི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་ཕན་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ····· དང་མུ་སྟེགས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་བཟུང་ནས་ཕན་ཚུན་སྟོད་པ་ནི་རང་རང་གི་·· བསྟན་པ་གཟུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་ཡིན་ལ། བསྟན་པ་གཟུང་བར་མི་འདོད་ཅིང་ཕན་ཚུན་ཉམས་སད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཟླུན་པོའི་ཁ་ཤགས་ལྟར་བབ་ཅོལ་དུ་སྟོད་པ་ནི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དམ་པ་དག་གི་སྟོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་གཡོ་སྒྱུ་དག་གིས་ཟླུན་པོ་ངོ་མཚར་སྐྱེད་པར་ཟད་དོ། །དེས་ན་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་མི་ལེན་ངེས་པར་བྱས་ལ་ལེན་ན་གཉིས་ཀས་གྲུབ་མཐའི་གཞུང་བཟུང་སྟེ་བརྩད་དོ།།

གྲུབ་མཐའི་རྗེས་སུ་མི་འབྲང་ན།།
G76b དེ་ཡི་སྟོད་གཞི་ངེས་བྱས་པས།།
ཕལ་ཆེར་གྲུབ་མཐའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ལྷུང་།། (III 35)

ལྷུན་པོ་མཁས་པར་འཚོས་པ་དག་ཁོ་བོས་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་··· ཀྱི་རིགས་པས་ཇི་ལྟར་ནུས་པ་ཞིག་འཛིན་ཏོ་ཞེ་ན། དེ་ལ་ཐོག་མར་རྩོད་པའི་གཞི་བསྟན་ཏེ། རྩོད་པའི་གཞི་དེ་ཡོད་པའམ། མེད་པའམ། རྟག་པའམ། ཆད་པའམ། བདེན་པའམ། བརྫུན་པའམ། འཁོར་བའམ། མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གང་ཡང་རུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་འཐད་མི་འཐད་མ་བྱུང་ན། རྩོད་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་མི་འཇུག་ལ་འཐད་མི་འཐད་ཅིག་ལ་རྩོད་པ་ན། གང་འཐད་པ་ཁས་ལེན་པ་དེ་ཉིད་གྲུབ་མཐར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ཡོད་མེད་འཐད་ན་ཡོད་པའམ་མེད་པར་སྨྲ་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐར་འགྱུར་ལ། རྟག་ཆད་འཐད་ན་རྟག་ཆད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བར་འགྱུར་ཞིང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བདེན་བརྫུན་དང་ D50b འཁོར་བ་དང་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཡོད་མེད་གང་དུ་ཁས···· ལེན་ཡང་དེའི་རིགས་ཅན་གྱི་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཞིག་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་མི···· ལྟུང་མི་སྲིད་པས་དེ་དག་ལ་བརྗོད་པའི་སྐྱོན་ཉིད་འཇུག་གོ། །

གྲུབ་མཐའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མི་ལྟུང་ན།།
དེ་ཡི་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱི་ངེས་བྱས་པས།།
ཕལ་ཆེར་ལྷུན་པོའི་རིགས་པར་འགྱུར།། (III 36)

G77a ཇི་ལྟར་བརྟགས་ཀྱང་རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་ན་ B215 མི་ཤེས་ནས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའམ་སྐྱོན་བྱུང་གིས་དོགས་ནས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ··· ཞིག །དང་པོ་ལྟར་ན་ལེན་ཡང་ཅི་དགོས། བ་ལང་དང་སྤྲེའུ་ཞིག་རྩོད། གཉིས་པ་ནི་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ཉིད་ཁས་ལེན་ནམ་མི་ལེན། ལེན་ན་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའི་དམ་བཅའ་བྱད་དེ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ཉིད་ཁས་བླངས་པའི་ཕྱིར་མིང་མེད་དུ་བཏགས་པ་མིང་དུ་སོང་བ་བཞིན་ནོ། །ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་ན་ཁས་ལེན་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དགག་པ་བཀག་པ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ཡིན་པའི་

ཕྱིར། སྔོན་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཡིན་ན་སྔོན་པོར་འགྱུར་བ་བཞིན་ནོ།།

མཁས་ན་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི།

རྗེས་སུ་མི་འཇུག་མི་སྲིད་དོ།། (III 37)

རིགས་པ་ལ་བློ་སྦྱངས་པ་དག་དམ་བཅའ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ལ་གཉིས···
ཏེ། གཡོ་སྒྱུས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་དང་། དྲང་པོས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའོ། །དང་
པོ་ནི་གྲངས་ཅན་འདུས་པ་མ་ཡིན་པ་གཞན་གྱི་དོན་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཞེས་རང་གི···
དོན་བྱེད་པའི་ཞེ་འདོད་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པར། སྒྱུ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་མི་འདོད་པའི་
G77b གཞན་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་ལེན་པའམ། ཚུ་རོལ་མཛེས་པ་བ་དག་གཉིས་བཅས་ཀྱི་
སྐྱུར་བ་ལྟ་བུ་འདོད་པ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པར་མི་འདོད་པ་དམ་བཅའ་བ་ནི་སློབ་
དཔོན་ཐོགས་མེད་ཀྱིས་ངན་གཡོའི་ལྟ་བ་ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། གནས་མ་བུ་བས་
བདག་རྟག་ ་པ་ དང་མི་རྟག་པར་བརྗོད་དུ་མེད་དོ་ཞེས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ནི།
D51a སློབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པའི་ལྟ་བ་ཞེས་ལྟ་ལོག་གི་ནང་དུ་བསྡུས་སོ།།
གཉིས་པ་དྲང་པོས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ནི་ཤེས་ན་དབུ་མའི་ལྟ་བ་ཡང་དག་སྟེ།
དངོས་པོའི་གནས་ལུགས་སྤྲོས་པ་དང་བྲལ་བ་ལ་སྒྲ་བློའི་ཡུལ་མ་ཡིན་པས··
ཤེས་བརྗོད་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ།

རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་པོ་མི་གསུང་བཞུགས།།

མི་གསུང་བ་ཉིད་རྒྱ་ཆེར་འགྲེལ།།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། རིན་ཆེན་ཕྲེང་བ་ལས།

འཇིག་རྟེན་གྲངས་ཅན་འུག་ཕྲུག་དང་།།

གོས་མེད་བཅས་ལ་གལ་ཏེ་ཞིག །

ཡོད་མེད་འདས་པར་སྨྲ་ན་དྲིས།།

དེ་ཕྱིར་སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནི།།

བསྟན་པ་འཆི་མེད་ཡོད་མེད་ལས།།

འདས་པ་ཟབ་མོ་ཞེས་བཤད་པ།།
ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པ་ལགས་མཁྱེན་མཛོད།།

ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེས་ན་སྟ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་ཁས་ལེན་ཡོད་བཞིན་དུ་
G78a B216 གཡོ་སྒྲུས་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་རྐྱན་མ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། །དབུ་མ་པ་ཁས་
མི་ལེན་པ་ནི་མ་བརྐུས་པ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་པས་ཁྱད་པར་ཆེའོ།།

གལ་ཏེ་ཁས་བླངས་གཏན་མི་འདོད།།
དེ་ལ་བརྟགས་ན་ 'གཉིས་སུ་འགྱུར།།
སྨྲས་བྲལ་ཡིན་ཕྱིར་མི་འདོད་ན།།
ཤེས་ན་དབུ་མའི་གྲུབ་མཐར་འགྱུར།། (III 38)
ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཁས་ལེན་མི་ནུས་ན།།
དེ་ནི་ངན་གཡོའི་ལྟ་བར་བཤད།། (III 39)

ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བསྡུ་བའི་ཚིགས་བཅད་དོ།།

ལ་ལ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མི་འདྲ་བ།།
ཕན་ཚུན་བསྲེས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འདོད།།
སྐྱོན་ཅན་ཡིན་ན་སོ་སོར་དགག།
སྐྱོན་མེད་ན་ནི་དེ་རྗེས་འབྲང་།། (III 40)

ཁ་ཅིག་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཐུན་ཚོགས་བསྲེབས་
ནས་ཁས་ལེན་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བ་དང་མདོ་སྡེ་པ་བསྲེབས་ནས།
ཡུལ་རྣམ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་དུས་མཉམ་དུ་འཛིན་པར་འདོད་པ་དང་། མདོ་སྡེ་པ་
D51b དང་རྣམ་རིག་པ་བསྲེབས་ནས་སེམས་ཙམ་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་བླངས་ཞེས་
ཟེར་བ་དང་། མདོ་སྡེ་པ་དང་དབུ་མ་པ་བསྲེབས་ནས་མདོ་སྡེ་སྤྱོད་པའི་
དབུ་མ་པ་དང་། སེམས་ཙམ་པ་དང་དབུ་མ་བསྲེབས་ནས་རྣལ་འབྱོར་སྤྱོད་
G78b པའི་དབུ་མ་ལ་སོགས་པར་འདོད་པ་ནི་དེ་དག་སྐྱོན་ཡོད་ན་རིགས་པས་སུན་

དབྱུང་ཞིང་། སྐྱོན་མེད་ན་གཙོ་བོའི་བློས་བླང་བར་བྱའོ།།

མཁས་པས་འཛིན་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ནི།།
སངས་རྒྱས་པ་དང་མུ་སྟེགས་གཉིས།།
དེ་ལས་གཞན་པ་བླུན་པོ་ཡིས།།
བློ་བུར་བརྟགས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཡིན།། (III 41)

སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཁོར་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཞི་བར་བྱེད་་་ ་
ཅིང་། འཕགས་པའི་བདེ་བ་་་ལ་འཇོག་པར་བྱེད་པ་མངོན་གྱུར་ལ་མངོན་
སུམ། ལྐོག་གྱུར་ལ་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པ་དང་། ཤིན་ཏུ་ལྐོག་གྱུར་ལ་རིགས་
པས་མི་གནོད་པའི་ལུང་ཁས་ལེན་པ། མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལེགས་པར་
བརྟགས་ནས་བཟུང་བ། ལྷ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་བསྟི་གནས་ཡིན་
ནོ། །མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་ནི་སྔོན་ཡུན་རིང་པོ་ནས་སྦྱངས་པ། སོ་སོའི་སྐྱེ་བོའི་
ཤེས་རབ་ཞུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བས་བརྟགས་པ། འཇིག་རྟེན་པའི་ལམ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ།
ཚུ་རོལ་མཐོང་བའི་རིགས་པ་དང་མི་རིགས་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱོད་ནུས་པ།
B217 མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སུན་དབྱུང་བར་འོས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་ལྟར་འདི་གཉིས་
G79a ནི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲུབ་པ་དང་སུན་འབྱིན་པའི་ཡུལ་དུ་རུང་བ་ཡིན་་་
ཀྱི། དེ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་གསར་པ་བླུན་པོས་སྦྱར་བ་རིགས་པས་
སྟོང་པ། ལུང་དང་འགལ་བ། མི་དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་གྱིས་འཚོ་བའི་
ཡོ་བྱད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་བརྩུན་སྦྱར་བ། བླུན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆགས་སྡང་གིས་རང་
རང་གི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་གཟུང་བ་ཡིན་གྱི། ཁྱངས་ནས་མ་བྱུང་བས་དགག་སྒྲུབ་
D52a ཀྱི་འོས་མ་ཡིན་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ནོར་བ་ཏ་ཙང་འཕེལ་ན་ཞིང་གི་ཡུར་མ་
ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་གནོད་པར་འགྱུར་བས་ལུང་དང་རིགས་པ་་
དག་གིས་ཅི་རིགས་པར་སུན་དབྱུང་སྟེ། ཆགས་སྡང་ཅན་གྱི་བླུན་པོས་མི་
གོ་ཡང་གཙོ་བོར་གནས་པའི་མཁས་པས་གོ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།

གངས་ཅན་འདི་ན་དེ་ལས་གཞན།།
སྙན་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མང་མོད་ཀྱི།།
དེ་ནི་སྙན་པས་གོ་སླའི་ཕྱིར།།
མཁས་པས་ཕལ་ཆེར་བཏང་སྙོམས་བཞག། (III 42)

བར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚིགས་བཅད་དོ།།

སྒྲ་སྙེགས་བྱེད་ལ་རྟོག་གེ་ལྔ།།
རིག་བྱེད་གྲངས་ཅན་ཅུག་ཕྲུག་པ།།
ཟད་བྱེད་ཚུ་རོལ་མཛེས་པའོ།། (III 43)

སྒྲ་སྙེགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་ཀྱང་། རྟོག་གེ་འབར་
G79b བར་བརྒྱར་བསྡུས། དེ་བསྡུ་ན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་རྟོག་གེ་སྡེ་ལྔའོ། །དེ་
དག་ཀྱང་གདོད་མ་ནས་གྲུབ་པའི་རིག་བྱེད་པ། སྐྱེང་པ་བ། གསང་བར་
སྨྲ་བ་པ། རྒྱལ་དཔོག་པ། དཔྱོད་པ་བ། དྲན་པ་བ་དང་། ཚངས་པ་··ལ་
སོགས་པ་རྣམས་ནི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སོ། །གྲངས་ཅན་པ། སེར་སྐྱ་པ། རང་སྐྱེ་
བ། སྣུམ་ཙུ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སོ། །གསལ་བྱེད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་
ནི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་རིག་བྱེད་པ་དང་གྲངྷ་ཅན་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་གྲགས་པ་ཡོད་དོ།།
ཅུག་ཕྲུག་པ། གཟེགས་ཟན་པ། བྱེ་བྲག་པ། རིགས་པ་ཅན། ཚིག་གི་
དོན་དྲུག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སོ། །ཟད་བྱེད་པ། རྒྱལ་བ་དམ་
པ་བ། ཚིག་གི་དོན་དགུ་པ། སྲོག་གི་སྡེ་ཚན་པ། འཛེམ་མེད་པ།
གཅེར་བུ་བ། ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གོས་ཅན། ནམ་མཁའི་གོས་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་
སོགས་པ་ནི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སོ། །དེ་ལྟར་སྡེ་བཞི་པོ་ནི་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་བདེན་
B218 པར་འདོད་པས་རྟག་པར་སྨྲ་བ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། །ཚུ་རོལ་མཛེས་པ་བ།
D52b འཇིག་རྟེན་རྒྱང་···པན་པ། ཆད་པར་ལྟ་བ་པ། མེད་པར་སྨྲ་བ་པ། ཕུར་

བྱ་བ། ཇོ་བོ་ཉིད་རྒྱུར་སྨྲ་བ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ནི་ནམ་གྲངས་སོ། །བོད་ G80a འགའ་ཞིག་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཐ་ཕྱི་མི་འདོད་པས་རྒྱང་པན་པའོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་ནི… རྒྱང…པན་པའི་སྒྲ་དོན་མ་ཤེས་པར་ཟད་ལ་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་མ་གྲགས… པས་ཀྱི་ནའོ། །རྒྱལ་རིགས་གཞུང་དུ་སྨྲ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའང་འདི་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ་བྱུང་ངོ་། །འདི་དག་ནི་ ་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་སྐུར་པ་འདེབས་པས་ཆད་པར་སྨྲ་བ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ།།དེ་ལྟར་ན་རྟོག་གེ་སྡེ་ལྔ་པོ་དེའང་རྟག་ཆད་གཉིས་སུ་འདུས་སོ།།

ཐ་མ་གསུམ་པོ་རིག་བྱེད་འཛིན།།
ཕྱི་མ་རྣམ་གཉིས་རིག་བྱེད་འདོར།།
བདག་ཡོད་པར་ནི་ཐམས་ཅད་འཐུན།།
ལྔ་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་གཞན་མི་འདྲ།། (III 44)

དེ་ལྟར་རྟོག་གེ་སྡེ་ལྔ་ཐ་མ་གསུམ་ནི་རིག་བྱེད་པ། གྲངས་ཅན་པ། འུག་ཕྲུག་པ་རྣམས་ནི་རིག་བྱེད་ཚད་མར་བྱེད་ལ། འོན་ཀྱང་རིག་བྱེད་པ་དང་གྲངས་ཅན་པ་གཉིས་ནི་རིག་བྱེད་མ་བྱས་པ་རང་བྱུང་ཡིན་པས་ཚངས་པས་ངན་ནས་གདོང་བཞི་ནས་བཏོན་ཏོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། །གཅེར་ཟན་པ་ནི་དབང་ཕྱུག་གིས་བྱས་པར་འདོད་དོ། །དེ་ལྟར་ན་གྲུབ་མཐའ་གསུམ་པོ་ G80b དེ་ཚངས་པ་དང་། དབང་ཕྱུག་དང་། ཁྱབ་འཇུག་ལ་ལྟར་བྱེད་ལ། འོན་ཀྱང་གང་ལ་ཡི་དམ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་དེའི་མིང་ཐོབ་སྟེ། ཚངས་པ་བ་དང་། དབང་ཕྱུག་པ་དང་། ཁྱབ་འཇུག་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མིང་དུ་གྲགས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཡི་དམ་ཐ་དད་སྒོམ་པ་ལ་དེའི་མིང་དུ་གྲགས་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། །འོ་ན་གསུམ་ཀ་རིག་བྱེད་ལ་ཚད་མར་བྱེད་ན་རིག་བྱེད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་མི་འཇོག་ཅེ་ན། བདེན་ཏེ་འོན་ཀྱང་རིག་བྱེད་པ་ནི་རིག་

བྱེད་སྲིད་ལ་གཙོར་བྱེད་ལ། གྲངས་ཅན་དང་གཟེགས་ཟན་པ་ནི་རིག་བྱེད་
འཆད་པའི་དྲང་སྲོང་ལ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་དང་དེའི་མིང་གིས་····
D53a བཏགས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཕྱིར་མདོ་ལ་ཚད་མར་བྱེད་ཀྱང་མདོ་སྡེ་པ་
འབའ་ཞིག་གིས་དེའི་མིང་ཐོབ་ལ་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བ་དང་སེམས་ཙམ་པ་དང་
B219 དབུ་མ་པ་ལ་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གཞན་གྱིས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། །མུ་
སྟེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་ཏུ་འཛིན་པར་འདུན་ཏེ། རྟག་སྨྲ་བ་རྣམས་
བདག་རྟག་པར་འདོད་ལ། ཆད་སྨྲ་བ་ནི་བདག་ཡོད་པ་ཆད་པར་འདོད་
པས་སོ། །སློབ་དཔོན་ཐོགས་མེད་ཀྱིས་མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་གང་ཟེ་
G81a སྙེད་··ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་བདག་ཏུ་འཛིན་པ་ལས་གྱུར་ཏོ་ཞེས······
གསུངས་པའང་དེ་ལ་དགོངས་པའོ། །གྲུབ་མཐའི་བྱེ་བྲག་གཞན་ལས་རྒྱུ་
འབྲས་དང་ལམ་དང་འབྲས་བུའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མི་འདྲ་བར་སྣང་ངོ་།།

བོད་ཀྱི་རྟོག་གེ་པ་རྣམས་ནི།།
འདི་ཡི་རྣམ་གཞག་འཁྲུགས་པ་མང་།།
དེ་ཕྱིར་དེ་དག་གིས་སྤྲོལ་བའི།།
བསྟན་བཅོས་བདེན་པར་གཟུང་མི་བྱ།། (III 45)

བོད་ཀྱི་དགེ་བཤེས་འགའ་ཞིག་གིས····སྨྲར་བའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་མང་པོ་སྣང་སོང་། དེ་དག་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཆེན་པོའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མ་གཟིགས་པར་ཕན་ཚུན་ཕུན་ཕྱུང་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྟོག་གེ་ཐ་དད་དུ་བཞག་ལ། གྲུབ་མཐའ་འདུན་པ་ཙམ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྟོག་གེ་སྡེ་གཅིག་ཏུ······བཞག་པ་ནི་རྣམ་པར་འཁྲུམས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན་ཉན་ཐོས་དང་ཐེག་ཆེན་དང་། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བ་དང་། མདོ་སྡེ་པ་དང་། སེམས་ཙམ་པ་དང་། དབུ་མ་པ་ཕན་ཚུན་ཕུན་འདྲེན་ཡང་ཐ་དད་དུ་མི་འཛོག་པར་སངས་

རྒྱས་པ་ཞེས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྡུད་ལ། རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མཐའ་པ་འགའ་དང་ཟད་བྱེད་
པ་དང་སེམས་ཙམ་པ་དག་ཀྱང་སེམས་སུ་བྱེད་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འགའ་ཞིག་
G81b འཐུན་པ་དང་། དཔྱོད་པ་བ་དང་། རྒྱང་''པན་པ་དང་། དབུ་མ་ཐལ་
འགྱུར་བ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་སྲུན་འཕྱིན་པ་དང་། གཞན་ལ་''གྲགས་པའི་
D53b རྗེས་དཔག་དང་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ལ་སོགས་པ་མིང་འཐུན་ཡང་དོན་མི་འདྲ་བས་
རྟག་གེ་སྡེ་ཐ་དད་དུ་འཛོག་པ་བཞིན་ནོ།།

སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ལ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་བཞི།།
བྱེ་བྲག་སྨྲ་དང་མདོ་སྡེ་པ།།
རྣམ་རིག་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད་མེད་སྨྲ།།
འདི་དག་གི་་་ནི་དབྱེ་བ་ལ།།
གྲུབ་མཐའི་དབྱེ་བ་ཅི་རིགས་ཡོད།།
རྒྱས་པར་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣམ་འབྱེད་སྟོས།། (III 46)

བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་གཞུང་ལ་ཉན་ཐོས་དང་ཐེག་ཆེན་གཉིས། ཉན་
ཐོས་པ་ལ་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བ་དང་། མདོ་སྡེ་པ་གཉིས། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་
སེམས་ཙམ་དབུ་མ་གཉིས། སེམས་ཙམ་ལ་རྣམ་བཅས་རྣམ་མེད་གཉིས།
B220 དབུ་མ་ལ་རང་རྒྱུད་ཐལ་འགྱུར་གཉིས་སོ། །དེ་དག་ནང་གསེས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བ་
རྣམས་ནི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རྣམ་འབྱེད་དུ་བལྟ་བར་བྱའོ།།

དེ་དག་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་ན།།
ཐོག་མར་རྟོད་གཞི་ངེས་པར་བྱ།།
མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་དང་ཉན་ཐོས་རྣམས།།
ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་འདོད་དེ་དག་དང་།།
རྟོད་ན་ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་ཁས་བླང་།། (III 47)

མིན་ན་རྩོད་གཞི་མི་འགྲུབ་པས།།
G82a རྩོད་པའི་གནས་སྐབས་འཇུག་པ་དཀའ།། (III 48)

ཚོལ་བ་གཉིས་རང་རང་གི་བསྟན་པ་གཟུང་བའི་ཕྱིར་གྲུབ་མཐའ····· བདེན་བརྫུན་བཤད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། ཉན་ཐོས་དང་མུ་སྟེགས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་བདེན་པར་ཁས་ལེན་པ་དེ་དག་དང་རྩོད་ན། དབང་ཤེས་རྟོག་བྲལ་ལ་སོགས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཡུལ་བེམས་པོ་ཉིད་བཀག་ན་ ་སྐབས····· དོན་གྱི་རྩོད་པ་འགྱངས་པར་འགྱུར་བས་མདོ་སྡེ་པའི་ལུགས་བཟུང་སྟེ། དོན་གྱི་མཐུས་སྐྱེས·········པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཀོད་ནས་རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་བདེ་བླག་ཏུ་འགྲུབ་པར་དགོངས་སོ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་མདོ་སྡེ་རྣམས་ལས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་ཏེ། རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

དེས་དེ་ཉིད་དོན་བཏང་སྙོམས་ཅན།།
D54a གླང་ཆེན་གཟིགས་སྟངས་ཉིད་མཛད་ནས།།
འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕྱུགས་ནི་འབའ་ཞིག་གིས།།
ཕྱི་རོལ་དཔྱོད་ལ་འཇུག་པ་མཛད།།

ཅེས་གསུངས་སོ། །དེའི་དགོངས་པ་བཤད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པས།

གལ་ཏེ་ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པ་ན།།
ཁ་བོས་མདོ་སྡེའི་སྐབས་ལ་རྣམ་པར་བརྟེན།།

G82b ཞེས་གསུངས་པར་གྲག་གོ། །ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་རྩོད་པའི་ཡལ་ག་རྣམས་ཆོད་ནས་དེའི་རྩ་བ་བཅད་པའི་ཕྱིར།

གང་གླི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམ་དཔྱད་པ།།
དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ན་དེ་དངོས་མེད།།
གང་གི་ཕྱིར་ན་དེ་དག་ལ།།

གཅིག་དང་དུ་མའི་རང་བཞིན་མེད།།

ཅེས་གཅིག་དང་དུ་བྲལ་གྱིས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དངོས་པོ་བཀག་པའི་ཚེ་དེའི་རྟགས་མ་གྲུབ་པོ་སྙམ་ན།དྲུག་གིས་ཅིག་ཅར་སྦྱར་བའི་རིགས་པས་བསྒྲུབས་ནས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁེགས་པ་ན། མདོ་སྡེ་པའི་སྐྱོན་ལ་འདྲ་བ་ཡང་མི་འགྲུབ་སྟེ།

དོན་དངོས་མེད་པའི་སྣང་ཅན་དེས།།
ཇི་ལྟར་དོན་འཛིན་ཞེ་ན་བདེན།།
ངས་ཀྱང་དེ་འདྲ་མི་ཤེས་སོ།།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །སྐབས་འདིར་གཅིག་དང་དུ་
B221 བྲལ་ནི་སེམས་ཙམ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་ཡིན་གྱི། དབུ་མའི་ལུགས་སུ་འདོད་པ་
ནི་གཞུང་གི་སྐབས་དོན་མ་ཡིངས་པར་ཟད་དོ། །འོ་ན་སྣང་བ་འདི་དབང་
ཕྱུག་ལ་སོགས་པས་ནི་མ་བྱས། རྡུལ་ཕྲན་ཁེགས་པས་རྒྱུ་མེད་ལས་སྐྱེ་བར་
འགྱུར་རོ་ཞེ་ན། མི་འགལ་ཏེ་ས་བཅུ་པ་ལས། ཀྱེ་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་དག
ཁམས་གསུམ་པོ་འདི་དག་ནི་སེམས་ཙམ་མོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། ལང་ཀར་
G83a གཤེགས་པ་ལས།

བག་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་ནི་དཀྲུགས་པའི་སེམས།།
དོན་དུ་སྣང་བ་རབ་ཏུ་འབྱུང་།།
དོན་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན་སེམས་ཉིད་དེ།།
ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་མཐོང་ལོག་པ་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པའི་དོན་རིགས་པས་བསྒྲུབ་ན་ལྷན་ཅིག་དམིགས་ངེས་ལ་སོགས་
D54b པས་གཟུང་ཆ་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་གཞན་ཡིན་པ་ཁེགས་སོ། །དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་རོལ་
གྱི་དོན་ཁེགས་པས་གཟུང་བར་སྣང་བ་མི་འཐད་དོ་སྙམ་ན། གཟུང་ཆ་
ཁེགས་པས་དེ་འཛིན་ཉིད་ཀྱང་ཁེགས་ཏེ།

གཟུང་བ་མེད་པས་དེར་འཛིན་མེད།།

ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེས་ན་སྣང་བ་ནི་རང་རིག་གིས་འགྲུབ། གཟུང་འཛིན་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པས་ཁེགས་པས་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་ཉིད་འགྲུབ་སྟེ།

བློ་ཡིས་ཉམས་སྣང་བྱ་གཞན་མེད།།
དེ་ཡི་སྣང་བ་གཞན་ཡོད་མིན།།
གཟུང་དང་འཛིན་པ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར།།
དེ་ནི་དེ་ལྟར་རང་ཉིད་གསལ།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེས་ན་རྟོགས་པ་དང་མ་རྟོགས་པའི་དབང་གིས་འཁྲུལ་མ་འཁྲུལ་ལས་འཁོར་བ་དང་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པའི་གཞི་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་དགོངས་སོ། །དེས་ན་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཐ་སྙད་པའི་གཞི་རྣམ་རིག
G83b བསྒྲུབས་ནས། ཐ་སྙད་ལས་འདས་པ་དོན་དམ་པ་བསྒྲུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་ལང་ཀར་གཤེགས་པ་ལས།

སེམས་ཙམ་ལས་ནི་བརླས་ནས་ཀྱང་།།
སྣང་བ་མེད་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་སྦྱར།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་། རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

འདུ་བྱེད་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས།།
སྡུག་བསྔལ་བསྒོམ་པར་གསུངས་པ་ཡིན།།
ངེད་ཀྱི་དེ་ནི་རྒྱན་ལས་སྐྱེས།།
དེ་ཡང་བདག་མེད་ལྟ་རྟེན་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། རིགས་པ་དྲུག་ཅུ་པ་ལས།

ཤིན་ཏུ་ཕྲ་བའི་དངོས་ལ་ཡང་།།

གང་གིས་སྐྱེ་བར་རྣམ་བརྟགས་པ།།
རྣམ་པར་མི་མཁས་དེ་ཡིས་ནི།།
རྐྱེན་ལས་སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་མ་མཐོང་།།

B22.2 ཞེས་གསུངས་པས། གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་ཉིད་གཞན་དབང་སྐད་ཅིག་མ་རྐྱེན་ལས་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་ལ། རྐྱེན་ལས་སྐྱེ་བ་ཉིད་སྐྱེ་མེད་ཡིན་པས། དོན་དམ་པར་སྐྱེ་མེད་སྤྲོས་བྲལ་གྲུབ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཞུས་པ་ལས།

གང་ཞིག་རྐྱེན་ལས་སྐྱེས་པ་དེ་མ་སྐྱེས།།
D55a དེ་ལ་སྐྱེ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན།།
རྐྱེན་ལ་རག་ལས་གང་དེ་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད།།
གང་གིས་སྟོང་ཉིད་ཤེས་དེ་བག་ཡོད་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེས་ན་རྣམ་རིག་ལེགས་པར་རྟོགས་ན་དབུ་G84a མའི་དེ་ཁོ་ན་ཉིད་ཕྱིན་ཅི་མ་ལོག་པ་ཁོང་དུ་ཆུད་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། །ཞེས་རྣམ་འགྲེལ་མཛད་པའི་དགོངས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

ཕྱི་རོལ་དཔྱད་ན་མདོ་སྡེ་པའི།།
གྲུབ་མཐའ་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན།།
དེ་ཕྱིར་མཁས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི།།
གཞུང་ལུགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་ལྟར་ཡོད།། (III 49)

ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་ན་མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་འཕྲོད་པ་འདུ་བའི···· འབྲེལ་པས་ཡུལ་རིག་པ་དང་། བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བའི་ཡུལ་དང་དབང་པོ་དུས་མཉམ་པས་ཡུལ་རིག་པར་འདོད་པ་ལ་གནོད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཚད་མ་ཡོད་པས་མི་འཐད་ཅིང་། མདོ་ལས། མིག་ལ་བརྟེན་ཅིང་གཟུགས་ལ་དམིགས་ནས་མིག་གི་རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པའི་དོན་མདོ་སྡེ་པས་ཡུལ·····

དབང་པོ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྐྱེན་བཞི་ལས་རྣམ་ཤེས་སྐྱེ་བར······
འདོད་པ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་ཡོད་ཅིང་གནོད་བྱེད་མེད་པས་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས······
ཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེས་ན་སློབ་དཔོན་ཕྱོགས་མེད་ཀླུ་མཆེད་
ཕྱོགས་གླང་ཆོས་གྲགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཁས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ལུང་དང····
རིགས་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མདོ་སྡེ་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་དེ···
ཡིན་ནོ།།

G84b འདི་ལ་སེམས་ཙམ་ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན།།
ཁས་བླངས་ཡིན་ཞེས་པོད་རྣམས་སྒྲོགས།།
རྟག་དངོས་བཞིན་ཏེ་འདི་མི་སྲིད།།
མདོ་སྡེ་པ་ལ་བཏགས་པར་ཟད།། (III 50)

པོད་རྣམས་ཀུན་ལས་བཏུས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མངོན་པ་གོང་མའི་བསྟན···
བཅོས་རྣམས་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་དང་སེམས་གཉིས་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་པའི་གཞུང་
ལུགས་འདི་དག་སེམས་ཙམ་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་བླངས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས·····
D55b འདོད་པ་མི་འཐད་དེ། སེམས་ཙམ་ཡིན་ན་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་ལེན་པར་
B223 འགལ། ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་ཁས་ལེན་ན་སེམས་ཙམ་དུ་འགལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།
དཔེར་ན་རྟག་དངོས་ཁས་ལེན་པ་བཞིན་ཏེ་རྟག་པ་ཡིན་ན་དངོས་པོར་མི····
འཐད། དངོས་པོ་ཡིན་ན་རྟག་པར་མི་འཐད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །དེས་ན་མདོ་
སྡེ་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལེགས་པར་མ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་བབ་ཅོལ་དུ་སེམས་
ཙམ་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་ཁས་བླངས་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པར་ཟད་དོ།།

ཕྱི་རོལ་དོན་རྣམས་འགོག་པ་ན།།
རྣམ་རིག་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན།།
ཆོས་ཉིད་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པ་ན།།

དབུ་མའི་གཏན་ཚིགས་དངོས་སྟོབས་ཡིན།། (III 51)

G85a དེས་ན་ཕྱི་རོལ་གྱི་དོན་འགོག་པའི་དུས་སུ་སེམས་ཙམ་པའི་གཅིག་···
དང་དུ་བྲལ་དང་། ལྷན་ཅིག་དམིགས་ངེས་དང་། རིག་···པའི་གཏན་
ཚིགས་དང་། ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དོན་གཅིག་སྣང་བ་ཐ་དད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་
གཏན་ཚིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ལ། ཆོས་ཉིད་གཏན་ལ་
འབེབས་པ་ན་དབུ་མ་རང་ རྒྱུད་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཟེགས་མ་དང་། སུ་བཞི་སྐྱེ་
འགོག་ལ་སོགས་པ་དང་། ཐལ་འགྱུར་པའི་བསྒྲུབ་བྱ་དང་མཚུངས་པ་དང་།
རྒྱུ་མཚན་མཚུངས་པ་ལ་ སོགས་པ་དངོས་པོའི་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ནོ།།

ཁ་ཅིག་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཁས་ལེན་ན།།
དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་མེད་ཅེས་ཟེར།།
མ་ཡིན་དངོས་པོའི་སྟོབས་མེད་ན།།
རིགས་པའི་དགག་སྒྲུབ་ཇི་ལྟར་འཐད།། (III 52)

བོད་ཁ་ཅིག་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རང་འདོད་པའི་ ཆགས་སྡང་''
གི་སྒོ་ནས་མུན་སྤྲུལ་སྤྲ་བར་ཟད་ཀྱི། ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་
དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་མེད་དོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་བ་མི་འཐད་དེ། །སངས་རྒྱས་
བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་དང་འཕགས་པའི་གང་ཟག་དང་མཁས་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་
G85b D56a ལ་སྐུར་པ་བཏབ་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ལུང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ནི་དེ་དག་
གི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲང་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །དེས་ན་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ལ་རང་རང་གི་སྐབས་
སུ་འཇུག་པའི་དངོས་པོའི་སྟོབས་མེད་ན་སྐབས་དེ་ལ་ལྟོས་པའི་དགག་སྒྲུབ་
མི་ནུས་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན་ལས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བ་ཐ་(མི་)དད་པའི་གང་ཟག་ལ་ཆུ་དང་མེ་
ལ་སོགས་པར་སྣང་ན་ངོམས་པ་དང་སྲེག་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མངོན་སུམ་ཚད་···
B224 མ་ཉིད་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ལ། ཡི་དགས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལས་མི་

འཕྲུན་པ་གཞན་ལ་ཆུ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་མ་ཡིན་གྱི།
རང་རང་གི་སྣང་བ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ཉིད་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ནོ།།
དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དངོས་པོ་ཁས་ལེན་ན་བྱས་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་མི་རྟག་པར་སྒྲུབ་པ་དངོས་
པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་གྱི། དབུ་མ་པ་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་མེད་
པས་དངོས་པོ་ཉིད་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ལ་དེའི་ཆོས་ཡོད་པའམ་མེད་པ་ཁས་མི་ལེན་··
པས་བྱས་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་མི་རྟག་པར་སྒྲུབ་པ་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ག་ལ་ཡིན།
ཡུམ་ལས་ཤཱ་རིའི་བུ་སེམས་མེད་པ་ལ་ཡོད་པའམ་མེད་པར་ལྟ་དམིགས་····
G86a སུ་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། སྡུད་པ་ལས།

མི་རྟག་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་བཙོས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྟེ།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།།དེ་བཞིན་དུ་འབྲས་བུ་དང་མི་དམིགས་པའི་རྟགས་
ཀྱང་སྣང་བ་དང་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཐ་དད་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས····
ཉིད་ཐ་དད་པར་འགྱུར་ལ། ཡང་ཚུ་རོལ་མཐོང་བས་དབང་པོ་ལྔ་ཡུལ་
སོ་སོ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ལ། ཕ་རོལ་གཟིགས་པའི་
སངས་རྒྱས་ལ་དབང་པོ་ལྔ་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འཇུག་སྟེ། མདོ་སྡེ་རྒྱན་
ལས།

དབང་པོ་ལྔ་རྣམས་གཞན་གྱུར་ན།།
དོན་ཀུན་འཇུག་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི།།
ཡོན་ཏན་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་བཅུ་གཉིས་འབྱུང་།།
འབྱོར་པ་དམ་པ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར།།

D56b ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ཉིད་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་པས། ལས་དང་གང་
ཟག་གི་དབྱེ་བས་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཉིད་ཐ་དད་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་གང····
དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་མ་ཡིན་དཔྱོད་ཅིག གལ་ཏེ་ཀུན་རྫོབ་དང་

དོན་དམ་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མི་འདྲ་བས། དོན་དམ་པ་སྤྲོས་པ་དང་བྲལ་བས་
G86b ཤེས་བརྗོད་ལས་འདས་ལ། ཀུན་རྫོབ་ཤེས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཡིན་པས་དེ་ལ་
དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཀྱིས་དགག་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་དོ་སྙམ་ན། དེ་ལྟ་ན་ཀུན་
རྫོབ་ཉིད་ཡོད་པ་དང་མེད་པ་དང་རྟག་པ་དང་མི་རྟག་པ་དང་། བེམས་པོ་
དང་རིག་པ་དང་གཟུང་བ་དང་འཛིན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་འཐད་མི་འཐད་ཁས་
ལེན་པ་ལ། མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་གྲུབ་མཐའི་རིམ་པ་རྣམས་
B225 འཇུག་ལ། དེ་དག་ཀུང་མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་བདག་རྟག་པ་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་
པ་ཞིག་ཁས་ལེན་ན་ཁོང་རང་གི་རིགས་པ་དེ་ལས་ངོས་མེད་ལ། དེ་བཞིན་
དུ་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་སྨྲ་བ་དབང་པོ་དང་ཡུལ་དུས་མཉམ་པས་འཛིན་པ་དང་།
མདོ་སྡེ་པས་རྐྱེན་བཞི་ལས་ཡུལ་འཛིན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཤེས་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། སེམས་
ཙམ་པས་སྣང་བ་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་བག་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་རོལ་ཏུ་སྣང་བ་
དང་། དབུ་མ་པ་རང་བཞིན་མེད་པ་ལ། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྣང་བ་བཞེད་པ་
ནི། རང་རང་གི་ལུགས་ཁས་ལེན་པ་ལ་རང་རང་གི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་དེ་
ཉིད་སྐབས་དེ་ལ་ལྟོས་ནས་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པའི་རིགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐབས་དེའི་
དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་དགོངས་ཏེ། ཕན་ཚུན་འཆོལ་
G87a བའི་རིགས་པ་རྣམ་པར་འཁྲུམ་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །དཔེར་ན་ཡུལ་དུས་ཐ་
དད་ཀྱི་སོ་ནམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་རང་རང་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་འགྲུབ་ཀྱི།
ཕན་ཚུན་འཆོལ་ན་མི་འགྲུབ་པ་བཞིན་ནོ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་
བསམ་པའི་བྱེ་བྲག་གིས་སྡེ་སྣོད་ཐ་དད་དུ་གསུངས་པའང་དེ་ལ་དགོངས་
D57a སོ། །གལ་ཏེ་གྲུབ་མཐའ་ཐ་དད་ལ་རང་རང་གི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་དེ་ལས་མི་
འདའ་མོད། མཁས་པ་དག་གིས་རིགས་པས་དཔྱད་ན་འཇིག་པས་འཁྲུལ་
ལ་གང་མི་འཇིག་པ་དེ་དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཡིན་སྙམ་ན། དེ་ལྟར་ན་

དངོས་པོ་སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པ་ཉིད་བརྗོད་པ་མི་སྲིད་དེ། བློའི་ཡུལ་དུ་གང་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་ལ་བརྟགས་ན་སྐྱོན་འཇུག་པའི་ཕྱིར། མི་སྲ་བ་ལས་འོས་མེད་དེ། ཡིཙ་ཕྱིའི་མདོ་ལས།

རྒྱལ་བའི་སྲས་པོ་མི་གསུང་བཞུགས།།
མི་གསུང་བ་ཉིད་རྒྱ་ཆེར་འགྲེལ།།

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

ཇི་ལྟ་ཇི་ལྟར་རྣམ་དཔྱད་པ།།
དེ་ལྟ་དེ་ལྟར་རྣམ་···བྲལ་ཞེས།།
མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གང་གསུངས་པ།།
དེ་ནི་དངོས་སྟོབས་འོངས་པ་ཡིན།།

G87b ཞེས་གསུངས་པས། དངོས་པོ···སྟོབས་ཞུགས་ཀྱི་རིགས་པས་དཔྱད་ན་གང་ཡང་མི་འགྲུབ་པས་མཐར་ཡིཙ་ཕྱིའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལ་འཇུག་པར་བྱའོ།།

རིགས་པ་ལ་ཡང་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས།།
གཞན་སྡེ་མུ་སྟེགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུགས།།
ཚད་མ་གཅིག་དང་མང་པོ་དང་།།
B226 དེ་དག་སོ་སོའི་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་།།
དབྱེ་བསྡུའི་བྱེ་བྲག་མང་མོད་ཀྱི།།
འཁྲུལ་པར་གྲགས་པས་འདིར་མ་བཤད།། (III 53)

རིགས་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་ལ་ཡང་རང་སྡེ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་དང་གཞན་སྡེ་མུ·····སྟེགས་བྱེད་གཉིས་ལས། སངས་རྒྱས་པ་སྔ་རབས་པ་ནི་མངོན་སུམ་རྗེས་དཔག་ལུང་ཚད་མ་དང་གསུམ་བཞེད་ལ། ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་གླང་པོ་ནི་རིགས་པ་དང་འགལ་བའི་ལུང་ཚད་མ་ཉིད་མ་ཡིན་པས། རིགས་པས་མི་གནོད་ཅིང་

ལུང་པན་ཚུན་མི་འགལ་ན་ཚད་མ་ཡིན་མོད་ཀྱི་དེ་རྗེས་དཔག་གི་ཁོངས་སུ་འདུ་པར་བཞེད་དེ། རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལས།

ཡིད་ཆེས་ཚིག་ནི་མི་བསླུ་བའི།།
སྤྱི་ལས་འདི་ཡུལ་ལྐོག་གྱུར་ནའང་།།
གོ་སྐབས་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་བློ་ནི།།
D57b རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པའི་ཚད་མར་བཞེད།།

ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །མུ་སྟེགས་ཚད་མ་གཅིག་དང་། གསུམ་དང་། བཞི་དང་། ལྔ་དང་། དྲུག་ལ་ G88a སོགས་པ་འདོད་པ་ཡོད་མོད་ཀྱི་འདི་དག་འཁྲུལ་པར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གྲགས་པས་འདིར་མ་སྤྲོས་སོ།།

རང་སྡེ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚད་མར་འཛིན།།
དེ་ལ་སྡེ་ཕྱི་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས།།
སྡེ་མ་དབྱིག་གཉེན་ལེགས་ལྡན་སོགས།།
དོན་ལ་འཁྲུལ་པ་མེད་མོད་ཀྱི།།
དབྱེ་བསྡུའི་ཁྱད་པར་འགའ་ཞིག་དང་།།
བརྗོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད།། (III 54)

སྡེ་རབས་པའི་མཁས་པ་དེ་དག་དོན་ལ་འཁྲུལ་པ་མེད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་ཚད་མའི་གྲངས་དང་ནང་གསེས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བསྡུ་དང་བརྗོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད་དེ་མངོན་སུམ་དང་རྗེས་དཔག་དང་ལུང་གི་ཚད་མ་གསུམ་བཞེད་པ་དང་། སློབ་དཔོན་དབྱིག་གཉེན་རྗོད་པ་གྲུབ་པར་ལྟག་ཆོད་གསུམ་དུ་བསྡུད་པ་དང་། སྒྲུབ་པའི་ངག་ཡན་ལག་ལྔ་ལྡན་དུ་མཛད་པའི་ལུགས་འཛིན་ཏོ།།

ཕྱི་མ་ཕྱོགས་སྣང་ཆོས་གྲགས་སོགས།།
གྲངས་དང་དབྱེ་བསྡུའི་བྱེ་བྲག་དང་།།
བརྗོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་ཉུང་རྒྱས་སོགས།།
སྔ་མའི་ཚུལ་ལས་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས།། (III 55)

ཕྱི་རབས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཚད་མའི····
G88b གྲངས་གཉིས་སུ་ངེས་ལ། ལྷུང་ནི་རིགས་པ་དང་འགལ་ན་ཚད་མ་མ་ཡིན་
ཞིང་། མི་འགལ་ན་རྗེས་དཔག་ཏུ་སྡུད་པ་དང་། དབྱེ་བསྡུ་ཡང་ཁྱད་
པར་བྱ་བྱེད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་རྣམས་བདག་གཅིག་དེ་བྱུང་དུ་སྡུད་པ་
B227 དང་། ལྷག་ཚད་གསུམ་དུ་མི་འདུ་སྟེ། མདོ་ལས།

ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་དང་མི་བདེན་དང་།།
འགལ་ཉིད་ལྷག་ཚད་རྣམས་ལ་ནི།།
རྩོད་པ་གྲུབ་པར་ཚུལ་གསུམ་བཤད།།
འདི་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་མཚོན་པ་མེད།།

D58a ཅེས་གསུངས་པས་སོ། །རྩོད་པའི་ངག་འགོད་ཚུལ་ཡང་ཡན་ལག་ལྔ་ལྡན་
དཔེར་ན་ལ་ལ་མེ་ཡོད་དེ་དུ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཚང་མང་བཞིན། ལ་ལ་
ཡང་དུ་བ་ཡོད་པས་མེ་ཡོད་ཅེས་འདོད་པ་མི་འཐད་དེ། སྦྱོ་ཁྱབ་བརྗོད་པ་
མ་ཚང་། དམ་བཅའ་དང་ཉེར་སྦྱར་དང་མཇུག་སྡུད་གསུམ་ལྷག་པའི་ཕྱིར་
རོ། །དེས་ན་རྩོད་པའི་ངག་ཉུང་རྒྱས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཁྱབ་པ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་
ཆོས་བརྗོད་པ་ཡན་ལག་གཉིས་ལྡན་དུ་སྦྱོར་བས་ཕྱི་རབས་པའི་རྟོག་གེ་ཁྱད་
པར་དུ་འཕགས་སོ། །ཕྱི་རབས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པའི་གཞུང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་
གང་ཟག་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་།

རྩོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་རྣམ་གཉིས་མཐོང་།།

ཆོས་གྲགས་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ངག་བཀོད་ནས།།
G89a གདན་ཚིགས་ཚེར་མ་འབྱིན་པར་མཛད།།
གཞན་དུ་ཚར་བཅད་གནས་སུ་བཞེད།། (III 56)

རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པ་ལས་ཇི་ལྟར་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར། རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་གང་ཡིན་པའི་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ངག་སྐྱོན་མེད་བཀོད་ནས་ཚེར་མ་འདི་ལྟར་འབྱིན་ཏེ། རྟགས་འདི་མ་གྲུབ་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཆོས་ཅན་ལ་མཐོང་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །འགལ་བ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་འཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གྲུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །མ་ངེས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་མི་འཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཁེགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །ཞེས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཚུལ་ཀྱིས་ཚེར་མ་གསུམ་མི་འབྱིན་པའི་རྒོལ་བ་དེ་ཚར་བཅད་པའི་གནས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཚེར་མ་ཕྱུང་བའི་རྗེས་ལ་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་གྱི་སུན་འབྱིན་པའི་ངག་འཇུག་པར་གསུངས་སོ།།

ཕྱི་མའི་རིགས་པར་སླ་བ་འགའ།།
སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་བརྗོད་ལ་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་གྱིས།།
སྐྱོན་བརྗོད་ནས་ནི་ཚེར་མ་འབྱིན།།
བོད་རྣམས་དེ་དང་འཐུན་པར་རྩོད།། (III 57)

བི་ཀྲ་མ་ཤཱི་ལའི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་དང་ཧྭཾ་ག་ལའི་བྲམ་ཟེ་ཞིག་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྒྲ་ཚད་ཤེས་པ་ཞིག་གིས་དཔང་པོ་བྱས་ཏེ་རྩོད་པ་ན། བྲམ་ཟེས་རིག་བྱེད་
D58b ཀྱི་སྒྲ་རྟག་པར་འདོད་པ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་པས་མི་རྟག་ཅེས་དམ་བཅས།
G89b B228 བྲམ་ཟེས་མི་རྟག་སྟེ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེས་དྲིས། སངས་རྒྱས་པས་གང་ཡོད་པ་མི་རྟག་སྟེ་བུམ་པ་བཞིན་སྒྲ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེས་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ངག་བཀོད། དེ་ལ་བྲམ་ཟེས་རྟགས་དེའི་ཚེར་མ་མ་ཕྱུང་ངོ་ཞེས་བཤད་ཅིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་བལྟས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔང་པོ་ཡིན་པས་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ལ་རྟགས་དེའི་ཚེར་མ་ཕྱུང་ཤིག···

ཅེས་སྨྲས། པཎྜི་ཏས་ཁ་བོའི་རྟགས་སྐྱོན་མེད་པ་ལ་ཆེར་མ་དཔྱང་ཅི་དགོས་ཞེས་ལན་བཏབ། དེར་བྲམ་ཟེས་ཆེར་མ་འབྱིན་དགོས་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་མ་ཤེས་པས་སྤོབས་པ་མེད་པར་འདུག་གོ །དེ་མན་ཆད་རྩོལ་བ་ཕལ་ཆེར་དེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཟུང་ནས་རྟགས་ལ་ཆེར་མ་མི་འབྱིན་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་བྱེད་པ་མང་ངོ་ཞེས་གྲག་གོ །རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མི་ཤེས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྟོག་གེ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། རྟགས་ལ་ཆེར་མ་མི་འབྱིན་པར་ཕྱིར་རྩོལ་གྱི་སྐྱོན་བརྗོད་པ་ལ་འཛུག་པའི་རྩོད་པ་འབའ་ཞིག་ཏུ་མཐོང····ངོ་།།

ཚུལ་འདི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་ཡི།།
བཞེད་པ་མིན་ཕྱིར་འཐད་པ་དཀའ།། (III 58)

རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར་རྟགས་ཀྱི་སྦྱོར་བ་ལ་ཆེར་མ་མ་ཕྱུང་ན་རྩོལ་བ་ཕམ···
G90a པའི་གནས་སུ་གསུངས་པས། ཆེར་མ་ཕྱུང་སྟེ་བརྩད་དོ། །གཞན་དུ་ན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པའི་དགོངས་པ་དང་འགལ་བར་འགྱུར་རོ།།

འདི་འདྲའི་རྩོད་པ་སྡེ་བདུན་དང་།།
རིགས་པའི་གཏེར་དུ་ཤེས་པར་གྱིས།། (III 59)

རྣམ་འགྲེལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་སྡེ་བདུན་དུ་རྒྱས་པར······གསུངས་ཤིང་། སྡེ་བདུན་གྱི་དོན་བསྡུས་པ་ཁོ་བོས་བྱས་པའི་རིགས་པའི་གཏེར་དུ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།།

འདིར་ནི་གསར་བུ་རྟོགས་སླ་བའི།།
རྣམ་པར་གཞག་པ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཤད།། (III 60)

སྐབས་འདིར་རྩོད་པ་གསར་བུ་དག་གིས་གོ་སླ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར···
D59a འདྲི་བ་དང་ལན་འདེབས་པའི་ཚུལ་ཅུང་ཟད་བཤད་དེ།

འདྲི་ན་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པ་དྲི།།

ཅིག་ཅར་རྣམ་གྲངས་མང་པོ་མིན།། (III 61)

མུ་སྟེགས་བྱེད་དག་རྩོལ་བས་ཕྱོགས་སྔ་མ་མི་འདྲ་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཆགས···
བརྒྱ་དང་ཉིས་བརྒྱ་ལ་སོགས། ངག་རྒྱུན་གཅིག་ལ་བརྟན་ནས། དེ་ཕྱིར་
རྩོལ་གྱིས་གོ་རིམས་མ་འཁྲུགས་པར་ཕྱོགས་སྔར་རྗེས་སུ་བརྗོད་དེ། དེ་ནས་
གོ་རིམས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱི་མས་སུན་འབྱིན་ལ། དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཕྱོགས་སྔ་བརྗོད་མ་
G90b B229 ནུས་ན་རྗེས་སུ་མི་བརྗོད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ་འགྱུར་རོ···
ཞེས་ཟེར་རོ། །རྩོད་པའི་རིགས་པར་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པའི་ཕྱོགས་སྔ་རེ་རེ་ནས་
སུན་ཕྱུང་བས་ཆོག་མོད། སྐབས་སུ་མ་བབ་པའི་ཕྱོགས་སྔ་རྗེས་སུ་བརྗོད་
པ་ནི་སྨྲ་བ་དང་། སུན་འབྱིན་གྱི་ཡན་ལག་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཚར་
བཅད་དུ་དགོངས་སོ། །དེས་ན་ཕྱིར་རྩོལ་གྱིས་འདྲི་བ་ན་ཡང་སྒྲ་རྟག··
གམ····མི་རྟག་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་ལྟ་བུ་སྐབས་སུ་བབ་པའི་རྩོད་གཞི་དྲི་བར····
བྱའི། རང་བྱུང་ཡིན་ནམ་སྐྱེས་བུས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་
པ་མང་པོ་དྲི་བར་མི་བྱ་སྟེ། སྔ་མ་མ་ངེས་པར་ཕྱི་མ་རྩོད་པ་ངག་སྐྱོན་
ཅན་དུ་འགྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །མུ་སྟེགས་འགའ་ཞིག་ན་རེ་དྲི་བ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་
སྔ་མ་མང་པོ་སྨྲིལ་··ནས་དེ་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་བཞིན་རྩོལ་བས་འཛིན་མི་ནུས་པས···
རིམ་པ་བཞིན་རྗེས་སུ་བརྗོད་པ་དང་སུན་འབྱིན་པ་འཁྲུག་ཅིང་འཁྲུལ་པར··
འགྱུར་ལ་དེ་ལྟ་ན་སྤོབས་པ་མེད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཚར་བཅད་ཀྱི་གནས་སུ····
བཏང་བའི་ཐབས་ཡིན་ནོ་སྙམ་ན། དེ་ལྟ་བུ་སྒྲུ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་ཚར་བཅད་
G91a ཀུང་གྲུབ་མཐའ་འཛིན་མི་ནུས་པས་དམ་པའི་རྩོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ་ཞེས་རྩོད···
རིགས་ལས་འབྱུང་ངོ་།།

བསྒྲུབ་བྱ་གཅིག་ལ་རྟགས་མང་པོ།།

འཇུག་ཀྱང་རྩོད་ན་མང་པོ་མིན།།
སྔ་མ་རྟགས་མིན་ཆར་བཅད་གནས།།
རྟགས་ཡིན་ཕྱི་མ་ཆར་བཅད་འགྱུར།། (III 62)

[D59b] སྒྲ་མི་རྟག་པ་སྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་དང་བྱས་པ་དང་རྩོལ་བྱུང་ལ་སོགས་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རྟགས་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གང་རུང་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་གཞན་མང་པོ་མི་བརྗོད་དེ། སྔ་མ་རྟགས་མ་ཡིན་ན་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་མ་ཡིན་པ་བརྗོད་པས་ཆར་བཅད་ཡིན་ལ། སྔ་མ་རྟགས་ཡིན་ན་ཕྱི་མ་ལྷག་པ་བརྗོད་པས་ཆར་བཅད་ཡིན་ཏེ་དམ་བཅའ་བརྗོད་པ་བཞིན་ནོ།།

ཆོས་ཅན་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ལ་སོགས།།
གཏན་ཚིགས་དྲིས་པས་འགྲུབ་པར་གསལ།། (III 63)

རི་བོང་གི་རྭའམ་བདག་ཆོས་ཅན་·· ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཆོས་ཅན་མི་སྲིད་པའམ། ཤ་ཟའི་བུམ་པའམ། འདོད་ཆགས་དང་བྲལ་བ་ཆོས་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྲིད་ཀྱང་ཚད་··· མས་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ཆོས་ཅན་དུ་འཛིན་པའམ། ཡིད་ཀྱི་མངོན་སུམ་མམ། [B230] ལྟོས་མེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཆོས་ཅན་ཚད་མས་གྲུབ་ཀྱང་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་བརྗོད་ན་རྩོད་ [G91b] པའི་གཞི་འཚུགས་ཀྱིས་དོགས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཆོས་ཅན་མ་གྲུབ་ཅེས་ཟེར་ན·· འདི་ལྟར་བརྗོད་དེ། མ་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་ཅི་ཚིག་ཙམ་ཡིན་ནམ་དེ་ལ་གཏན་ཚིགས་ཡོད། ཚིག་ཙམ་གྱིས་མ་གྲུབ་པར་འགྱུར་ན་ཁོ་བོས་ཀྱང་གྲུབ་ཅེས་བརྗོད་པས་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་མི་འགྲུབ། རྟགས་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེ་ན་རྟགས་དེ་ཁོད་ཅིག གལ་ཏེ་དེས་རྟགས་བཀོད་ན་རི་བོང་གི་རྭ་དང་ཤ་ཟའི་བུམ་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ·· ཆོས་ཅན་དུ་མ་བཞག་ན་ཕྱིར་རྒོལ་གྱིའང་ཆོས་ཅན་མི་འགྲུབ་ལ། བཞག་ན་རྒོལ་བའི་ཡང་ཆོས་ཅན་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ནོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རྩོད་པ་

གཞན་ལ་ཙི་རིགས་པར་སྦྱར་ཏེ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།།

དབུ་མ་པ་དག་སྟོང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས།།
བརྩད་ན་གཞན་གྱི་ལན་རྣམས་ཀུན།།
བསྒྲུབ་བྱ་དག་དང་མཚུངས་པ་ཡི།།
མ་གྲུབ་པ་ཞེས་སློབ་དཔོན་བཞེད།། (III 64)

དབུ་མ་པས་དངོས་པོར་སྨྲ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དབང་ཕྱུག་གམ་བེམས་་་་་
པོའམ་རྣམ་རིག་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རིགས་པས་བཀག་
D60a པ་ན། དབང་ཕྱུག་པ་དབྱིབས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཀོད་པས་བྱེད་པ་པོ་དབང་
ཕྱུག་སྒྲུབ་པ་དང་། ཉན་ཐོས་ཀྱིས་རྡུལ་དང་སེམས་ཙམ་པས་རྣམ་རིག་གི་
G92a སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་བཀོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྒྲུབ་བྱ་མ་གྲུབ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་སྒྲུབ་བྱེད་ཀྱང་
མ་གྲུབ་ལ། དེ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་གཞན་བཀོད་ཀྱང་དེ་དང་འདྲ་སྟེ་སློབ་
དཔོན་གྱིས།

སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བརྩད་བྱས་ན།།
གང་ཞིག་ལན་ལྡོན་སྨྲ་བྱེད་པ།།
དེ་ཡི་ཐམས་ཅད་ལན་གདབ་མིན།།
བསྒྲུབ་པར་བྱ་དང་མཚུངས་ཕྱིར་རོ།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རྒྱ་མཚན་མཚུངས་པའི་མགོ་སྙོམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལའང་སྦྱར་ཏེ་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།།

འོད་རྣམས་ཐལ་འགྱུར་ལན་ལ་གསུམ།།
གཏན་ཚིགས་ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་དང་།།
ཡང་ན་འཇོད་པས་ལན་འདེབས་སོ།། (III 65)

འོད་རྣམས་ཐལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་ལན་ལ་གསུམ་སྟེ། ཕྱོགས་ཆོས་མེད་

ན་གཏན་ཚིགས་མ་གྲུབ་པ། འགལ་བའམ་མ་ངེས་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་
ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་པ། ཁས་བླངས་པ་དང་འཁྲུན་ན་འདོད་པས་ལན་འདེབས་
སོ།།

དེ་ལྟ···ན་ནི་ཐལ་འགྱུར་སྐྱོན།།
B231 ཐམས་ཅད་མ་གྲུབ་གཅིག་ཕྱུར་འགྱུར།།
དེ་འདྲ་སྡེ་བདུན་ལས་མ་བཤད།། (III 66)

གཏན་ཚིགས་སྐྱོན་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མ་གྲུབ་པོ་ཞེས་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་མི···
G92b བརྗོད། གལ་ཏེ་དོན་ལ་མ་གྲུབ་པར་འདུ་སོད། འོན་ཀྱང་གཏན་ཚིགས་མ་
གྲུབ་པ་ནི་ཕྱོགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་ཡིན་ལ། ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ནི་ཁྱབ་པའི་སྐྱོན་
ཡིན་པས། གཏན་ཚིགས་མ་གྲུབ་པ་དང་ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་པ་གཉིས་སུ་འགྱུར་
རོ་ཞེ་ན། དེ་ལྟ་ན་འགལ་བ་དང་མ་ངེས་པ་གཉིས་ཀའང་ཁྱབ་པའི་སྐྱོན་
ཡིན་ཡང་། འགལ་བ་ནི་འཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གཏན་མི་འཇུག་ལ། མ་ངེས་པ་
ནི་མི་འཐུན་ཕྱོགས་ལའང་འཇུག་པས་འགལ་བ་དང་མ་ངེས་པ་ 'བརྗོད་···
D60b པའི་ཐལ་འགྱུར་གཉིས་སུ་ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་མི་འགྱུར། དེས་ན་མ་གྲུབ་པར་སྡུད་ན་
གཅིག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ལ། དགོས་པ་ལ་ལྟོས་ནས་འབྱེད་ན་གསུམ་དུ་འགྱུར་རོ།།
དེའི་ཕྱིར་སྡེ་བདུན་ལས་རྩོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་མ་གྲུབ་པ་དང་། འགལ་བ་དང་།
མ་ངེས་པ་ཞེས་སྐྱོན་གསུམ་གསུངས་ཀྱི། ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ 'གཅིག་ཏུ་
མ་བསྡུས་ཏེ།

གཏན་ཚིགས་ཀྱི་ནི་ཚུལ་གསུམ་ལའང་།།
འདི་ཡིས་མ་གྲུབ་བཟློག་དོན་དང་།།
འཁྲུལ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་གཉེན་པོར་ནི།།
ངེས་པ་བརྗོད་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན།།

ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་རོ།།

འགལ་བའི་ཐལ་འགྱུར་བརྗོད་པ་ལ།།
ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ན་ཅི་སྐྱོ་ཞེས།།
G93a སྒྲུབ་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་ཀྱི།།
ནུས་པ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་ཏུ་འགྱུར།། (III 67)

བྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར་···རྟག་པར་ཐལ་··
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། དུ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་མེ་མེད་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་འགལ་བའི་
ཐལ་··བ་··བརྗོད་པ་ལ། བྱས་ཀྱང་མི་རྟག་ན་ཅི་འགལ་ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་
ཅེའམ། དུ་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་མེ་ཡོད་ན་ཅི་འགལ་ཁྱབ་པ་མ་གྲུབ་ཅེས་བརྗོད་
དགོས་ལ། དེ་ལྟ་ན་ཀྱང་གི་སྒྲ་སྒྲུབ་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་ཡིན་པས།
བྱས་པ་རྟག་པ་དང་མི་རྟག་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་འཇུག་ཀྱང་འདིར་མི་རྟག་པ···
ཡིན་ཞེས་བྱ་བའམ། དུ་བ་མེ་ཡོད་མེད་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་འཇུག་ཀྱང་། འདིར་
མེ་ཡོད་པའི་དུ་བ་ཡིན་པ་ཅི་འགལ་ཞེས། དུ་བ་མེ་མེད་ལ་ཡང་འཇུག་
པ་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེས་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཚིག་ཕྲད་དུ་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དཔེར་ན་ཤེས་བྱ་ཡིན་
པའི་ཕྱིར་རྟག་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་བརྗོད་པ་ན་ཤེས་བྱ་ཡིན་ཡང་མི་རྟག་ན་ཅི་·····
B232 འགལ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་དགོས་ལ་དེ་ལྟ་ན། ཡང་གི་སྒྲས་ཤེས་བྱ་ལ་རྟག་མི་རྟག
གཉིས་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཕྲད་དུ་འགྱུར་བ་བཞིན་ནོ། །དེས་ན་འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་བརྗོད་
G93b རྩལ་མཐའ་དག་སྒྲ་མི་ཤེས་པའི་སྐྱོབས་ཀྱིས་ཚིག་གི་ནུས་པ་ངོས་མ་ཟིན····
པའི་ནམ་འགྱུར་ཡིན་ནོ། །འོ་ན་ཁྱེད་རང་ཐལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་ལན་ཇི་ལྟར·····
འདེབས་ཤེ་ན།

D61a འདིར་ནི་མ་གྲུབ་འགལ་མ་ངེས།།
གསུམ་ཡིན་མིན་ན་འདོད་པ་གྲུབ།།
དེ་དག་མིན་ན་ཡང་དག་གི།
ཐལ་འགྱུར་ཡིན་ཕྱིར་བཟློག་མི་ནུས།། (III 68) 153

ཁོ་བོ་ཅག་སྒྲ་མིག་གིས་གཟུང་བྱ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཅེས་བརྗོད་ན་གཏན་ཚིགས་མ་གྲུབ་པའམ། དུ་བ་ཡོད་པླ་མི་མེད་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་ཟེར་ན་འགལ་བ་དང་། གཞལ་བྱ་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྟག་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་ཟེར་ན་མ་ངེས་པ་དང་། བྱས་པས་མི་རྟག་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་ཟེར་ན་འདོད་པ་དང་། བྱས་པ་རྟག་པར་འདོད་པ་ལ་བྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྟག་པར་ཐལ་ཅེས་བརྗོད་ན་ཡང་དག་ཡིན་པས་བཟློག་པར་མི་ནུས་སོ།།

དེ་ལྟར་ཆོས་དང་འཐུན་པ་ཡི།།
རྩོད་པ་བསྟན་པ་འཕེལ་བའི་རྒྱུ།།
དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྔགས་པའི་ཕྱིར།།
མཁས་པའི་བློ་བོས་ལེགས་པར་སྦྱར།། (III 69)

བསྟན་པ་དག་པར་རྟོགས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། དོན་དང་སྒྲ་སྐྱོན་མེད་པའི་བློ་ནས་སྦྱབ་པ་དང་ སྲུན་འབྱིན་པ་བསྟན་པ་འཕེལ་བའི་རྒྱུ་ཡིན་པས། དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གཏམ་སྦྱར་བར་བྱའོ།།

G94a གསུམ་པ་མཇུག་ཚིགས་པས་གཟུང་བདེ་བའི་ཕྱིར་ངག་བསྡུས་ཏེ་བཤད་པ་ནི།

དེ་ལྟར་ལེགས་པར་གཏན་ཕབ་ནས།།
དབང་པོས་འཛིན་དུ་གཞུག་པའི་ཕྱིར།།
རྩོད་པའི་ངག་རྣམས་བསྡུས་ཏེ་བསྒྲགས།།
འདི་ནི་མཁས་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་ཡིན།། (III 70)

དེ་ལྟར་རྩོད་པའི་དངོས་གཞི་ལ་བརྟལ་ལན་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་དགག་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་གནས་གྲུབ་པས་གྲུབ་མཐའི་བླང་དོར་རྟོགས་པར་བྱས་ནས་ངག་ཅུང་ཟད་འཁོར་བ་རྣམས་ཚིགས་པས་གོ་སླ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། བསྡུས་ཏེ་བརྗོད་པར་བྱའོ།།

གལ་ཏེ་ཚོགས་པ་བླུན་པོ་འམ།།
ཆགས་སྡང་སྒོ་ནས་མི་འཛིན་ན།།
གནས་དེར་རྗེས་བརྗོད་ཁྲིམས་ནས་ནི།།
D61b མཁས་པའི་གཟུ་བོ་གཞན་ལ་བསྟན།། (III 71)

གལ་ཏེ་དཔང་པོ་རྟོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་མི་མཁས་པའི་བླུན་པོའམ། B233 ཤེས་ཀྱང་ཆགས་སྡང་གི་སྒོ་ནས་ཆེད་ཆེར་མི་འཛིན་པའམ། ངག་དྲང་པོར་སྨྲ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐུར་པ་འདེབས་པའམ། ངག་གི་ཟུར་ཙམ་ཟད་བཙོས་ཏེ་སྒྲོ་སྐུར་འདེབས་པའི་དཔང་པོ་དག་སྡང་ན་སྤྲུལ་གདུག་པའི་གནས་སུ་སྨྲོན་མ་འོད་མི་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་མཁས་པའི་རྟོད་པ་བསྡུགས་པར་མི་འགྱུར་བས། G94b དཔང་པོ་དང་བཅས་པའི་གནས་དེར་ངག་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད་དེ། གཟུ་བོར་གནས་པའི་མཁས་པའི་ཚོགས་པ་གཞན་གྱི་གྲྭར་སྤྲིང་བས་མཁས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཇི་ལྟ་བ་བཞིན་རྟོགས་པར་འགྱུར་རོ། །ཚུལ་འདི་སྔོན་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

བདེ་གཤེགས་བསྟན་པ་སེང་གེའི་སྒྲ་བསྒྲགས་པས།།
ལོག་ལྟའི་རི་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཕམ་བྱས་ཏེ།།
རྟོད་པ་མེད་པའི་གོ་འཕང་ལ་གནས་ནས།།
སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པ་རྒྱུན་དུ་འཛིན་པར་ཤོག། (III 72)

མཁས་པ་རྣམས་འཇུག་པའི་སྒོ་ལས་འཕེལ་བའི་གཏམ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་སྟེ་ལེའུ་གསུམ་པའོ།། །།

ཐུབ་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་འཕེལ་བ་དང་།།
འཛིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་འདིར་ཡུན་རིང་གནས་བྱའི་ཕྱིར།།
མཁས་པའི་ལུགས་འཛིན་མཁས་པ་འཇུག་པའི་སྒོ།།
རྣམ་གསུམ་ཕྱེ་འདིར་མཁས་རྣམས་འཇུག་པར་བྱ།། (III 73)

སྙིགས་མའི་དུས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་བསོད་ནམས་ཆུང་།།
དེ་ཕྱིར་མཁས་པ་སློབ་པའི་སྐལ་བ་མེད།།
བདག་གིས་འབད་ཀྱང་གཞན་གྱིས་འཛིན་པ་ཉུང་།།
དེས་ན་གཞན་ལ་ཕན་པའི་གོ་སྐབས་དཀའ།། (III 74)
G95a ད་དུང་བདག་ལ་ལེགས་བཤད་ཡོད་མོད་ཀྱི།།
སྙིགས་མའི་དུས་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་བའི་སྤྱོད་ཡུལ་མིན།།
མཁས་པ་འདོད་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཉུང་བས་ན།།
D62a བྱེད་པ་ཆུང་ཕྱིར་རྒྱས་པར་འདིར་མ་སྤྲོས།། (III 75)
བསྟན་པའི་མཇུག་འདིར་བསྟན་ལ་རབ་གུས་ཤིང་།།
བསྟན་པ་མཐའ་དག་བསྲུང་ཞིང་འཛིན་འདོད་པ།།
ཤཱཀྱའི་དགེ་སློང་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ།།
བཟང་པོས་བསྟན་ལ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་འདི་སྦྱར་རོ།། (III 76)
དེང་སང་ཤཱཀྱ་སེང་གེའི་བསྟན་པ་འདི།།
འབབ་ཆུ་ཟད་པའི་རྫིང་བཞིན་ཉིན་རེ་འབྲི།།
བློ་གསལ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཚུལ་འདི་ལེགས་རྟོགས་ལ།།
ཐར་པ་འདོད་པ་དག་གིས་འབད་དགོས་སོ།། (III 77)
B234 བདག་གིས་བསྟན་པ་སྤེལ་ཕྱིར་འདི་བཀོད་པའི།།
མཁས་པ་འཇུག་པའི་སྒོ་ནི་རབ་ཕྱེ་བས།།
འགྲོ་ཀུན་ཐར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྒོར་ཞུགས་ཏེ།།
རྒྱལ་བ་སྲས་བཅས་དགེས་པ་ཐོབ་པར་ཤོག། (III 78)

བློ་གྲོས་གསལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་ཐར་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ······
འཇུག་པའི་སྒོ།   དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བགྲོད་པར་བྱ་བའི་འཇུག་ངོགས།

G95b རྩོམ་པ་དང་འཆད་པ་དང་རྩོད་པའི་ཚུལ་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པར་བྱེད་པ། མཁས་པ་རྣམས་འཇུག་པའི་སྒོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི་ནི་ཡུལ་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད། ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་ལྗོངས་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་རྡོ་རྗེའི་གདན་ལས་དཔག་ཚད་བརྒྱ་བགྲོད་པའི་གནས། འཛམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་ཡིད་ཀྱི་མུན་པ་ཙུང་ཟད་བསལ་བར་བྱས་པས། ཤེས་བྱའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཕལ་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་བློའི་སྣང་བ་ཐོབ་པས་འཆད་པ་དང་། རྩོམ་པ་དང་། རྩོད་པའི་ཚུལ་ལ་སྦྱབས་པ་དགེ་བ་ཅན་ཤཱཀྱའི་དགེ་སློང་ཀུན་དགའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས་སྦྱར་བ་འདི་རེ་ཤིག་རྫོགས་སོ།། །།

VARIANT READINGS

(N.B.: The pagination follows that of the Beijing edition, i.e. the page numbers appearing at the bottom of the text.)

p. 109

2 bar BD: ba G
3 'bel CD: 'brel BG (C 254a.6)
5 dpang BD: dbang G
6 rtsod B: brtsad DG
7 'thun BG: mthun D
8 'bel D: 'brel BG; rtsod BD: brtsod G; rgol ba D: bsgom pa B: missing G
10 brgal BD: rgal G
11 ngag BD: ngag don G; sprad DG: sprod B
14 skyon yon G: skyon BD; 'byed par khas len pa'i B: 'byed pa'i khas len pa'i D: 'byed pa'i G
15 col BD: bcol G; rtsod BD: brtsod G

p. 110

1 kyis D: kyi G: missing B; 'gyur bas BD: gyur pas G
2 pas DG: par B; 'bel D: 'brel BG: 'bel ba'i C (C 254a.6)
3 par DG: par shes par B; bcad BG: gcad D
8 dpang BD: dbang G
9 bcad B: gcad DG
10 bcad BG: gcad D
11 bcad G: gcad BD; bcad G: gcad BD
12 bcad B: gcad D; brjod D: spong B
12-13 homoeteleuton in G, missing: phyir rgol 'dri ba'i skabs su tshar bcad gsum/ skyon brjod pa'i skabs su gsum ste drug dang/
13 dpang BD: dbang G; 'byed BD: dbye G
14 bcad BG: gcad; pa BG: pa gsum D; tshar bcad B: tshar gcad D: missing G
19 bcad BG: gcad D; pa yi D: pa'i BG
20 ni DG: du B
21 bcad BG: gcad D
21-22 bcu gnyis G: su gnyis BD
22 de'ang DG: de B; bcad BG: gcad D; sgrub DG: bsgrub B

p. 111

1 pa/ yan G: pa yan BD; la DG: missing B
3 bcad BG: gcad D; dpang D: dbang G: dang B
4 bcad BG: gcad D; bcad BG: gcad D
5 gsungs DG: gsungs pa B
12 skyon yang dag par BG: skyon yang dag pa D
14 dam pa BD: dam pa'i G
15 gi BD: pa'i G
16 na BD: nas G
17 la gnod DG: gnod dam B
18 'gal BD: gal G
19 gzhan dang BG: unclear D

p. 112

5 rtags BD: rtag G
7 bcad BG: gcad D
9 bcad BG: gcad D
10 bcad BG: gcad D; sdud D: bsdud BG
11 bcad BG: gcad D
12 bcad BG: gcad D
13 la sogs DG: log B
14 legs par BD: missing G
16 rtag G: rtags BD
17 'thun mi 'thun BG: mthun mi mthun D
18 khyad med BG: khyad par D; dang DG: ltar B
19 tshom BD: tsom G
20 brtag B: brtags DG; las G: la BD

p. 113

5 pas BD: pa'i G
7 rtsod BD: brtsod G; pas BD: pa'i G
11 bcad BG: gcad D; ba'i BG: bas D
12 de BD: re G
16 bcad BG: gcad D

20 brjod pa DG: missing B; bcad BG: gcad D
21 bcad BG: gcad D
22 'thun BG: mthun G

p. 114

1 brtsad BD: rtsod G
3 pham DG: pam B; bskyed DG: skyed B
4 gzung D: bzung BG
6 brtsad BD: brtsod G; bslangs te D: bslang ste BG
7 pas BD: pa G; ni DG: missing B; skyong DG: bskyong B
8 khon DG: 'khon B
14 des na BD: des na grub mtha' G; mtha'i BD: mtha' G
15 bcad BG: gcad D
18 bsgrub pa D: sgrub pa G: missing B
20 ngam D: ngan BG
21 mtshang 'dru D: 'tshang 'bru BG

p. 115

1 dittography in B following 'khrul yang: zhen pas khas mi len pa dang/ gzhan gyi grub mtha' ma 'khrul yang
3 mtho D: mthon BG; sogs pas BD: sogs pa G
4 gnon DG: mnon B
5 bcad BG: gcad D
6 'thun B: mthun DG
12 'dra G: 'dra'i D: la B; bkag BD: bkab G
15 nyid BD: de nyid G
17 bsdigs pas BG: bsdigs kyang D
19 pa BCG (C 254b.1): par D
22 bzung BCD (C 255a.6): gzung G

p. 116

2 dag DG: missing B
3 bzung BD: gzung G

4 nyid dang CDG: na nga B
5 bton BDG: gton C (C 254b.5); skye bo DG: missing B
6 mkhas pa'i BD: mkhas pas G; skye bo DG: missing B
10 'dri DG: 'di B; kyang BCD (C 255a.1): missing G
11 phyir CDG (C 255b.1): phyi B
12 pa CDG: pa'i B
13 la CDG: zhig B
14 rang BG: rang gi D
17 dngos BD: ngas G; bcas BD: bca' G

p. 117

11 brtsad BD: rtsod G
12 rang gi DG: la B
13 ma D: mar G: ma pa B
15 nang BD: na nga G
18 bya ba'i DG: bya'i B; yang BD: kyang G
19 dgos BG: dogs D

p. 118

1 ngam D: dam B: ba G
2 zhes DG: ces B
5 sum BD: gsum G
6 pas D: bas B: las G
7 gi BD: gis G; gnyis BG: ni gnyis te/ D
8 sgrub pa BD: sgrub pa dang G; bsgrub bya BD: sgrub bya G
11 kyis G: kyi BCD (C 256a.3)
12 lkog gyur BCD: lkog 'gyur G
14 zhe DG: ce B
19 kyis BD: kyi G
22 pa na BD: na G

p. 119

4 dri ba BD: 'dri bar G

6 sogs pa BDG: sogs pa thams cad C (C 256a.5)
7 bskyed CDG: bskyad B
9 'thun BG: mthun C (C 256a.6): mthun pa D
10 'thun BG: mthun CD
11 'thun B: mthun CDG (C 256b.1); rtsod BD: b̲rtsod G
12 gangggā'i D: gangga'i C: gaṃ ga'i G: gang ga'i B
14 la'i BCG (C 256b.2): yi D
16 khong BDG: kho C; nang DG: na C: dang B
18 med BCG: mod D
19 sbor BC: spor DG; no/ BCD: missing G
22 dpyis BCD: spyis G

p. 120

2 byung CD (C 256b.4): 'byung BG
5 ltar BCD: ltar ro G
6 'gags BDG: 'gag C
7 rnal DG: brnal BC
8 de bzhin du CDG: zhes gsungs pa ltar B; 'dod bzhin BCD: 'dod de bzhin G
9 rgyal BCD: rgya pa G; gsad BDG: bsad C; rang gi BCD: rang rang G
12 zhes BDG: ces C
13 'gror 'phen CDG (C 257a.1): 'gro 'phel B
14 bya ba CDG: pa B
18 rnam gzhag DG: rnam bzhag B
19 zhe BD: ce G
22 bco DG: bcwo B; spyod BD: dpyod G; la'ang DG: las B

p. 121

2 dbu ma DG: dbu ma pa B
3 bzhi'i BG: bzhi po D; bas G: ba B: la D
4 brtan du BG: brtan D
5 gzhug BD: bzhug G
9 don BG: den D; bkri DG: dri B
16 zhes BG: zhas D; btags BD: rtags G; gyur BD: 'gyur G
17 ces D: zhes BG; gyur BD: 'gyur G
19 'ga' DG: 'gal B

21 gzhag DG: bzhag B

p. 122

2 rab 'bring BD: 'bring G
3 rim pa BD: rigs G; ba BD: bar G
8 rim gyis D: rims kyis BG; gzhug BD: bzhug G
9-13 missing B
9 gsad D: bsad G
13 sogs D: bsogs G
14 gsod BD: bsod G
16 kyis BD: kyi G
19 'dri BD: 'bri G

p. 123

2 las G: la BD
3 las BG: nas D; gsungs pa DG: gsung ba B; skyabs BD: skabs G
4 bka' D: bkar B: dka' G
6 nyams BD: nams G; zhing BD: shing G
7 log rtog BD: log rtogs G; tshom BD: tsom G
8 'os BD: mi 'os G; ma BD: missing G
10 gcig DG: cig B; rnam phye BD: phye dang G; dri BG: di D; gzhag D: bzhag BG
14 'chi mi 'chi BD: 'chi'am mi 'chi G; gcig DG: cig B
17 zhes DG: shes B
19 de la rtag pa dang mi rtag pa BD: mi rtag pa'am rtag pa G; gnyis BD: gnyi G
20 emended to gzhag par: bzhag par BG: missing D
21 dang ni BD: pa dang G
22 gzhag D: bzhag BG

p. 124

3 ltar D: ltar ro B: lta bu'o G; dri ba BD: dri ma G
4 gzhag DG: bzhag B
5 emended to tu : du BDG; pa BG: ba D; go'u BG: gau D

6 mi bzod do/ DG: ni bzod do B; pa'i BD: bya ba'i G; dittography in G: do/ bka' stsal pa mi bzod

7 nyams BD: mi nyams G

8 emended to mi bzod pa mi bzod na : mi bzod pa bzod na BDG

9 tu D: du BG

10-11 gsol pa BG: gsol ba D

11 go'u BG: gau D; zhes BD: ces G

19 bzhag BG: gzhag D

21 'dra BG: 'da D

p. 125

2 bar dka' D: ba dka' B: dka' ba G

3 pas DG: pa B; la DG: mod B

4 ltar BG: lta bu D

6 rnam gnyis BCG (C 257a.5): rnam pa gnyis D

7 yi BDG: yin C

9 chos BD: chos la G

10 de nyid BD: nyid G

11 pa BG: pas D

14 pa'i BD: pa yi G

22 blangs BD: len G

p. 126

1 smra'i DG: smra B

4 smra BD: smra ba G; gzhan BD: sde pa gzhan G

6 blangs pa DG: blangs bar B

7 pas BD: las G

8 las DG: pas B

9 la DG: dang B; smyug BD: bsnyung G

10 kyis BD: kyi G; bsgrub BD: 'grub G

11 'gal BG: 'ga' D

12 de dang BG: de dag D; na BD: nas G

15 dang DG: missing B; cig DG: gcig B

19 gis BD: gi G

20 de DG: do B

21 mthar D: mtha' G: mtha' las B; de'ang DG: de yang B

p. 127

1 dgongs BD: dgos G; bsgrubs DG: bsgrub B
2 bsgrub BD: sgrub G; pas DG: par B; bsgrub D: sgrub BG
4 gyur BCD (C 257a.5): 'gyur G
5 de yi CDG: de'i B
7 tshar bcad CG: tshar gcad D: char bcad B; pa yi CD: pa'i BG
10 mtha'i BCD (C 258a.5): mtha' G
13 phan par bya ba'i phyir B: phan par ba ba'i phyir D: phan par bya ba'i G
15 gzung D: bzung BG; gzung BD: bzung G
17 dam pa DG: missing B
18 skyed D: bskyed BG
20 'brang BG: 'brangs D

p. 128

1 'chos pa DG: 'ches pa B
5 la BD: las G
6 go BD: missing G; cig D: zhig BG
8 pa'am BG: pa'ang D
12 srid BG: srad D
16 rtsod BD: brjod G
17 mi shes nas khas D: mi shes na mkhas G: ma shes nas B
18 zhig BG: cig D; len D: lan BG; lang BD: glang G
19 mi len/ len na DG: mi len na/ B
20 bud BD: 'bud G; de D: da B: te G; mi DG: missing B
22 bkag pa DG: missing B

p. 129

1 phyir BD: phyir ro G
4 sbyangs pa BG: sbyang ba D; bca' DG: bcal B
6 don BD: don byed pa G; dittography in G: pa yin te zhes rang gi don byed
7 kyis BG: kyi D

8 ba dag D: bdag B: missing G

9 mi 'dod pa BD: mi 'dod par G; bca' DG: 'cha' B

11 bdag rtag pa BG: bdag rtag D

13 drang DG: dang B

15 te BD: ro G

19 dang BD: pa G

22 kyi BD: kyis G

p. 130

4 sgyus DG: sgyas B; mi BG: ma D; ma DG: mas B; dbu ma pa BG: dbu ma ba D

5 brkus pa D: rkus pa G: brkus pas B

6 blangs BDG: len C (C 258b.1)

7 na BCG: nas D

9 mthar BD: 'thar G: mtha' C

10 na BCD: la G

12 ces BCD: zhes G

14 bsres BCD (C 258b.3): sres G

15 dgag BCD: dgab G

17 thun CDG: 'thun B; bsdebs BD: sdebs CG

18 bsdebs BD: sdebs CG

19 kyis BDG: kyi C

20 bsdebs BD: sdebs CG; phyi BDG: gyi phyi C; blangs BDG: len C; zhes CDG: shes B

21 bsdebs BD: sdebs CG

22 dbu ma pa dang CD: dbu ma dang BG; dbu ma BD: dbu ma pa CG; bsdebs BD: sdebs CG

p. 131

1 na DG: pa B; blang bar BD: blad par C (C 258b.6-259a.1): blangs par G

5 glo DG: blo BC; brtags BD: btags CG (C 259b.4)

6 mtha' BDG: mtha' ni C

7 bde ba BG: bden pa CD

10 bzung ba CD: bzung la B: gzung G

11 yun BCD: missing G; sbyangs pa BD: sbyang ba C (C 260a.1): sbyar ba G; so so'i BD: so so CG; bo'i BCD: bos G

14 dbyung CDG: dbyang B; de BDG: 'di C

15 kyis CDG: kyi B; sgrub BDG: bsgrub C

17 stong BDG: bstong C
18 sbyar ba BCD: skyar la G; kyis BDG: kyi C
19 BD: gis G: *missing* C; gzung BD: bzung CG
20 yur ma CDG: yur ba B

p. 132

2 mtha' CD (C 260a.6): mthang B: *missing* G
3 sla'i BCD (C 260b.1): sla yi G
4 pas BCD: pa G
10 bsdus CDG (C 261a.4): bsdu B; de bdsu CDG: de yang bsdu B
11 grub pa'i DG: grub pa BC
12 dpyod G: spyod BCD; *better* tshangs pa ba (see below, p. 133.18)
13 skye pa BD: skya ba G: skya pa dang C
14 cu CD: bcu BG; ni BDG: rnams ni C
15 kyis D: kyi CG: gyi B; grangs can pa CG: grangs can BD; gnyis ka BCD: gnyis G
16 gzegs BDG: bzig C; bye CDG: byed B; can BDG: can pa C (C 261b.1)
17 ni BDG: rnams ni C
20 sogs pa ni BCD: sogs pa G
21 zhes BDG: ces C
22 *emended to* pan (see below, p. 133.2): phan G: 'phen CD: 'phan B; lta ba pa CDG: lta ba ba B; smra ba pa CDG: smra ba ba B

p. 133

1 rgyur smra ba pa D: sgyur smra ba pa G: rgyur smra ba BC; ni CDG (C 261b.3): *missing* B
2 mi BDG: med par C; rgyang pan pa'o B: rgyang phan pa'o G: rgyang 'phen pa D: rkyang pa ba C; zhes BDG: ces C
3 pan B: phan G: 'phen CD; zad BDG: ma zad C
5 ni BCG: gis D; skur BDG: bskur C
6 smra ba BCG: smra D; zhes BDG: ces C
9 'dor CDG: 'dod B
10 'thun BG: mthun CD
12 lnga CD (C 262a.2): lnga la G: *missing* B
14 grangs can pa CD: grangs can BG; ma byas pa BDG: tshang ma C
15 bton to BDG: gton no C; gzegs BDG: gzeg C

16 do BDG: missing C; na BDG: missing C

17 dbang phyug dang CDG: dbang phyug dar B; lhar byed la CD: ltar byed la G: ltar byed pa B

18 yi BCD: yid G; du BCD: missing G; tshangs pa ba BD: tshangs pa CG

19 dbang phyug pa dang/ khyab 'jug pa BDG: khyab 'jug pa dang/ dbang phyug ba C

19-20 du grags te BDG: thob ste C (C 262a.4)

20 sangs rgyas pa D: sangs rgyas pa'i BG: sangs rgyas C; yi BCD: yid G; sgom BD: bsgom CG

21 ka BCG: ga D

22 rig byed pa CDG: rig byed B

p. 134

1 nyid BCD: missing G; gtsor BDG: gtso bor C; la BCD (C 262a.6): pa G; grangs can BDG: grangs can pa C; gzegs BDG: gzeg C

2 gtso bor BCD: gtsor G; gis BDG: gi C

4 'ba' G: 'ga' BCD; gis BDG: gi C (C 262b.1)

5 gyis BDG: gyi C; no CDG: ne B

6 stegs pa D; stegs BCG; 'thun BG: mthun CD; rtag BDG: rtag par C

7 la BDG: pa dang C; chad BDG: chad par C

9 snyed BCG: snyed pa D; ni BCD: missing G; tu BCD: missing G

10 pa'o BCD (C 262b.4): so G

11 gzhag DG: bzhag BC

12 pa BCG: ba D

13 gzhag DG: bzhag BC

14 ba'i BCD: ba yi G

15 gzung BDG: bzung C

17 gzhag DG: bzhag BC

18 phan tshun BDG: missing C; sun CD: missing BG; dittography in C: phyung ba; rtog ge CDG: rtog ge pa B

19 'thun BG: mthun CD (C 259a.1, 263a.1. Note that p. 134 line 19 to p. 135 line 6 are quoted in two places in C)

20 bzhag BCDG (C 259a): gzhag C (C 263a.1); 'khyams BCDG (C 263a): 'khyam C (C 259a)

21 sems tsam pa CDG: sems tsam B

p. 135

1 bsdud BCG: sdud D; rig BCD: rigs G; mtha' BDG: 'thab C (C 259a.3, 263a.4)
3 'thun BCG (C 259a.4): mthun CD (C 259a.3); dpyod pa ba G: spyod pa ba BCD (C 263a.4): spyod pa C (C 259a.3); emended to pan: phan B: 'phen CDG
4 'gyur ba BCG: 'gyur la D; la C (C 259a.4): las BCDG (C263a.4); pa'i BCG: par D
5 'thun BG: mthun CD; bas CDG: bar B
10 gi BG: gis DG
13 dang BG: missing D
16 dbu ma D: dbu ma pa BG; 'gyur DG: 'gyur ba B; gses BD: ses G
20 thos rnams BCD (C 273a.6): thos dang G
22 blang CDG (C 273b.1): blangs B

p. 136

1 min BD: yon G; 'thun B: mthun DG
3 rang rang BC: dang rang DG; gzung D: bzung BCG (C 283a.6)
4 bshad BDG: rtsod C (C 283b.1)
6 bsgrub BCD: sgrub G; bems BDG: bem C; na BG: nas D: missing C
8 mthus DG: mthu B: mthas C; skyes pa CG: skyes BD
9 dgongs so CDG: dgos so B
13 ni BDG: na C
14 dpyod DG: spyod BC; pa BDG: par C (C 283b.4)
15 bskyang BD: brkyang CG
16 la BDG: du C
17 skabs BD: skas CG
18 zhes CDG: ces B; grag go BCD (C 283b.5): grags so G
19 ga BDG: ka C (C 285a.6)
20 gis BCG: gi D; rnam CD: rnams BG

p. 137

2 gyi BC: gyis G: missing D; bkag CD: bkak B: dgag G; tshe BCD: phyir G
3 ma CG (C 285b.1): missing BD; gis BDG: gi C; cig car CD: gcig char BG; ba'i CDG: ba yi B; bsgrubs BCD: grub G; nas BCD: na G
4 don BCD: don gyi G; skyes la CDG: skyes pa B; 'dra ba BCG: 'dra D
5 des BCD: de G

6 zhe CD: ce BG
7 ngag BG: nges CD; 'dra CDG: 'gra B
8 zhes CDG: ces B; 'dir BCG: 'di D
9 nyid CDG: de nyid B; ma'i BD: ma pa'i CG
10 ma longs CDG: la mongs B
11 ni BCD: kyang G; khegs pas BCD: khegs G
12 ro BCD: missing G
13 po CDG: pa B; dag BCG: 'di dag D; kar BCD: dkar G
19 bsgrub D: bsgrubs CG: grub B; na BCD (C 286a.1): nas G
20 gzung cha D: bzung cha B: bzung bya CG
21 gzung bar BD: bzung bar CG; gzung cha BD: bzung bya CG; dittography in C: so/ de ltar phyi rol gyi don khegs
22 nyid BDG: gnyis C

p. 138

1 gzung BDG: bzung C (C 286a.2)
3 gzung BDG: bzung C; zhugs CDG: shugs B; khegs BCG: khags D
4 kyi BG: missing DC
5 yis BCD: yi G
6 ba CDG: bya B
7 gzung BD: bzung CG
9 zhes BCD: ces G
10 'di BCD: de G
11 nyid CDG: cing B; dgongs CDG: dgos B; des na kun ti tha BDG: de ltar kun rdzob tu tha C; snyad CG: dad BD
12 dam pa DG: dam B; bsgrub D: sgrub BG
13 kar BCD: dkar G
14 bzlas DG: 'das BC (C 286b.1)
15 la BCD: par G
18 bsgom BCD: sgom G
19 nged CDG: deng B
21 zhes CDG: ces B; la CDG: pa la B; cu BCD: bcu G

p. 139

1 btags CD: brtags G: brtag B

2 yis BCG: yi D

5 homoeteleuton in B, missing: yin la/ rkyen las skye ba

6 rgya mtsho BCD: klu'i rgyal po rgya mtsho G

8 skye ba'i CDG: de yi B

9 la BCD: las G; las BCD: las pa G

14 dpyod CDG (C 287b.2): spyod B

16 kyi BCD: kyis G

19 'brel pas BG: 'brel bas D; smra ba'i BD: smra bas G

20 dus BD: du G

21 mig DG: ming B; brten D: rten BG

p. 140

2 sgrub BD: bsgrub G

3 mched BD: mched dang G

4 kyis D: kyi BG

5 gzhag DG: bzhag B

8 sgrogs D: sgrog CG (C 272b.3): skrogs B

10 btags CDG: brtags B

12 rnams DG: dang B; gyi BD: missing G

14 len BDG: blangs C; par BG: pa D: ma C

15 'gal DG: 'gal la B; rol BD: rol gyi G

16 rtag pa DG: rtag dngos B

18 ma CDG: mi B

19 phyi BCD (C 273a.1): gyi phyi G

21 zhugs BCD (C 288a.2): shugs G

p. 141

2 des BD: nges G; gyi don DG: missing B

3 rig G: rigs BD

4 nas DG: pa B; snang ba DG: bzhed pa B

5 chos nyid gtan la 'bebs pa na G: missing BD

7 bsgrub bya DG: sgrub pa B; pa dang BD: pa'i ma grub pa dang G

9 cig BCD (C 288a.4): gcig G

10 po CDG: po'i B; zhugs BCD: shugs G

12 'thad BDG: byed C

14 smra bar BD: smra ba G: missing C
15 po CDG: po'i B; de BG: do D
20 emended to tha mi dad : tha dad BDG
21 par snang BD: pa snang G; sreg BD: bsreg G
22 po DG: po'i B; yi BD: yid G

p. 142

1 'thun B: mthun DG; gzhan la BD: gzhan G
3 par BD: pa G
6 byas BD: byas pa G
7 par D: pa BG; lta DG: ltar B
8 zhes DG: ces B; sdud DG: bsdud B
9 bstan pa D: ston pa BG
10 zhes DG: ces B; dang BG: missing D
13 po DG: po'i B
14 ste DG: te B
18 'byung BD: la G
21 bas BD: ba G; po DG: po'i B; yin BD: missing G
22 zhugs yin BD: missing G

p. 143

1 gzhag DG: bzhag B
3 kyis DG: kyi BC (C 288b.5)
4 med pa dang CDG: missing B
7 bdag BCD: pa dang G
8 pa zhig CDG: ba zhig B; rigs CDG (C 289a.1): rig B
9 pas BCD: pa G
11 pas DG: pa BC; kyis C: kyi BDG; tu BG: du CD
14 rigs DG: rig B; missing in C: skabs su bab pa'i rigs pa de nyid
16 'khyam CD: 'khyams BG
19 du CD: missing BG
20 rang rang BCG: dang D
22 mi BCD (C 298b.1): gis G

p. 144

1 kyi BCD: kyis G

3 de CDG: do B; li tsa BG: li tsam C (C 289b.2): litstsha D

8 bral BCG: 'brel D

11 po BCG: po'i D

12 li tsa BCG: litstsha D

15 gcig DG: cig B

19 gzhag DG: bzhag B

21 po BD: pos G

22 mi gnod BG: ma gnod D

p. 145

3 bslu DG: slu B

5 med BG: mad D

7-8 gcig dang/ G: cig dang/ B: gcig dang/ gnyis dang/ D

8 lnga dang DG: missing B

17 'khrul pa CDG: 'khrul ba B; mod CDG (C 290a.4): mod kyi B

18 gses BD: ses CG

21 bsdud BCG: sdud D; sgrub BG: sgub D: bsgrub C; ngag CDG (C 290a.5): missing B

p. 146

1 glang CDG (C 290a.6): glangs B

7 sdud BD: bsdud CG

8 gcig BD: cig CG; sdud DG: bsdud CB

12 tshul BD: skyon CG

14 pas so CDG: pa'o B

15 mang BD: bang C: dpang G

16 de BCD: te G

17 sdud D: bsdud BCG

20 du CDG: missing

22 la BCD (C 291a.1): la yang G

p. 147

1 sgrub BDG: bsgrub C
3 bcad BCG (C 291a.2): gcad D
5 sgrub BDG: bsgrub C
7 'thun BG: mthun CD
8 'thun B: mthun CDG
9 gyis BG: gyi CD; bcad BCG: gcad D
12 par BCD: pa G Shāk 14, 333.3
13 sgrub BCD: bsgrub G; phyir BCD: phyi G
15 'thun BG: mthun CD
16 emended to bi kra ma shī la'i : bi ka ma shī la'i G: bi ka ma shi la'i C: bri ka ma shi la'i B: bhri ka ma shrī la'i D; bhaṃ ga la'i BG: bhaṃ gha la'i C: bhaṃ ga'i D
17 shes pa BDG: la mkhas C; rtsod DG: brtsad BC; bram CDG: braṃ B; zes BCD: ze G; rig CDG: rigs B
18 bcas BCD (C 291b.1): bca' G
19 bram CDG: braṃ B
20 sgrub DG: bsgrub BC
21 bram CDG: braṃ B; bshung zhing D: bshub cing CG: bshum zhing B; bltas BCD: bzlas G

p. 148

1 paṇḍi CDG (C 291b.3): paṇ di B
2 zhes CD: ces BG
4 bzung BCD: gzung G; mi BCD: missing G; 'byin CDG: sbyin B
5 gzhag DG: bzhag B: missing C; byed BCD: mi byed G; mang BCG: mong D; gzhag DG: bzhag CB
6 ba CD: pa B: missing G; par BCG: missing D
11 kyi CDG: kyis B
12 brtsad BC: rtsad G: rtsod D
15 gyis BCD (C 292a.1): bya G
16 la sogs pa CDG: sogs B
19 bu DG: bus C: du B
20 gzhag DG: bzhag BC
21 rtsod DG: brtsad B
22 'dri DG: 'dra B

p. 149

2 cig D: gcig BG; car BD: char G

3 byed BCD: missing G; 'dra BCG: 'da D; rgyud CDG (C 292a.4): rgyun B

4 gcig DG: cig BC; phyir BCD: phyi G

5 gyis CD: gyi BG; sngar CDG: sngar ba B; de nas BCG: des na D

6 'byin CDG: 'byin pa B

7 bcad BCG: gcad D

8 re re nas BCG (C 292b.5): re re D

9 phyung CDG: 'byung B

10 dang BCD: missing G; tshar BCG: char D

11 bcad BCG: gcad D; phyir BCD: phyi G; gyis CD: gyi BG

11-12 sgra rtag gam mi rtag BCG: sgra rtag mi rtag gam mi rtag D

12 gzhi CDG: gzhi gcig B

13 bya'i BCG: bya'i zhes D

15 re CDG: ro B; dri CDG (C 293a.1): tri B

16 sbrel CG: sbrengs BD; de BCD: missing G; pas BCD: pa'i G

18 tshar BCG: char D; bcad BCG: gcad D

19 btang BCG: gtang D; kyis DG: kyi BC; bcad BCG: gcad D

22 bsgrub BCD: sgrub G; gcig CD (C 293a.6): gcig bya G: cig B

p. 150

2 bcad BCG: gcad D

3 sgrub BDG: bsgrub C; bcad BCG (C 293b.1): gcad D

4 byas pa dang CD: byas pa B: missing G; rtsol BCD: rtsod G

5 zhig CD: cig B: gcig G; mang po BD: missing CG

6 ma yin BDG: min C; brjod pa D: brjod pas BCG

7 bcad BCG: gcad D; na BDG: missing C; bcad BCG: gcad D

11 rwa'am CDG (C 293b.5): ra'am B

13 zhes CDG: ces B

14 dittography in C: kyi

15 brjod na CDG (C 294a.1): ni B

16 kyis CDG: kyi B; na BDG: ba na C

20 des BCD: missing G; bkod CDG: dkod B

21 phyir BCD: phyi G

22 ba'i yang BCD: ba'i G

p. 151

1 la BCD (C 294a.4): la'ang G
2 dag CG: ngag D: missing B
3 brtsad CD: brtsed B: rtsod G; na BDG: nas C; lan CDG: las B
4 bsgrub BCD: sgrub G: yi CDG: yis B [?]
10 bkod CDG: dkod B; grub BDG: yin C; sgrub byed kyang BCD: bsgrub byed kyang G
11 sgrub BDG: bsgrub C
13 na CDG: nas B
15 gdab BDG: btab C
16 bsgrub BCD: sgrub G
18 pa la'ang BD: pa'ang CG (C 294b.4)
20 grub BCD (C 295a.3): grub pa G

p. 152

1 gnyis la BG: gnyi ga D
2 'thun BG: mthun D; lan DG: missing B
4 lta BG: ltar D
5 gcig DG: cig B
7 tshigs BD: tshigs kyi G; bo BD: po G
8 'on kyang BD: kyang G
9 pa ni BG: pa'i D
10 pas BG: la D; pa gnyis BD: pa dang gnyis G
12 'thun BG: mthun D
13 'thun B: mthun DG; pa BG: pa'i D
14 thal 'gyur DG: thal gyur B; sdud D: bsdud BG
15 la BD: las G [second la]
16 de'i phyir DG: de phyir B; las BG: la D; 'gal ba dang DG: missing B
17 gsum DG: missing B; grub pa G: grub pas BD
18 ma G: missing BD
19 kyi BD: kyis G
20 'di yis D: de yis G: de'i B
23 zhes DG: ces B

p. 153

2 sto DG: lto B
3 sdud BD: bsdud G
5 phyir BG: phyir na D
6 zhes DG: ces B; ces BD: zhes G
7 thal ba BG: thal 'gyur D
9 sdud BD: bsdud G; par byed BD: missing G
11 zhes DG: ces B; ba'am DG: ba'i B; ka BD: missing G
12 yin DG: min B; la yang D: la'ang BG
13 sdud BD: bsdud G
14 ces BD: zhes G
15 sgras BD: smras G
16 sdud BD: bsdud G
17 nus pa BCD (C 295a.4): nus pa nges pa G
18 gyi BCG: missing D
19 she BD: zhe G
20 'dir BCG: 'di D; grub BCD: sgrub G
23 phyir BDG: tė C

p. 154

1 gis DG: gi B; gzung bya B: gzung ba D: bzung bya G; ces BD: zhes G
2 tshigs DG: tshig gis B; pas BG: pa D; ces B: zhes G: missing D
3 gzhal bya yin pa'i phyir rtag par thal ces zer na ma nges pa dang D: missing BG
4 byas pas mi BD: byas pa mi G; ces BD: zhes G
5 la DG: ma B; ces BD: zhes G
7 'thun BG: mthun CD (C 296a.4)
9 kyis BDG: kyi C
10 bos CDG: pos B
12 sgrub DG: bsgrub BC
14 mjug BCD: 'jug G; gzung D: bzung CG: gzugs B
16 ltar BCD (C 296b.1): lta G
17 gzhug BCD: bzhug G
18 bsgrags CD: bsgrag BG
20 brgal BCD: rgal G
21 gnas CDG: gnas ma B; dittography in G : kyis gnas grub
22 ba BCG: pa D; bar bya BCD: missing G

p. 155

5 la BDG: missing C (C 296b.4)
6 ched BDG: missing C
7 skur pa BDG: bskur ba C; gi BDG: missing C; bcos te CDG: missing B
8 skur BDG: bskur C
9 rtsod pa BCG: rtsod par D; bsngags par BCG: bsngags pa D
10 yi BCD: yig G
11 pa BCD: missing G; spring BD: springs C: sring G; bas D: pas BCG
12 bzhin CDG: bzhin du B
15 dwags D: dags BCG
18 'bel DG: 'brel B
20 su DG: bcur BC (C 297b.1)
22 lugs CDG: yul B

p. 156

2 pa BD: par CG (C 297b.5)
3 gyis BCD: gyi G
5 bshad BCG: spyad D
6 missing in C : snyigs ma'i dus kyi 'gro ba'i spyod yul min //
7 pa BD: par CG; nyung bas BCD: nyungs pas G
8 rgyas par CG: rgyas pa BD
9 mjug BCD (C 298a.3): 'jug G
10 zhing DG: shing B
11 dpal CDG: gyis B
12 bzang pos CDG: sangs rgyas B
13 deng CDG (C 298b.2): ding B
14 re BDG: rer C; 'bri BD: bri CG
15 kyis BCD: kyi G
17 gis BCG: gi D; pa'i CD (C 299b.6): te B: cing G
20 dgyes D: dges BCG (C 300a.1)
22 sgo BCD: lam G; kyis bgrod CD: kyi bgrod G: 'jug B

p. 157

3 rgyud BDG: brgyud C (C 300a.6)

5 pas BCD (C 300b.1): pa G

8 'di BCD: 'dir G; shig BCG: zhig D; so BD: s.ho CG; missing in BD but added in G: // 'dis bstan pa dang sems can la phan pa rgya chen po 'grub par shog/

THE ENTRANCE GATE FOR THE WISE

Section III: Philosophical Debate

Having thus set forth the way for entering into exposition, [now] to explain the method of debating so that [one] will know how to accept and reject philosophical tenets:

> (III 1) The dialectical discussion[1] [of debate] has [three parts]: a preparation, an actual practice, and a conclusion. One should enter into debating after determining [who] the two opponents and the witness [are], as the preparation to cleanse the path of debate.[2]

There are three [steps] for entering into a debate through a dialectical discussion which consists of the acceptance of truth that accords with Dharma (religious principle) and the rejection of error. [These three are:] (I) the preparation, the cleansing of the path of debate in order to determine the [identity of the] opponents,[3] (II) the actual practice, the settling of the matter through assertions and replies[4] for the sake of protecting the Doctrine, and (III) the conclusion, a summarized communication [of what transpired] so that the assembly can easily retain it.

I. The Preparation

Regarding the first of these [i.e. the preparation], one ought to debate [only] after determining who these three people are: (a) the proponent[5] who undertakes to maintain his own philosophical tenets, (b) the respondent[6] who undertakes to refute him, and (c) the witness[7] who undertakes truthfully to judge the faults and merits of those two. Whereas to debate heedlessly without determining those [participants] would, [p. 110] like the quarrelling of vulgar people, be an occasion for the dispraise of scholars. Consequently, one should enter into the [sort of] dialectical discussion that is capable of maintaining one's own doctrine [and]

is praised by learned men.

[Question:] What kinds of things constitute occasions for defeat[8] or for the acknowledgment [of victory][9] for the proponent and respondent? [Answer:] This [answer] has three parts: (1) refuting the traditions of others, (2) stating our own opinion, and (3) the elimination of objections. The first, [the refutation of other traditions,] is twofold: (a) refuting the traditions of [earlier] Tibetans, and (b) refuting the [Nyāya] tradition of Akṣapāda. For the first:

(III 2) They say there are sixteen occasions of defeat for the two opponents and the witness.

Regarding the occasions of defeat, Tibetans say that there are sixteen occasions of defeat: six for the proponent, being three [occasions of] defeat at the time of answering and three [occasions of] defeat at the time of removing defects; six for the respondent, being three [occasions of] defeat at the time of questioning and three at the time of stating the defect; three [occasions of] defeat for the witness at the time of his coming to a judgment; and one [occasion of defeat] to which all are susceptible, which is not paying attention.[10] Dharmakīrti did not maintain this, for as he said in his Vādanyāya:

> Not stating something that forms part of a sound proof and not stating the logical defect [of the opponent's reasoning] are the occasions of defeat for the two [opponents]. I do not maintain any other [occasions of defeat] because they are logically unacceptable.[11]

Furthermore, those twelve things that are [supposed] occasions of defeat for the two opponents, if they are [genuine occasions of] defeat, can be included somewhere among the four [classes of defeat] that those [basic] two can be divided into: for the proponent the two defects of not stating the parts of a sound proof [p. 111] and stating something besides the parts [of a sound proof], and for the respondent, not to state the logical defect [in the proponent's argument] and to state something that is not a logical defect. Anything not included within those [four] is not a true [occasion of] defeat.

A witness is not susceptible to defeat, because as [Dharmakīrti] said [in the verse just quoted], ". . . Are the occasions of defeat for the two," and because he did not mention that [defeat for a witness] even in some [small] section of [his] basic treatises.[12]

(III 3) Some say that a witness is not necessary. Because one cannot know how learned or stupid the opponents [themselves] will be if a learned witness does not judge it, [Dharmakīrti] in the Vādanyāya taught that [a witness] is necessary.

Some may think that a witness is not necessary at the time of debate, for this was not taught in the treatises on dialectics. [This opinion] is not correct, for as [Dharmakīrti] said in the Vādanyāya:

> [Noble debaters] will follow reasoning by way of a correct statement of proof or a correct statement of the logical defect, so that the witness will understand it directly. In that way noble persons debate in accord with reasoning.[13]

Second, the refutation of the [Nyāya] tradition of Akṣapāda:

(III 4,5,6,7) There are twenty-two [occasions of] defeat [in debate] taught by the sage Akṣapāda:[14]

[1] annihilation of [one's own] thesis [such as through citing an incompatible example] (pratijñāhāni),

[2] [shifting to] another thesis (pratijñāntara),

[3] the thesis being in contradiction [with the reason] (pratijñāvirodha),

[4] abandoning [one's] thesis (pratijñāsannyāsa),

[5] [shifting to] another reason (hetvantara),

[6] [shifting to] another [irrelevant] topic (arthāntara),

[7] meaninglessness [i.e. uttering a string of meaningless syllables] (nirarthaka),

[8] unintelligibility [of the thesis to the respondent and witness, even though stated three times] (avijñātārtha) (III 4),

[9] incoherence [i.e., uttering unconnected words] (apārthaka),

[10] inappropriate sequence [in the steps of proof] (aprāptakāla),

[11] incompleteness [in the steps of proof] (nyūna),

[12] superfluity [in the steps of proof, such as citing more than one example] (adhika),

[13] [needless] repetition (punarukta), [p. 112]

[14] not repeating [when one should repeat the assertions of the opponent] (ananubhāṣaṇa),

[15] ignorance [of the thesis on the part of the respondent, even though the witness understands it] (ajñāna),

[16] lacking the confident composure [to reply correctly] (apratibhā),

[17] [falsely evading the debate by claiming] to be distracted [by other affairs] (vikṣepa), (III 5)

[18] [indirectly] admitting the charge [by simply leveling the same charge against the opponent] (matānujñā),

[19] overlooking the censurable (paryanuyojyopekṣaṇa),

[20] censuring the non-censurable (niranuyojyānuyoga),

[21] not keeping to [one's own] tenets (apasiddhānta), and

[22] fallacious logical reason (hetvābhāsa) [such as in a futile rejoinder (jāti)]. (III 6)

Regarding these, the glorious [Dharma]kīrti explained some as not being [occasions of] defeat. If they are defeats, he included them within the two [basic classes of defeats].[15] (III 7)

Of these "twenty-two occasions for defeat," some of them are not [true] occasions for defeat, while those that are should be included within the previously explained [occasions for defeat of] not stating the parts of a sound proof and the other [one]. One should learn well how this is so from [my] Treasure of Reasoning (Rigs pa'i gter).[16]

(III 8,9,10) There were twenty-four futile rejoinders (jāti) [taught by Akṣapāda and refuted by Dignāga].[17] In the Pramāṇasamuccaya, [Dignāga refuted]:[18]

[1a] futile rejoinder by balancing (or parity) with the co-presence [of reason and assertion to be proved] (prāptisamajāti),

[1b] futile rejoinder by balancing with no co-presence [of reason and thesis to be proved] (aprāpti--),

[2] futile rejoinder by balancing with the [impossibility of] the reason [in the three times] (hetu= ahetu--),

[3] futile rejoinder by balancing with permanence [i.e. arguing that things are permanently impermanent] (nitya--),

[4] futile rejoinder by balancing with the unspoken [i.e. arguing that prior to the act of stating the reason proving the impermanence of sound (here the reason is that sound is produced through effort), this reason (production through effort) did not exist and therefore the thesis (that sound is impermanent) could not follow then] (*anukta--?),

[5] futile rejoinder by balancing with the unproduced [i.e. arguing that though sound may be impermanent after its production, it is not so when unproduced] (anutpatti--),

[6] futile rejoinder by balancing with [difference of] effect (kārya--),

[7] futile rejoinder by balancing with agreement [of a quality of the examples] (sādharmya--),

[8] futile rejoinder by balancing with disagreement [of a quality of the examples] (vaidharmya--),

[9] futile rejoinder by balancing with alternative [qualities of the subject and example] (vikalpa--),

[10] futile rejoinder by balancing with non-difference [between the parts of the "syllogism" on account of qualities they hold in common] (aviśeṣa--),

[11] futile rejoinder by balancing with perceiving [that the thesis is possible without the stated reason, or that there are other reasons for the thesis] (upalabdhi--) (III 8),

[12] futile rejoinder by balancing with doubt [about the particular meaning of the reason] (saṃśaya--),

[13] futile rejoinder by balancing with [a contrariety] implied by the circumstances (arthāpatti--), and

[14] futile rejoinder by balancing with an entailment of a necessary consequence [that the reason must be established for the example itself] (prasaṅga--),

And in the Nyāyaparīkṣā [Dignāga refuted the following]:[19]

[15] futile rejoinder by balancing with enlarging [the subject by attempting to apply an additional characteristic to the subject because that characteristic is possessed by the example] (utkarṣa--),

[16] futile rejoinder by balancing with decreasing [the argument by attempting to subtract a characteristic because that characteristic is lacking from the example] (apakarṣa--),

[17] futile rejoinder by balancing with the questionability [of the example, i.e. whether it should not also become the subject of a proof of its possessing the predicate, just like the subject itself] (varṇya--),

[18] futile rejoinder by balancing with the unquestionability [of the subject, i.e. that its predicate need not be proven if the example's possession of the predicated quality is unquestioned] (avarṇya--),

[19] futile rejoinder by balancing with [a different line of] reasoning [leading to the opposite conclusion without disputing the proponent's original thesis] (upapatti--),

[20] futile rejoinder by balancing with a counter-example (pratidṛṣṭānta--), (III 9) [p. 113]

[21] futile rejoinder by balancing with the thing to be proved [i.e. arguing that the soundness of the example needs a full proof just like the probandum, for otherwise one cannot be sure that it too possesses the predicated quality] (sādhya--),

[22] futile rejoinder by balancing with impermanence [as a supposed universal characteristic shared by all things because all things possess some sort of similarity with an impermanent pot] (anitya--),

[23] futile rejoinder by balancing with the point at issue [by calling it into doubt through an opposing proposition in which some agreeing characteristic of the subject is made the basis for a different reason and example] (prakaraṇa--), and

[24] futile rejoinder by balancing with a mistimed [reason, i.e. a reason adduced for a time in which it does not hold good] (kālātīta--),

Because these were refuted by Dignāga, Dharmakīrti disregarded them. (III 10)

[Dharmakīrti] held that these twenty-four futile rejoinders are all to be appropriately included within the three [categories of] contradictory, uncertain and unestablished [reasons], and that if they do not go into those three, they are indeed sound. For as he said in his Vādanyāya: ". . . Since they are included within the fallacies of reason (hetvābhāsa) in whatever way is appropriate."[20] Because Dignāga refuted these futile rejoinders at length, the author of the Pramāṇavārttika passed over them [without further comment].[21]

Second, one's own system:

(III 11) The [occasions for] defeat [in debate] are just the four which come from the [basic] two. No others are needed.

As [Dharmakīrti] said in the Vādanyāya:

Not stating something that forms part of a sound proof and not stating the logical defect [of the opponent's reasoning] are the occasions of defeat for the two [opponents]. I do not maintain any other [occasions of defeat] because they are logically unacceptable.[22]

[Thus Dharmakīrti's] opinion is that the proponent has two [possible] occasions of defeat: not stating something that forms part of a sound proof, and stating something that is not part [of a sound proof]. The respondent [also] has two: not

stating the logical defect [of the opponent's reasoning] and stating something that is not a defect [to be a defect]. [He holds] that such [faults] are the occasions for defeat, whereas anything else is not an occasion for defeat.[23]

(III 12) To debate in accordance with the Dharma, [p. 114] one should debate for the sake of dispelling erroneous notions, but [one should] not [debate] under the influence of attachment and hatred, desiring victory and for the sake of vanquishing the adversary.

A noble person should debate as proponent or respondent for the sake of dispelling error and for making understood the unmistaken facts of the matter, with the aim of maintaining his own doctrine. But debate that is motivated by desire and hatred, and aimed at one's own victory and the vanquishing of the adversary is not accepted by noble persons because it cannot protect the doctrine and because it develops into anger and enmity.[24] For as Vasubandhu has stated in detail:

> Someone who debates only out of a desire to win is not noble, whereas [a noble debater?] resolves doubts about that very [matter?].[25]

(III 13) Therefore a [true] scholar will defeat [others in debate] by truthfully stating the defects of [the opponent's] philosophical tenets, whereas a scholar will condemn [attacks against] personal faults and the praising of oneself, for these are the causes for [birth in] miserable existences.

The debating of a noble person establishes his own philosophical tenets, and it refutes the error in the tenets of others while not refuting that which is not erroneous. [But] to be deceitful, to praise oneself, to dispraise others, to torment others by picking out their faults, to maintain one's own philosophical tenets out of attachment even though they are erroneous, to cavil at the tenets of others [p. 115] out of hatred even though they are not erroneous, and to approve of overcoming the mental composure of the opponent by way of such things as nonsensical prattle, laughter, dancing, changing one's recitation, extreme speed [in one's speech], excessively high and low tone of voice, and unclear articulation--[all these things] amount to a defeat for oneself either by way of not stating something that makes up part of a sound proof or by stating something that

does not make up a proof.[26] These methods are not capable of defeating the other [debater], and [such] debating that does not accord with Dharma [i.e. with religious principle] is something that learned persons should avoid since it is a cause for birth in evil realms of existence.

Third, the elimination of objections:

(III 14) If one says that it is permissible for even a noble person to speak deceitfully for the sake of defending his doctrine, [I answer that] through deceit one cannot uphold a doctrine.[27] Such [deceits] have been rebutted [by Dharmakīrti] in the Vādanyāya.

Some non-Buddhist Indian sectarians in order to defend their doctrine also proceed deceitfully, calling out "I have won" even though at that time the opponent is [merely] sitting silently. Concerning [such practices], if one has to defend one's doctrine through deceit, the doctrine itself will become impure. And if the matter at issue can become established merely by [the opponent] becoming silent, there would ensue an extreme consequence [i.e. a fault of overextension (atiprasaṅga)[28] of the term "defeat"] because even silence caused through threatening with a weapon or with fire would then amount to such [an occasion for defeat].[29] [As Dharmakīrti] said in the Vādanyāya: "A noble person will not engage in [debate] nor compose treatises for the sake of tormenting others."[30]

II. The Actual Practice [of Debating]

(III 15) For the two opponents to debate maintaining their own philosophical tenets [p. 116] is the traditional practice of the learned men of the past.

[Great masters] such as Dharmakīrti when debating with the non-Buddhist sectarians used to debate adhering to the philosophical tenets of the Buddhists and [with the opponent maintaining the tenets of a teacher] such as Kaṇāda. But for someone who has no capability of maintaining a doctrine to extract any sort of definition or fragment of texts and to say "Set forth a formal argument!" is the debate by which a childish person tests his knowledge. It is not the debate of scholars who adhere to tenets. Such [elementary debate] is explained as being

debate that is proper to the occasion for explicating [texts], but it is not suitable as debate that is proper to the occasion of debating, for [by it one] cannot accept or reject tenets. It may possibly also be an occasion for entering into [real debate] if one inquires in that way in order to find an occasion for accepting and rejecting tenets.[31]

(III 16) There appears in some scriptures on reasoning a respondent who refutes the proponent's tenets without affirming tenets [of his own].

Some Mādhyamikas without admitting tenets of their own refute whatever the proponent maintains, whether it is maintained as existent, non-existent, or something else.[32] For as the Ācārya Ārya [Nāgārjuna] said [in his Vigrahavyāvartanī 29]:

If I possessed any thesis, I would therefore possess that fault.
Because I possess no thesis, I am certainly without fault.[33]

(III 17,18) Even if one affirms tenets, [p. 117] during the time of debating it is not necessary to affirm every tenet taught in the basic scriptures. It is the traditional practice of scholars to prove just the tenets of the particular occasion of debate (III 17). For example, when proving the existence of external objects, the texts [which teach] Vijñapti do not disprove [the position maintaining external objects] in this connection. Likewise one should apply [this principle] to all systems of tenets. (III 18)

Even though one debates having affirmed Buddhist tenets, on an occasion of refuting non-Buddhist Indian sectarians one should debate having affirmed [the existence of] external objects in accordance with the Sautrāntika [view], and [one's position] is not disproven [if the opponent] says in debate: "You are in contradiction with the explanation which is found in your own texts that [all externally] appearing phenomena are mind." Likewise [the alleged fault constitutes no real disproof if] when one is affirming Mind-Only (i.e. Vijñānavāda) [tenets, the opponent] asserts, "The external objects taught in the Sūtras must also be what you assert," or when debating as a Mādhyamika [if the opponent] says, "Since Vijñapti is also [taught in] your Sūtras, it should be something that you assert." And likewise even among non-Buddhist Indian sectarians, when a Sāṃkhya adherent says to a Vaiśeṣika, "When you state your reason proving the impermanence

should become a thesis [for you], and consequently since you contradict that, there is a contradiction with your thesis," the alleged fault does not amount to any [real] disproof.[34] For even though one has affirmed a system of tenets, one's thesis is just that immediate matter which one is maintaining, and one does not affirm every point [taught in the scriptures of one's school] with different motives in mind.[35]

As [Dharmakīrti] said in the Pramāṇavārttika [II 46ab]:

> Why follow tenets that contain matters not established through sound knowledge?[36] [p. 118]

> (III 19) The two [types of] debating--through scriptures and through reasoning--are alike if one knows them well. Nevertheless, with reference to the two objects of cognition ["manifest" phenomena and "hidden" phenomena], reasoning on the basis of direct perception and inference can falsify [those two].

[Concerning] debate through scriptures and debate through reasoning: just as all such things as refutation and proof, independent "syllogism" and logical consequence, reason and proposition to be proved, and defects of language or defects of sense can [amount to] faults and strengths when one is debating through reasoning, so also when debating through scriptures, that very procedure operates similarly if one has a good understanding of it. Nevertheless, the two means of knowledge engage as their objects [respectively] manifest phenomena and hidden phenomena, and the things which act to prove or falsify [them] are also direct perception and inference, whereas here the scriptures do not come into play.[37]

[Question:] What is the scope of the scriptures [in debate]? [Reply:]

> (III 20) When investigating the third object of cognition [i.e. "completely hidden" phenomena, one's position] is disproven if one contradicts one's own scriptures.[38] As for example [the contradiction occuring] when someone proclaims that ablutions purify evils and that harming [sentient creatures] is a religious virtue, while teaching that desire, etc., are evils and that freedom from desire is a religious virtue.[39]

When investigating such completely hidden phenomena as [the existence of] previous and subsequent lives, the causality of moral actions, and the particular features of the fortunate realms[40] and miserable realms of existence,[41] one must base oneself on the scriptures. [p. 119] for as it is said [in Pramāṇavārttika IV 51cd]:

> When one passes on to the third topic [i.e. "completely hidden" phenomena], one is justified in accepting [the witness of] treatises.[42]

[Question:] How can particular characteristics be established as true or false with regard to a basic [subject]--a "completely hidden" phenomenon[43]--which itself is not established? [Answer:] Indeed such a question is reasonable. The correct answer is this: When a Buddhist and a *Vaidika (Mīmāṃsaka) debate, both opponents maintain the truth of [the existence of] previous and subsequent lives, the causality of moral actions, etc. And they agree that deeds produced from desire, hatred and confusion are evil, that actions [accomplished] without desire, anger and nescience are virtuous (or salutory), that evils [cause] the round of Cyclic Existence (saṃsāra), and that if one is freed of evils that is liberation. But they debate concerning their disagreeing scriptures [which explain] the methods [for achieving liberation]. The "Veda" states:

> [If] one performs ablutions at the river shores of Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra), Kuśāvarta, Bilvaka, Nīlaparvata and Kanakhala, it is not possible that one will be born again.[44]

The recitation of this constitutes [for the Mīmāṃsaka] an internal contradiction of his own scriptures.[45] The root of evil deeds are mental events such as desire, and it is not consistent to wash the body which has no direct connection with it, while not washing the mind, which is its root. This is just like setting fire to the forest for the purpose of killing the creatures of the ocean.[46]

Our scriptures [describe] the partial suppression [of the emotional defilements with] such words as:

> Those in whom lust predominates [should think of the bodies of the opposite sex as] unclean meat and fat, and . . . .[47]

[While concerning] the complete termination [of the emotional defilements], it is said: [p. 120]

> O desire, I have understood your root: [you] arose from conceptual thought. Since I do not conceptualize [a self] in connection with you, [O aggregates (skandhas)], therefore [that desire] will not arise in me.[48]

Accordingly, [the doctrine of our scriptures is that] by cutting off egoity (i.e. the psychological postulation of a self), which is the seed of Cyclic Existence, the emotional defilements which they produce will cease. Through their cessation one is freed from suffering, just as through the exhaustion of fuel a fire dies out, and by virtue of that, smoke does not arise.

Likewise, [for the *Vaidika] there are contradictions between his own texts. While he maintains that the cause of [birth in] fortunate realms of existence is virtue, [there are texts of his that say] such things as "Kṣatriya should kill Kṣatriya."[49] As for the Buddhist, there are no contradictions between his scriptures. [His texts contain consistent statements] such as "Through morality one goes to the higher realms of existence,"[50] and "Non-meritorious [deeds] propel one to miserable realms of existence."[51]

If one objects that even in the case of the Buddhist himself there are seen contradictions between his Sūtras:

> (III 21) Someone may object that because in the Sugata's scriptures the two [main schools]--Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna--have doctrinal formulations that for the most part disagree, those [Buddhist scriptures] are contradictory.[52] In that case . . .

[Objection:] In the Buddhist basic texts the two [main divisions], Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna, generally conflict regarding their philosophical tenets. In particular, [within] the Śrāvaka there are the eighteen [schools] that developed from the four basic communities, which appear to conflict to a great extent in their theory and practice.[53] Also in the Mahāyāna [p. 121] there are the two--Pāramitā and Mantra--which appear for the most part to be unalike. Also within the Pāramitā there are the dissimilar Mind-Only (Yogācāra) and Madhyamaka, and also within the Mantra the four classes of Tantra appear to have different doctrinal formulations. And since your own scriptures [thus] conflict, there can be no relying on them.

[Reply:]

(III 22) If one understands [the different inclinations of] individuals, the stages of introduction, and the methods of explanation, there is no contradiction.

[Reply:] It is not contradictory to lead through skillful expedients--according to whether the individual [to be taught] has inclinations toward an inferior or the highest [goal], whether [he] applies himself for his own benefit or for the benefit of others, whether he delights in deep and vast [truths], and by way of interpretable and definitive truth. For as Ārya [Nāgārjuna] said [in Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 30]:

To one who seeks for reality, one should first teach "Everything exists." One who understands objects [on the relative level] and is without attachment [should] afterward [be taught] "isolation" (viviktatā = śūnyatā).[54]

And [as Nāgārjuna said in Mūlamadhyamakakārikā XVIII 6]:

[The Buddhas] indicated both "A self exists" and they indicated "A self does not exist." The Buddhas also taught, "Self and absence of self do not exist at all."[55]

(III 23) Those who do not understand such a formulation debate thinking that [the doctrines] are contradictory. But [p. 122] if one understands well, there are no contradictions.

[Some] fools think that there are scriptural contradictions in the [Buddha's] teaching of different levels of vehicle which have in mind individuals of superior, middling, [or inferior] faculties, [different] constituent elements and inclinations [in the minds of those to be trained], and [the existence of] superior and inferior stages. And [they imagine contradictions] in his uttering of different ways of exposition that take into account the differing dispositions of individuals. But if one has a good knowledge of the "six limits" of the Sage's intention, there is no contradiction.[56]

(III 24,25,26) The apparently contradictory doctrinal vehicles were taught so that individuals would gradually be introduced [into religion].[57] [State-

ments] such as "Father and mother are to be killed"[58] [were uttered] with the intended meaning that [the fetters of] deeds (karma) and the emotional defilements [should be destroyed]. (III 24)
Such [doctrines] as "the womb of the Tathāgata [exists]" were given for the sake of guiding those who possess egoity (self-postulation, ahaṃkāra). Such statements as "Awakening is won by killing" refer to the slaying of egoity. (III 25)
Learned men should give this answer to those who debate because of such [apparent] contradictions.[59] (III 26)

These were intermediate verses.[60]

(III 27) On occasions of debate on the scriptures there is nothing inconsistent about posing questions concerning matters in the scriptures, or about posing questions concerning completely hidden objects [of cognition], even those not [taught in the scriptures].

When debating on the scriptural teachings, it is proper to inquire and it is not an occasion for laughter if one asks questions concerning the import of the Three Baskets of Scripture (Tripiṭaka) [such as] about [the disciplines of] morality, [p. 123] discriminative knowledge and meditative trance,[61] or asks questions about the import of the four classes of Tantras, [such as] concerning the [processes of] "ripening" and "liberating,"[62] or asks questions about [completely] hidden phenomena not taught in the Sūtras or Tantras concerning places of refuge other than the Three Jewels, such as Īśvara, or concerning [theories] different from the [four] "seals" which are the marks of the doctrine for theory,[63] such as a theory of a self or person, or concerning modes of conduct different from the Middle Way, such as physical pleasures[64] and mortifications.[65]

And as for answering those [questions]:

(III 28) In Sūtras [the Buddha] uttered answers [to questions] in four ways: by absolute affirmation (ekāṃśena),[66] by drawing distinctions (vibhajya),[67] by closer questioning (paripṛcchā),[68] and by setting aside the matter [as meaningless or unfruitful] (sthāpanīya),[69] [p. 124] to such [questions as those regarding the inevitability of] death, [the inevitability of] birth, the excellence [of human birth], or the qualities of the self, respectively.

The Blessed One taught four methods for answering questions. [1] To the question "Will all beings that are born die or not?" he answered: "They definitely will die," thus answering by absolute affirmation. [2] When asked, "Will all beings who die be born again or not?" he answered: "Those who possess egoity (ego-postulation) will be born. If they have no egoity they will not be born." Thus he answered by drawing distinctions. [3] When asked, "Is it good to be born as a human?" he [answered by] questioning: "[Good] in relation to what? In relation to the evil realms of existence it is good. With regard to the gods, it is bad." [4] When asked, "Is the self permanent or impermanent?" he answered: "Since the self is not established, both permanence and impermanence are not established with regard to it," thus setting aside [the question as meaningless]. As [Vasubandhu] stated in the [Abhidharma-] kośa [V 22]:

> Elucidating by absolute affirmation, by distinguishing, questioning, and setting aside, [the Buddha answered] such [questions] as those about death, rebirth, excellence, [whether the skandhas are identical with] the self [or] other [than it], and so forth.[70]

[The Buddha] stated in the Sūtras that such is the [correct] system for answering all questions of such types.[71]

Furthermore, [when] the wandering religious mendicant Dīrghanakha said to the Blessed One, "O Gautama, I cannot accept anything," [the Buddha] replied, "Can you accept or not the statement 'I cannot accept'?" If one can accept it, one's non-acceptance is destroyed. If one cannot accept that, not to be able to accept non-acceptance is just to be able to accept,[72] for a negated negation is an assertion.[73] This is what [the Buddha] intended [by his question]. The wandering ascetic fell silent.[74]

Also [when] the Kṣapaṇakas (Jaina ascetics?) asked the Buddha fourteen questions beginning, "O Gautama, does this world have a [posterior] limit?" the Buddha remained silent.[75] As [Nāgārjuna] said in the Ratnāvalī [I 73c-74d]:

> When asked if the world has a [posterior] limit, the Jina remained silent. For the very reason that he did not teach the deep doctrine to those beings who were not fit receptacles, learned persons understand the Omniscient One to be all-knowing.[76]

Therefore [questions] that [the Buddha] did not elucidate are to be included within "answering by setting aside [the questions as unhelpful or fruitless]."[77]

(III 29) On occasions of [debating on] scriptures, there is no incompatibility in dialectical answers of this sort. [p. 125] There is also no incompatibility [in the use of such answers] for [debating through] reasoning. Nevertheless, they are difficult for the ignorant to understand.

On occasions of scriptural [debates], such [ways of] debating are suitable because this is the right occasion for them, and such [methods] can be employed also for [debating through] reasoning. Nevertheless, since [these things] are not easily understood by the ignorant, [in the latter context] one should give answers which are recognized in [the science of] reasoning.

(III 30) Otherwise [one should give] two kinds of answers [when debating] on scriptures: one should refute that [argument] by means of [quotations from] scripture or by means of reasoning based on scripture.

Otherwise, on an occasion of debate on scriptural teachings, there exists answering by means of just that scripture which is right for that occasion, and by means of other reasoning that applies to that scripture.

(III 31,32) And as for scripture, that which is connected with the particular [scriptural] context about which one is debating is "scripture." Any other scriptures that do not belong to that [scriptural] context and that are not maintained by the proponent are not [capable of causing] the defect [of textual contradiction]. (III 31) Just as for example even though there is contradiction between the Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna, and between such things as Vijñapti and Niḥsvabhāva, this is no defect [for one who espouses one of these]. (III 32)

When debating back and forth basing oneself on scriptures, [what one's] scripture is [is determined by] whatever one has affirmed as one's own level of vehicle (e.g. Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna), as one's particular theory, and as the immediately relevant text. For example, when one affirms the Vinaya ("Monastic Discipline") [as the general scriptural basis for debate], one's scripture is that which is maintained as the [Vinaya] scriptures of each of the four basic monastic communities, and consequently if a contradiction occurs within that, it is a scriptural [p. 126] contradiction. But when one has affirmed [for instance, the

particular Vinaya of] the Sarvāstivāda, even if there occurs a contradiction with the scriptures of the other monastic communities such as the Sthaviravāda, that will not constitute a scriptural contradiction.[78] And when one has affirmed such [Vinaya systems] as the Sthaviravāda, there is no defect of scripture even though contradictions occur with such schools as the Sarvāstivāda.[79]

And likewise, though in the Śrāvaka [Vinaya] it amounts to an offense (āpatti) to accept gold and silver, according to the Mahāyāna it is taught to be an offense not to accept it.[80] And though for the Śrāvaka [eating] meat that is pure in three ways (trikoṭipariśuddha) is not an offense, the Mahāyāna teaches [meat eating] to be an offense.[81] And while the Śrāvakayāna teaches that austere observances such as silence and fasting are offenses, in some Tantras it is taught t..at the Mantra [practices] are to be realized by the observance of temporary vows of fasting and silence. These and other examples of apparent contradictions will amount to [real] scriptural contradictions if in that very context, in that very text of one's own [school], those practices are taught as to be practiced in the opposite way. But as for teachings given for different occasions, they are not contradictory. [This is] because they are [mere] divisions of conduct, just like the giving of different medicines for different diseases.

Likewise for theory too, the texts [of the different schools may] appear to be in contradiction: in the Śrāvaka[yāna] the subject and object which are composed of "atoms" and moments are explained as being ultimate reality, [whereas] the follower of the Mind-Only teaches that the experience of non-dual cognition is ultimate reality, and the Mādhyamika holds that all factors of existence (dharmas) are without own-nature. If the texts affirmed by one's own philosophical school disprove [these], there is indeed a contradiction. But if there is no contradiction between one's own texts, [merely] to contradict another [school] is no defect, for one has not affirmed that [other school] as one's own system of tenets. It is just as in the steps of farming [in different places and seasons].[82]

Furthermore, other texts [of one's own school] that contradict one's [position] will become acceptable if one knows how to establish one's own tenets as being of ascertained meaning or as of direct intent, after establishing through the force of reasoning that [the contradictory text] is of interpretable meaning [p. 127] or [was taught] with special intent.[83] But if one does not know how to establish in that way [that the text one follows is of definitive meaning, etc.] by means of reasoning, one cannot escape a contradiction of scripture.

(III 33) If [a text of one's tradition] contradicts the scriptures one maintains, one should explain it by distinguishing its intention. If one

does not understand the intention, there occurs an occasion of defeat.

That was a summarizing stanza.[84] Otherwise--

(III 34) When debating by way of reasoning, one should debate clearly, having distinguished whether one is or is not following philosophical tenets.

When debating following reasoning, that reasoning too [is to be used] for benefitting one's own doctrine. The debating back and forth by the proponent and respondent [is to be done] for the purpose of upholding their own doctrine, with each maintaining the tenets of Buddhist or non-Buddhist ("Tīrthika").[85] But to debate heedlessly with no wish to uphold a doctrine and with the aim of testing each other's knowledge, like the argument of fools, is not the debating of noble persons, but it is merely crafty people amazing the ignorant. Therefore it should be determined whether [the opponents] are or are not affirming tenets. And if they are maintaining them, then both should debate maintaining the basic texts of a system of tenets.

(III 35) If [a debater says that] he does not follow any philosophical tenets, by determining his subject of debate he will usually [be seen to] take some philosophical position.[86] [p. 128]

Some ignorant persons making out to be learned may say, "I do not affirm tenets, but I maintain whatever I can through reasoning." In that connection, one first has to come to an agreement regarding the basic subject of debate. For if nothing whatsoever such as existence or non-existence, permanence or annihilation, truth or falsity, or Cyclic Existence (saṃsāra) or Extinction (nirvāṇa) can be found to be acceptable or unacceptable, there will not occur any occasion for debating. But when one [finds] something acceptable or unacceptable to debate about, that very thing which one affirms as acceptable becomes one's tenet. If either existence or non-existence is acceptable, then there results a tenet that maintains either existence or non-existence. And if permanence or annihilation are acceptable, there results the speculative view asserting eternalism or annihilation. Likewise no matter what one affirms as existent or non-existent--whether truth or falsity, Cyclic Existence or Extinction, or whatever--it is impossible not to fall within the purview of some Buddhist or non-Buddhist system of tenets of that sort. Consequently just the fault expressed concerning those

[philosophical systems] applies [to that debater too].

(III 36) If [a debater] does not take sides with any philosophical position, by determining what his initial position (pūrvapakṣa) [is], [his stand] will usually be [seen to be] the reasoning of an ignorant person.

If a person at the time of debating will not affirm tenets no matter how one investigates [his views], [he may be] either someone who does not affirm [tenets] out of ignorance or someone who does not affirm [them] out of the fear that some logical defect may arise. If it is as in the first case, what is the need for him to accept [tenets]? Who would debate with an ox? If it is as in the second case, [one should ask him] if he affirms or does not affirm non-affirmation. If he affirms it, he abandons his thesis of not affirming, for he has affirmed non-affirmation, just as the designation [of something] as "nameless" has become a name. If he does not affirm non-affirmation, an affirmation occurs, for a negated negation is an assertion [p. 129], just as if something is not non-blue, it is blue.[87]

(III 37) If [a person is] expert [in reasoning], it is impossible that he not follow some tenets.

There are two ways for persons whose minds have been trained in reasoning not to affirm theses (pratijñā): deceitfully not to affirm and truthfully not to affirm. [An example of] the first is the Sāṃkhya [philosopher] who argues, "Composite [things such as the eyes and other sense organs] exist for the use of another," thus deviously affirming a "use of another" that they do not [in fact] maintain, while not [expressly] maintaining the really intended [thesis], which is that the sense organs function for the sake of self [i.e. for the sake of an ātman].[88] Or [another example of such deception] is the Cārvākas, who assert a thesis that they do not maintain, while not affirming what they [in fact] maintain, such as in the argument formulation of "possessing a second" (sadvitīyaprayoga).[89] [These views] the Ācārya Asaṅga declared to be "devious theories."[90]

[Another group is] the Vātsīputrīyas who make no affirmation, saying "The self [i.e. the pudgala] is unstateable as permanent and impermanent."[91] This [theory] the Ārya [Asaṅga] called "a non-affirming theory"[92] and included it within "mistaken theories."[93]

The second [way of not affirming], not to affirm [any thesis] truthfully, is the correct theory of the Madhyamaka if one understands,[94] for the real nature of things which is free from discursive elaborations is beyond knowing or expressing, because it is not an object of language or mind.[95] For as it is said [in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa]:

> The son of the Conqueror remains without speaking. Not speaking itself explains at great length.[96]

And as [Nāgārjuna] said in the Ratnāvalī [I 61b-62d]:

> Ask the people in the world--the Sāṃkhya, the Aulūkya (Vaiśeṣika?), together with the Nirgrantha (Jaina ascetics)--if they maintain something going beyond existence and non-existence. Therefore one should know that the teaching of "the profound immortal doctrine of the Buddhas which is beyond existence and non-existence" [p. 130] is the special wealth of the Dharma.[97]

Therefore the non-Buddhist sectarian who while possessing affirmations deceitfully denies them is like a thief who does not admit [his crime]. The Mādhyamika who does not affirm is like one who has not stolen and who does not admit [any crime]. Thus there is a great difference.[98]

> (III 38,39) If there is no maintaining of any affirmation whatsoever, under examination two [ways of not affirming] will emerge. If they are not maintained because [ultimate reality] is free from discursive elaborations, that will be the Madhyamaka tenet if it is understood. If [someone] cannot bring himself to affirm [his theses] even though he has some, his [theory] is explained as a deceitful speculative view.

That was a summarizing verse.

> (III 40) Some maintain philosophical tenets that are an intermingling of dissimilar tenets. If [any of the combined tenets] are defective, they should be individually refuted. If they have no defect one should follow them.

Some people combine and affirm various different tenets. For example, some maintain the simultaneous apprehension of a sense-object by [sensory] cognition, combining the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika. And some combine the Sautrāntika and Vijñapti system, saying [they are] followers of the Mind-Only [i.e. the *Cittamātra or Yogācāra] who have affirmed external objects.[99] And some combine the Sautrāntika and Madhyamaka, resulting in a "Mādhyamika who follows the Sūtras" (mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa), and some combine the Mind-Only and Madhyamaka [to form a] Yogācāra-Madhyamaka.[100] Those who maintain such [combinations] as the above should use reasoning [p. 131] to refute such defects [i.e. incompatible tenets] as exist in those [combined systems], and if there is no defect [of incompatibility] one should accept [those tenets] with a mind of rectitude.[101]

(III 41) The philosophical tenets that are adhered to by learned men are two: Buddhist and non-Buddhist sectarian. [Anything] besides those are [fictitious] tenets that have been haphazardly considered by fools.

The Buddhist tenets pacify the sufferings of Cyclic Existence and place one in the bliss of the Saints.[102] They affirm direct perception [as the means cognizing] manifest phenomena, inference for [cognizing] hidden phenomena, and scriptures which are not falsified by reasoning for [the cognition of] completely hidden phenomena. They are something adhered to by learned men who have considered it thoroughly; they are a resting place [resorted to] by the world of men together with the gods.

As for the non-Buddhist Indian sectarian [tenets], they were previously cultivated since a long time ago [and] have been thoroughly considered through the fully developed discriminative understanding of the ordinary individual (pṛthagjana). They are based on the path of the person in the world. To a small extent they are capable of discerning the suitable and unsuitable for ordinary people who are concerned only with this life.[103] And they are something that is worthy of refutation by learned persons.

Thus these two are suitable as objects for learned persons to prove or refute. But new philosophical tenets which are other than [Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian sectarian] and which were fabricated by ignorant persons are empty of reasoning [and] in contradiction with the scriptures. [They are] falsehoods concocted by "non-virtuous friends" [i.e. sham spiritual teachers] for the sake of [acquiring] the necessities of life, [and they are] tenets upheld as their own by fools out of desire and hatred. But since they originate from no authentic source, they are indeed unworthy of refutation or proof. Nevertheless, if errors

spread excessively like weeds [growing] in a field, they will hurt the doctrine of the Buddha. Consequently, one should appropriately refute them by means of scripture and reasoning.[104] For even if passionate and angry fools do not understand, it will be understood by learned men who dwell in rectitude. [p. 132]

(III 42) Here in the Land of Snows there also exist many tenets of fools that are different from [Buddhist and non-Buddhist Indian sectarian tenets]. Because fools can easily understand [those], learned men have usually ignored them.

That was an intermediate verse.

(III 43) Within the Indian non-Buddhist sectarians there are five [schools] of speculative dialecticians: (1) the *Vaidika (Mīmāṃsa), (2) Sāṃkhya, (3) Aulūkya (Vaiśeṣika), (4) Kṣapaṇaka (Jaina), and (5) Cārvāka.

Although there are inconceivably many speculative views of the non-Buddhist sectarians (Tīrthikas), in the [Madhyamakahṛdaya vṛtti] Tarkajvālā [of Bhāvaviveka] they were summarized into one hundred.[105] If one summarizes those, they [can be reduced to] the universally recognized five classes of speculative dialecticians.[106] And [as for] those, [the following terms] are synonyms [and refer to the Mīmāṃsa-Vedānta]:

"Followers of the Veda (*Vaidika: rig byed pa) which was established from the beginning"
"Followers of the old" (Pūrva-[Mīmāṃsa]?)
"Followers of the secretly spoken" (Tib.: gsang bar smra ba pa)[107]
"Followers of Jaimini" (Jaiminīya)
Mīmāṃsaka
Smārta
Brahma (Brahma-mīmāṃsaka? A branch of the Uttara-mīmāṃsa or Vedānta)[108]

[The following terms] are synonyms:

Sāṃkhya
Kāpila ("Followers of Kapila")
"Followers of the self-originated" (Tib.: rang skye ba)
"Followers of the thirty [categories]" (Tib.: sum cu pa)

The term "followers of Prabhākara" (Tib.: gsal byed pa) is according to the context an accepted designation for either the *Vaidika or the Sāṃkhya.[109]

[The following terms] are synonyms [and refer to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika]:

Aulūkya ("followers of the doctrine of Uluka")

Kāṇāda ("followers of the doctrine of Kaṇāda")

Vaiśeṣika

Naiyāyika

"Those who follow the six categories [of the Vaiśeṣika]" (Tib.: tshig gi don drug pa)

[The following terms] are synonyms [and refer to the Jaina school]:

Kṣapaṇaka ("fasters")

"Followers of the Ṛṣabha Jina" (Tib.: rgyal ba dam pa ba)

"Those who follow the nine categories" (Tib.: tshig gi don dgu pa)

Ājivika [?] (Tib.: srog gi sde tshan pa)

Nirgrantha ("those freed from hindrances"; Tib.: 'dzem med pa)

Nagna ("naked mendicant"; Tib.: gcer bu pa)

Digambara ("sky-clad"; Tib.: phyogs kyi gos can)

"Space-clad" (Tib.: nam mkha'i gos can, another possible rendering of Digambara?)

Those four [main] schools are called "propounders of eternalism" because they maintain that moral causation is true.

[The following terms] are synonyms [and refer to the Materialist school]:

Cārvāka

Lokāyata

Uccheda-dṛṣṭika ("adherents of the theory of annihilation")

Nāstika ("deniers, nihilists")

Bārhaspatya ("followers of Bṛhaspati" [the originator of the Lokāyata aphorisms]) [p. 133]

"Asserters that nature is the [only] cause" (Tib.: ngo bo nyid rgyur smra ba)

Some Tibetans say the Lokāyata adherent (Tib.: rgyang pan pa) is so called because he does not maintain the existence of previous or subsequent lives. [Those Tibetans] are simply ignorant of the Sanskrit etymological meaning of lokāyata (rgyang pan pa), and since [this explanation of theirs] is not recognized by the learned, it is of no consequence.[110]

The teaching of [the ways of] the warrior class (Kṣatriya) as a doctrine and other such teachings also arose based on this [materialistic philosophy].[111] Because these [materialists] deny moral causation, they are called "proponents of annihilation." In that way those five schools of dialecticians are also grouped together into two classes: eternalists and annihilationists.[112]

(III 44) The first three adhere to the Vedas. The latter two reject the Vedas. They all agree on the existence of a self. In other particulars of theory they are dissimilar.

Thus the first three of the five schools of dialecticians--the *Vaidika, Sāṃkhya and Aulūkya--take the Vedas to be a sound means of knowledge. Even so, the *Vaidika and Sāṃkhya say that the Vedas were not made, but came into being of themselves, after which Brahma became aware of them and uttered them from his four mouths. The Kāṇādas (Vaiśeṣikas) hold that they were composed by Īśvara. Accordingly those three philosophical systems take as their deities Brahma, Īśvara, and Viṣṇu.[113] Nevertheless, they receive [only] the name of [the god] they have chosen as their tutelary deity: they have become known by such names as *Brāhmaṇa, *Aiśvara (Śaiva), and Vaiṣṇava, just as Buddhists who meditate on different tutelary deities become known by that [deity's] name.[114]

[Question:] If all those three take the Vedas to be a sound means of knowledge, why are they not all placed in the [single class] "Vaidika"? [Answer:] There is [some] truth in that. However, they got their respective names because the *Vaidikas (Mīmāmsa-Vedānta) give the primary place to the Vedas themselves, while the Sāṃkhya and Kāṇāda (Vaiśeṣika) emphasize the sages (ṛṣis) who expounded the Vedas. Just so, even though in general [all] Buddhists consider the Sūtras to be an authority, only the Sautrāntikas received that name, while the [other Buddhist schools]--the Vaibhāṣika, Mind-Only, and Madhyamaka--were named according to other reasons.[115]

All non-Buddhist sectarians agree on positing a self (ātman), for the eternalists maintain that the self is permanent, and the annihilationists hold that the existent self is annihilated [at death]. [The statement] by Ācārya Asaṅga that however many non-Buddhist sectarian theories there are, [they] all arise from the positing of a self was also stated with this in mind.[116] Other particular features of the [non-Buddhist systems of] tenets, [such as] their doctrinal formulations about moral cause and effect and about the spiritual path and its fruit, are seen to be different.

(III 45) There are many instances of Tibetan dialecticians having confused the arrangement of this. Therefore one should not hold as true the treatises they have promulgated.

There indeed exist many [arrangements of] tenets that have been formulated by some Tibetan religious scholars. But those [scholars], not having studied the doctrinal systems of the major scriptures, have blundered by arranging dialecticians of a single school separately on the basis of the mutual refutations [between the subdivisions of the school], and by arranging into a single school of dialecticians [those of different schools] based on the reason of mere agreement of a tenet. For example, the Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna, and also the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mind-Only and Madhyamaka, even though they refute each other, are to be included within the single grouping "Buddhist," without being separated. [p. 135] And the same is the case with the schools of dialecticians, which are to be kept separate because even though there may be agreement between a few tenets of mentalistic schools, [i.e. between] some Vedāntins and the Jaina and Mind-Only schools, or even though there may be similar terminology [such as] the Mīmāṃsa, Lokāyata, and Madhyamaka-Prāsaṅgika's mentioning a "refutation of existent entities," "inference recognized by others" (gzhan la grags pa'i rjes dpag), or "emptiness" (stong pa nyid : śūnyatā), [in fact] their meanings are different.[117]

(III 46) The Buddhists have four systems of tenets: Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Vijñapti[vāda], and Niḥsvabhāvavāda (Madhyamaka). As to their subdivisions, several[118] divisions of tenets exist. For a detailed [description] one should refer to [my] Analysis of Tenets (Grub mtha' rnam 'byed).[119]

Among the scriptures of the Sugata there are two [main divisions]: Śrāvaka and Mahāyāna. The Śrāvaka has two [branches]: Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika. The Mahāyāna has two [branches]: Mind-Only (Yogācāra) and Madhyamaka. The Mind-Only has two [sub-schools]: Sākāra ("possessing a cognitive image") and Nirākāra ("without a cognitive image"). The Madhyamaka has two [sub-schools]: Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika.[120] For [details about] their subdivisions one should refer to [my] Analysis of Tenets (Grub mtha' rnam 'byed).

(III 47,48) If the two [debaters] affirm tenets, first they should determine the basic subject of debate.[121] If one debates with non-Buddhist sectarians

> and Śrāvakas who maintain external objects, one should [for the moment also] affirm external objects. If not, it will be hard to find an occasion for debate because the basic subject of debate is not in accord. [p. 136]

What [Dharmakīrti] meant was that on an occasion when two debaters are explaining the truth or falsity of tenets for the sake of upholding their own doctrine, if one is debating with Śrāvakas of non-Buddhist sectarians who affirm external objects as real, one should adopt the Sautrāntika system.[122] Because if one denies [or negates] physical objects when establishing sensory cognition as non-conceptual, etc., the debate on the immediate topic will be put off. But an occasion for debate will be easily established if one posits such things as the [similar cognitive image] that is produced [immediately afterward] by the force of the object.[123]

The Blessed One too affirmed external objects in the Sūtras, for as [Dharmakīrti] said in the Pramāṇa-vārttika [III 219]:

> Therefore, looking [at objects] in the way that an elephant does, [seemingly] overlooking the ultimate reality of objects, [the Buddha] engaged in investigation of external objects, with [his] mind solely [directed toward how] ordinary people in the world [view objects].[124]

It is traditionally said that Dharmakīrti, in order to make the intended meaning of that fully [plain], declared:

> But when engaging in external objects, I base [myself] on the level of the Sautrāntika.[125]

Having cut off the limbs of the debate which is based on external objects, for the sake of cutting its root [Dharmakīrti, PV III 360 and PVin I 51, said]:[126]

> Entities do not exist in reality because of that very [reasoning] through which one investigates entities. This is because those [entities] do not have a single or plural nature.[127]

[Objection:] When external entities are thus negated by [the reason of] the absence of oneness and manyness,[128] the logical reason of that [argument] is not established. [Reply:] The similar [cognitive image] that is produced [secondarily] (skyes la 'dra ba) of the Sautrāntikas is also not established when external objects have been negated through a proof by means of the reasoning of the

simultaneous conjunction of six [atoms].[129] For as [Dharmakīrti] said in the passage beginning [PV III 353b-d]:

> Someone may ask, "How could there be the apprehension of objects by that appearance-possessing [cognition] for which there does not exist any real entity [as its] object?" That is true. I too do not know [how that could be] so.[130]

On this occasion the [reasoning of] being devoid of oneness and manyness is a reasoning of just the Mind-Only, while those who maintain that it is a Madhyamaka tradition simply miss the point of this passage in the text.[131]

[Objection:] Granted that this appearance [of an external world] was not created by Īśvara. [But] if one negates atoms, it will be the case that [this appearance] arises without a cause.[132] [Reply:] There is no [such] inconsistency, because as it is said in the Daśabhūmika Sūtra:

> O sons of the Conqueror, these three world-realms are merely mind.[133]

And as it is said in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra:

> The mind which is agitated by latent propensities evolves into the appearance as objects.
> There are no objects. It is just the mind. The seeing of external objects is erroneous.[134]

If one establishes the sense of those statements by means of reasoning, one refutes [the contention] that the objective part [of perception] is a separate external object by means of such [reasoning] as the necessary concomitance of simultaneous apprehension.[135]

[Doubt:] Because one has thus negated external objects, the [mental] appearing [of things] as apprehended [objects] is not acceptable. [Reply:] By negating the apprehended [i.e. the "objective"] part [of perception], the very [subject] that apprehends it is also negated. [p. 138] For as [Vasubandhu] said:

> Because there is no apprehended [object], for that there exists no apprehender.[136]

Therefore pure experience is established by self-referential awareness. By refuting apprehended [object] and apprehending [subject] through reasoning that

has objective grounding,[137] non-dual awareness is established. For as [Dharmakīrti] said [in PVin I 38]:

> The mind has no other thing to experience. For it, there exists no other experiencer. Because apprehended [object] and apprehending [subject] do not exist, [the mind] thus illuminates itself.[138]

Therefore [Dharmakīrti's] intended meaning was that this very [non-dual awareness] is the basis of Cyclic Existence (saṃsāra) and Extinction (nirvāṇa) which arise from being mistaken or not, through the power of understanding or not understanding.

Therefore, having established "mental cognition" (vijñapti), the basis for transactional usage, [now] for the sake of establishing the ultimate truth that is beyond transactional usage [we consider the following]:[139] In the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra it is said:

> And having gone beyond "mind-only," one should apply [oneself] to that which is without appearance.[140]

And in the Pramāṇavārttika [II 252cd, 253ab] [Dharmakīrti] said:

> [The Buddha] taught the meditation on suffering with the suffering of conditionality in mind. [According to] our [school], that [suffering] was born from the conditions [of the kleśas]. That [production through conditions] too is a support for the theory of no-self.[141]

And in the Yuktiṣaṣṭikā [v. 12, Nāgārjuna] said:

> That unwise man who imagines the birth of even an extremely subtle entity [p. 139] does not perceive the sense of birth out of conditions.[142]

Therefore non-dual awareness itself is dependent, momentary, and born from conditions. And since birth from conditions itself is the absence of [genuine, independent] birth, [only] that which is birthless and free from discursive developments is established in ultimate truth. For as it is said in the Anavataptanāgarājaparipṛcchā Sūtra:

> Anything born from conditions is not born. For it there does not exist a nature that is born. That which is dependent on conditions is emptiness. He who understands emptiness is prudent.[143]

Therefore, if one well understands "mental cognition" (vijñapti), one will understand the undistorted reality of the Madhyamaka.[144] That was the intended meaning of the author of the Pramāṇavārttika.[145]

> (III 49) When one discerns external objects, the Sautrāntika tenets have objective grounding.[146] Therefore all the basic treatises of all [great] scholars possess such [tenets as their basis].

When one engages in [investigations wherein one provisionally accepts] external objects, what the non-Buddhist sectarians maintain--cognition of a sense object through a connection of inherence (samavāya) [i.e. of a quality in the object which comes in contact with the sense organ][147]--and what the Vaibhāṣikas maintain--cognition of the object through simultaneous object and sense faculty--are not acceptable, for there exists a sound means of knowledge that disproves them. [But] there does exist proof and there is no disproof of the opinion maintained by the Sautrāntikas that there is birth of cognition from four conditions, such as the object, sense faculty, and attention,[148] which is the import of the statement in a Sūtra: "Based on the eye, taking form as its object, ocular cognition is born."[149] [p. 140] Consequently this is a sound means of knowledge that possesses objective grounding. Therefore this is the reason that all [great] scholars such as the Ācarya Asaṅga and his brother [Vasubandhu], Dignāga, and Dharmakīrti composed their doctrinal formulations of scripture and reasoning based on the Sautrāntika.

> (III 50) In this regard, [certain] Tibetans proclaim that [some] followers of the Mind-Only asserted external objects. [But] just like a permanent entity,[150] this is impossible. [Those who assert external objects] are simply to be included within the Sautrāntika.

[Certain] Tibetans maintain that those texts which affirm both external objects and mind--the treatises of the higher [i.e. Mahāyāna] Abhidharma such as the Abhidharmasamuccaya--are Mind-Only [texts] that assert external objects.[151] [This] is unacceptable, for if the [theory] is mind-only (Tib.: sems tsam:

cittamātra) it is incompatible with the affirmation of external objects, and if one affirms external objects that is incompatible with the Mind-Only. It is, for example, just like affirming a permanent entity. For if [something] is permanent, it is not possible that it be an object, [and] if [something] is an entity it is not possible that it be permanent. Therefore [here] it is simply the case that by virtue of their not knowing well the Sautrāntika tenets, [such persons] rashly speak of "followers of the Mind-Only who have affirmed external objects."

(III 51) When external objects are being negated, "mental cognition" (vijñapti) is objectively grounded. When reality is being determined, [p. 141] the reasons of the Madhyamaka are objectively grounded.

Therefore, at the time when external objects are being negated, [the reasons] of the Mind-Only [such as] "the absence of oneness and manyness,"[152] "the necessary concomitance of simultaneous apprehension,"[153] and "the reason of [illumination and] awareness,"[154] as well as reasons based on scripture such as the different appearances of a single object [to beings of different karmas], all have objective grounding.

But when ultimate reality is being determined, the reasoning of the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka such as the "vajra-particle" (rdo rje gzegs ma) and the "negation of the 'tetralemma' (catuṣkoti) of birth" (mu bzhi skye 'gog)[155] and the reasonings of the Prāsaṅgika such as the "[unestablished] like the thing to be proven" (sādhyasama)[156] and the "[analogous reasoning through] a like reason" (*hetusama)[157] have objective grounding.[158]

(III 52) Some say that if one affirms tenets, there exists no objective grounding. That is not so. If there were no objective grounding, how would the negating and establishing of [anything by] reasoning be feasible?

Some Tibetans say that when one bases oneself on tenets one merely utters ignorant and capricious fabrications through the desire and hatred that [arises from] maintaining one's own opinion, and that tenets based on scripture have no objective grounding.[159] This is not acceptable. [To say so] is to detract from the Lord Buddha, saintly individuals and learned persons, because tenets based on scripture follow them. Therefore, if tenets have no objective grounding coming into play in their respective contexts, there will be no capability of negating or establishing [anything] with respect to that context.[160] For example, for

individuals of similar experience of appearances [according to their] karma, if such things as water and fire appear, just that sound cognition by direct perception of [their characteristics of] quenching or burning has objective grounding. But for others whose karmas do not agree, such as for hungry ghosts (pretas), [p. 142] such things as water do not have objective grounding.[161] [For them] what is objectively grounded is just whatever they experience themselves.

Accordingly, if one affirms [the existence of] entities, the proof that [entities] are impermanent through [the reason] that they are fabricated [or] existent has objective grounding.[162] But how could the proof that [an entity] is impermanent because it is fabricated [or] existent have objective grounding for a Mādhyamika? [The Mādhyamika] does not affirm either existence or non-existence as the characteristic of [a subject] whose "entityness" is not established, because all factors of existence (dharmas) are without own-natures.[163] For as it is said in the Mother (i.e. the Prajñāpāramitā):

> O Śāriputra, where there does not exist mind, is there anything to be objectively apprehended as something like existent or non-existent?[164]

And as it is said in the Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā [V 1c]:

> [If a Bodhisattva] expounds impermanence, [he] deals with the counterfeit.[165]

Likewise the reasons that are based on causality[166] and non-apprehension[167] too will have a different objective grounding according to different experienced appearances [of external reality] and [different] tenets.

Moreover, though for ordinary beings of mundane vision the five sense organs engaging their own separate objects has objective grounding, for a Buddha who has transcendental vision the five sense organs engage all objects. [At that time] the very thing described in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra [IX 41] is objectively grounded:

> When the five sense organs are transformed [through the attainment of Buddhahood, they] engage all objects, and there arise the twelve-hundred good qualities for all [the senses]. One attains the excellent wealth [of the two kāyas].[168]

Therefore since the objective grounding is different according to differences between [various beings'] karma and [between] individuals, you should

discern [in every context] what is and is not objectively grounded!

[Doubt:] The system of the surface-level and [p. 143] ultimate truth are different, and therefore while the ultimate is beyond knowledge and expression because it is free from discursive developments, negation and proof that are objectively grounded [can] operate [only] with regard to the surface-level [of truth] since [the latter] is the object of knowledge and expression.[169] [Answer:] That being so, the stages of non-Buddhist sectarian and Buddhist tenets come into play concerning the acceptability or non-acceptability of just the surface level, [including] such [topics] as the existent and non-existent, the permanent and non-permanent, insensible material things and mind, and apprehended object and apprehending subject. And regarding those [different stages of tenets], if the non-Buddhist sectarian affirms a self that partakes of objects, for him there is nothing suitable besides that reasoning of his. And accordingly the intended meaning [of Dharmakīrti?] was that the positions maintained by [the Buddhist schools]--the Vaibhāṣika's "apprehension through simultaneously [occuring] sense organ and object," the Sautrāntika's "production of cognition that apprehends objects through four conditions,"[170] the Mind-Only adherent's "pure experience [that is] non-dual cognition, which appears as external [objects] because of habitual propensities," and the Mādhyamika's "appearance of interdependent [arising] for that which lacks an own-nature,"--[are objectively grounded each in their own contexts]. In the affirming of one's own system, that very reasoning of one's own situation--that very reasoning which is immediately appropriate with reference to that context--is [held to be] objectively grounded, for to reason in a way that is mixed up [with other contexts or systems] is to wander in error.

For example, in activities such as farming in different places and seasons, [each activity] will be successfully realized through its own system of practice, whereas if one mixes them up one will not succeed.[171] The Buddha's teaching of different classes of scripture according to the particular mental dispositions [of different creatures] was also done with that in mind.

[Objection:] Even though one should stay within the reasoning of the context of one's own [school], still, whatever becomes destroyed when examined by scholars is mistaken, while whatever [remains] undestroyed is objectively grounded. [Reply:] In that case, [p. 144] reasoning that is objectively grounded would be impossible to express. For whatever is established as the object of mind becomes, upon examination, liable to faults.[172] Nothing is [then] suitable but silence. For as it is said in the Sūtra of the Licchavi [i.e. the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa]:

> The Son of the Conqueror remains in silence. Silence itself explains greatly.[173]

And in the Pramāṇavārttika [III 209]:

> "However one examines [objects], just so [do they] disintegrate." That [reasoning] stated by learned persons issues from objective grounding.[174]

Therefore since nothing whatsoever is established if examined by reasoning that is objectively grounded, ultimately one should adopt the behavior of [Vimalakīrti] the Licchavi.

> (III 53) And with regard to reasoning there are two types. The tradition of the other group, the non-Buddhist sectarians [is that there are] one or many means of knowledge, and [they maintain] separate definitions for those and many differences in [their] divisions and classifications. But since these are well known as being erroneous, here I shall not explain them.

Also with regard to the system of reasoning, there are two: our own group--the Buddhists--and the other group--the non-Buddhist Indian sectarians. From among those two, the early Buddhists maintained that there were three means of knowledge: direct perception, inference, and scripture; whereas Dignāga held that scripture that is incompatible with reasoning is not a true means of knowledge, and that if scripture is not falsified by reasoning and [p. 145] is not mutually contradictory, it is a means of knowledge, though it should be included within inference.[175] For as [Dharmakīrti] said in the Pramāṇavārttika [I 216]:

> Even though the object of trustworthy words [of scripture] is hidden from the general [classes of manifest and hidden phenomena cognizable by the] infallible [means of knowledge], because there is no opportunity [to cognize a "completely hidden" phenomena otherwise], the cognition [that understands through scriptures] is held to be the means of knowledge, inference.[176]

The non-Buddhist sectarians maintain that there are one, three, four, five, six or more sound means of knowledge.[177] But since these [opinions] are universally known to be erroneous, here I have not elaborated on them.[178]

(III 54) Our own faction holds the Buddha to be an authority. That [tradition of logico-epistemology] has two [schools], an early and a later. The early [school], which included such [scholars] as Vasubandhu and Bhāvaviveka,[179] though in fact being without error, was nevertheless different [from the later school] with respect to some differences of division and classification, and in its manner of expressing [a formally stated inference].

Those early scholars in actual fact were without error. Nevertheless there exist differences [with the later logicians] regarding the number of sound means of knowledge, their internal divisions and classifications, and the form of expression [of the formal argument]. They maintained a system in which three means of knowledge were held to exist: direct perception, inference, and scripture.[180] And Vasubandhu in his Vādavidhi (Rtsod pa grub pa) classified futile rejoinders into three [classes].[181] Also [the early logicians] employed a five-membered statement of proof.[182] [p. 146]

(III 55) The later [Buddhist logicians] such as Dignāga and Dharmakīrti[183] were superior to the early school with respect to such things as the number [of sound means of knowledge], differences of divisions and classifications, and the "expansiveness in brevity" regarding the form in which [their formal argument] was expressed.

The later scholars such as Dignāga determined that the sound means of knowledge were two in number; scripture [for them] is not a means of knowledge if it conflicts with reasoning, and if it does not conflict [with reasoning] it [should be] included within inference.[184] And as for the differences of divisions and classifications, such logical relations (sambandha) as cause and effect (kārya-kāraṇa) were included within [the two]: identity (tādātmya) and causation (tadutpatti).[185] They did not classify futile rejoinders into three classes, for as the sūtra [i.e. the Pramāṇasamuccaya] says:

> In the Vādavidhi [of Vasubandhu] three types [of futile rejoinders] are explained with reference to the futile rejoinders [taught by the non-Buddhist dialecticians]: inverted, untrue, and contrary. Regarding this, one cannot differentiate [them in this way].[186]

Also, the method by which [the early logicians] set forth [their] argument had five members. To give an example:

(1) There exists a fire on the pass [Thesis]
(2) for there exists smoke, [Reason]
(3) as in a kitchen. [Example]
(4) Smoke exists also on the pass. [Application]
(5) Therefore fire exists [on the pass]. [Conclusion][187]

This is unacceptable, because the expression of pervasion (vyāpti) of the reason by the predicate[188] [i.e. "wherever there is smoke there is fire"] is not complete, and the thesis (pratijñā), application (upanaya) and conclusion (nigamana) are redundant.[189] Therefore [their] statements of argument were "expansive in brevity,"[190] which means that because they formulated [their argumentation] in a two-membered form--the expression of the pervasion of the reason by the predicate and the statement of the presence of the reason in the subject (pakṣadharmatā)[191]--the dialectic of the later [logicians] was supreme.

And regarding the later persons who based themselves on the basic texts of Dharmakīrti:

(III 56) I have seen two debating procedures. [p. 147] Dharmakīrti "removed the thorns" from the reason after having set forth his statement of proof. He held that [to do] otherwise was a defeat situation.[192]

As [Dharmakīrti] said in his Vādanyāya,[193] after one has set forth a faultless statement of proof for whatever the present context of debate is, one should "remove the thorns"[194] [i.e. show the absence of a fallacious reason by stating] as follows:

This logical mark is not unestablished (asiddha) for it is seen in the subject.

It is not contrary (viruddha), for it is established in homogeneous instances.

It is not uncertain (anaikāntika), for it is absent from heterogeneous instances.

A proponent who does not remove the three thorns through such a procedure is in a defeat situation.[195] After the fallacies of the reason have been negated, the respondent's statement of rebuttal should begin, he taught.[196]

(III 57) Some later scholars of reasoning in their statements of the logical reason [during debate] "removed the thorns" [i.e. negated the fallacies of

the reason] [only] after the respondent had stated the logical fault. Tibetans debate in general in agreement with that [method].[197]

It is related that a debate once took place between a scholar of Vikramaśīla and an Eastern Indian (Baṅgala) Brahmin, in which a king who knew grammar and logic acted as a witnessing arbiter. At that time the opinion maintained by the Brahmin was that the sound of the Veda was permanent, and in that connection the Buddhist advanced the thesis that it was impermanent. The Brahmin inquired, "For what reason is it not permanent?" [In reply] the Buddhist set forth the statement of proof: "Whatever exists is non-permanent, as a pot. Sound too exists." To that the Brahmin remarked in criticism, "The 'thorns' of that logical mark have not been removed." Since the king was witness, the latter said to the Buddhist, "Remove the thorns of that logical mark!" [p. 148] The [Buddhist] paṇḍita answered, "What is the need to remove the thorns of my logical mark which is without fault?" At that the Brahmin, since he did not know the reason for the need to remove the thorns, sat there [silently], having lost the confidence to reply. Since then most proponents have adhered to that procedure, and many practice a system [of debate] that includes such things as not removing the thorns regarding the logical mark.

I have seen that the debating [practice] of Tibetan dialecticians, who do not know the system of the Vādanyāya, is also always to engage in the respondent's statement of faults without [the proponent] having removed the thorns with regard to the logical mark.

(III 58) Since this procedure is not what was maintained by Dharmakīrti, it is difficult for it to be acceptable.[198]

Since [Dharmakīrti] taught in the Vādanyāya that it is an occasion of defeat for the proponent if he does not remove the thorns with respect to the statement of the logical mark [in his formal argument],[199] one should debate having removed the thorns. If [one does] otherwise, it will be contrary to the intent of Dharmakīrti.

(III 59) One should understand this sort of debating from the "Group of Seven" [treatises by Dharmakīrti] and from the Treasure of Reasoning (Rigs pa'i gter).

[This method of debating] is taught at great length in the Pramāṇavārttika and the others of the "Group of Seven" [Pramāṇa] treatises [by Dharmakīrti], and one should [also] understand this from the Treasure of Reasoning (Rigs pa'i gter) of my own composition, which summarizes the import of the "Group of Seven."[200]

(III 60) Here I shall explain a little of the system [of debate] which is easily understandable for beginners.

On this occasion I shall explain a little of the way of questioning and answering, in order to make it easily understood by beginners at debating. [p. 149]

(III 61) If one questions, one should ask something that is pertinent to the topic. [One should] not [ask] simultaneously a large number [of questions].

The non-Buddhist sectarians say that after the proponent recites in a single continuous statement a [long] series of different pūrvapakṣas such as one hundred or two hundred of them, the respondent [should] repeat that [long series of] pūrvapakṣas without mixing up their order. Then [the respondent] should refute [that] ordered series by means of [his] uttarapakṣas. But if [the respondent] is unable to state such [a long series] of pūrvapakṣas, there will occur the defeat situation called "not repeating."[201] The intended meaning [of Dharmakīrti] in the Vādanyāya is that although it is permissible to refute each pūrvapakṣa that is immediately relevant to the topic, to repeat irrelevant pūrvapakṣas would be a defeat by the very fact that [to do so] is not a "branch" [i.e. a statement] of proof or refutation.[202] Therefore even when the respondent questions, he should ask about a relevant topic of debate such as "Is sound permanent or non-permanent?" But he should not ask many [questions] such as "Is it self-produced?" "Is it made by a person?" [and so forth], for to debate about a latter question without determining the previous would make one's statement faulty.

[Objection:] Some non-Buddhist sectarians say that after [the proponent] has strung together many pūrvapakṣas, the respondent, not being able to retain those exactly, will become mixed up and make mistakes when [attempting to] repeat and refute them in the order [that they were recited by the proponent]. And in that way [they hold that] the enumerating of many pūrvapakṣas is a means for causing the occurence of the defeat situation called "lacking the confident composure of mind [to reply]."[203]

[Reply:] [Dharmakīrti] in the Vādanyāya said that even if one defeats [others] by means of trickery, this does not enable one to uphold tenets.[204] Therefore it is not [to be considered] the debate of a noble person.

(III 62) Even though many logical marks apply to one probandum [p. 150], in debate one should not [state] many. If the previous one is not [a sound] logical mark, that is a defeat situation. If it is [a sound] logical mark, [then to state] the latter brings about a defeat situation.

For demonstrating that sound is impermanent there exist many logical marks that are probans, such as [that sound is] an existing entity, that it is fabricated, and that it is the outcome of effort. But one should state only one [of those] and should not state many others.[205] For [when one states more than one reason], if the earlier [reason] is not a [sound] logical mark there will be a defeat occasion through stating something that is not a probans. Whereas if the former [reason] is a [sound] logical mark, there is a defeat situation [because] the statement of the latter [reason] is a redundancy, just as a statement of the thesis [is redundant and unnecessary in Dignāga and Dharmakīrti's system].[206]

(III 63) [In some cases where the respondent says] such things as that the subject is not established, if [the proponent] questions the reason, it [may] be revealed as established.

[A respondent] may say, "The subject is not established,"[207] when one [as the proponent posits] as one's subject an impossible subject such as the horn of a hare or the self (ātman)[208]; or posits a subject that, though possible, is not established by a sound means of knowledge, such as a demon's pot or the freedom from desire[209]; or when a subject such as a mental direct perception or an [independent], non-contingent [entity] [is asserted] which, though established through a means of knowledge, threatens to spoil the basic topic of debate if one states a probans.[210] In that case, one should speak [in reply] as follows: "Is its being unestablished merely words, or is there a reason for it? If it is unestablished merely on account of [your] words, then why is it not established by means of [just my words if] I too say, 'It is established'?" If [the respondent] says, "There exists a logical mark" [then one should reply], "Set forth that logical mark." If he sets forth a logical mark, and if he does not set forth as [his] subject such [unestablished] things as the horn of a hare or a demon's pot, the

subject will be unestablished for the respondent too. But if [the respondent] does set forth [such unestablished things as his subject], that itself will be the established subject of the proponent too. Likewise [p. 151] one should fittingly apply and understand [this principle] in relation to other debates.

(III 64) The master [Nāgārjuna] maintained that when Mādhyamikas debate by means of emptiness, all the replies of others are unestablished like the things to be proven.[211]

When a Mādhyamika [in a debate] against those who maintain the existence of entities negates such things as Īśvara [the creator], insensate material objects, or Vijñapti by means of such reasoning as the absence of production, at that time [in] all [those proofs]--the proof by the *Aiśvara (Śaiva) of [the existence of] the creator Īśvara by the putting forward of such things as shapes [found in nature],[212] and [in the putting forward of] "atoms" by the Śrāvaka and the positing of a probans for [the existence of] Vijñapti by the Mind-Only adherent[213]--the probans is also unestablished just as the probandum is unestablished. Even though they set forth something else for the sake of proving that [probandum of theirs], it is similar to that. For as the master [Nāgārjuna] said [in the Mūlamadhyamaka kārikās IV 8]:

If one argues through emptiness, whoever claims to give a reply has not replied at all, for [his probans] is like the thing to be proven.[214]

Likewise one should apply and understand [this principle] with regard to such [Prāsaṅgika reasonings] as the "balancing through a like reason" (rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms).[215]

(III 65) Tibetans have three answers to [rejoinders given by the respondent in the form of] necessary consequences: they answer that the reason or the pervasion is unestablished, or else that they are agreed in maintaining [the consequence].

Tibetans have three answers to necessary consequences [in which the respondent attempts to refute the proponent's formal statement of proof]: If the reason is absent from the subject, [p. 152] [they answer], "The reason is unestablished." To both contrary and uncertain [reasons they answer], "The pervasion is

unestablished." If [the consequence] is in accord with what they affirm, they answer "Agreed."[216]

(III 66) In that case all logical defects of necessary consequences should be [reduced to] "It is unestablished" alone. [But] this was not taught in the "Group of Seven [treatises of Dharmakīrti]."[217]

Why not say "It is unestablished" to all faulty reasons? [Objection:] Although in fact they are all subsumed within "not established," still the non-establishment of the reason is a fault regarding the absence of the reason from the subject, and the non-establishment of pervasion is a defect of pervasion. Consequently there should be the two: unestablished reason and unestablished pervasion. [Reply:] In such a case, though the contrary and uncertain [reasons] are both defects of pervasion, the contrary is where [the reason] has no occurence whatsoever in homogeneous instances, and the uncertain is where [the reason] occurs also in heterogeneous instances. So why should there not be two [kinds of] necessary consequences, called "contrary" and "uncertain"?

Therefore, if one subsumes the answers under "unestablished," all the replies will be one and the same, whereas if one divides them with a purpose in view, there will be three [replies that indicate logical faults]. For that reason [Dharmakīrti] in the "Group of Seven [Treatises]" on the occasion of [explaining] debating taught three logical defects: "unestablished," "contrary," and "uncertain." But he did not make "the pervasion is unestablished" into one class. For as it was said [in PV I 15]:

> And with regard to the three modes of the reason, he stated the necessity that these [three must act] as the counteragents to [reasons that are] unestablished, of opposite content [i.e. "contrary"], and erroneous [i.e. "uncertain"].[218] [p. 153]

(III 67) [In answer] to the statement of contrary consequence, [if the proponent says] "What does it matter if [the opposite of the original predicate] is the case even if [the reason] exists?" the force of the conjunctive particle (yang) goes awry.[219]

[In answer] to statements of incompatible consequences such as "Because it is fabricated it follows that it is permanent" or "Because smoke exists it

follows that there is no fire," [in your tradition you] must say, "What is the incompatibility if [something] is non-permanent even if it is fabricated? The pervasion is not established." Or: "What is the incompatibility if there exists fire even if smoke also exists? The pervasion is not established." But in those cases, because the word kyang (here: "even if") is a particle which causes conjunction, [the sense becomes]: "Even if 'fabricated' applies to both permanent and non-permanent, here it is non-permanent." Or: "Even if 'smoke' applies to both the existence and non-existence of fire, here what is the incompatibility if it is smoke which has a fire?" [The particle kyang] will be a particle of conjunction [giving the sense]: "There is the consequence of smoke even in the absence of fire." Just as in the following example: When [the respondent] states, "Because [sound] is an object of knowledge, it follows that it is permanent," [in your tradition you] must state [in reply]: "What is the incompatibility if it is non-permanent even if it is also an object of knowledge?" But in that case the word yang acts as a particle that joins both "permanent" and "non-permanent" to "object of knowledge."

Therefore all such modes of expression are manifestations of not identifying the force of the words because of not understanding grammar.

[Question:] How do you reply to necessary consequences? [Answer:]

> (III 68) For this there are the three [replies to faulty consequences]: "unestablished," "contrary," and "uncertain." If it is none [of these three, the reply is]: "What I maintain is established" [i.e. "Agreed"]. If it is none of those [four], it cannot be confuted because it is a sound logical consequence.[220] [p. 154]

We [maintain as follows]: If [a respondent] says [to a proponent who maintains that sound is impermanent because it is fabricated]: "[It follows that] sound [is permanent, or anything else] because it is an object of sense-apprehension for the eye," [the proponent's reply is]: "The reason is unestablished [in the subject]." Or if [the respondent] says: "It follows that fire does not exist because there is smoke," [the reply is]: "[The reason] is contrary." And if [the respondent] says, "It follows that [sound] is permanent because it is an object of knowledge," [the reply is]: "[The reason] is uncertain." And if [the respondent] says, "It follows that [sound] is not permanent because it has been fabricated," [the proponent's reply is]: "I maintain that."

And if to [a proponent] who maintains that fabricated things are permanent [the respondent] states, "It follows that [sound] is permanent because it is

fabricated," he cannot confute this because it is valid [as a consequence of his position].[221]

(III 69) Debating that thus conforms with the Dharma is a cause for the Doctrine to flourish. Since it is praised by the Noble Ones, learned persons should excellently compose [such discourses].[222]

Proof and refutation [that are achieved] without faults of sense or language for the sake of correct understanding of the Doctrine are a cause for the Doctrine to flourish. Therefore noble individuals should produce such religious discourses.

III. The Conclusion:
The Summary and Communication [of What Transpired] for the Sake of Making it Easily Understandable to the Assembly

(III 70) Having thus properly settled [the debate], [finally] for the sake of making [the contents of the debate] retained, the witness should summarize and proclaim the statements made in the debate. This is the traditional practice of [great] scholars.

After the matters to be proved or negated have been established by way of assertions and replies in the actual debate, and after the acceptance and rejection of tenets have thereby been made understood, [the witnessing arbiter] should bring together any statements that have become a bit dispersed, and state them so that the assembly can easily understand.[223] [p. 155]

(III 71) If the assembled [witnesses] are ignorant, or if through attachment or anger they do not take heed, one should in that place write down the words [of the arguments] and [afterward] show them to another learned, upright [judge].[224]

If the witness is an ignorant person who is unlearned in the procedures of debate, or if even though he understands he does not pay attention on account of desire or anger, or if he falsely detracts [something] from one's honestly stated

words, or falsely imputes something by slightly changing the wording--where such witnesses are found, the debating of [true] scholars will not be praised, just as in a place where there is a poisonous snake, a lamp will not be bright. Therefore in that place with the witness present, one should set down in writing the words [of both opponents], and by sending [this record] to the gathering of another assembly of upright scholars, the learned virtues [of the two debaters] will be exactly understood. This procedure is the liberated conduct [followed by] the great scholars of the past.

(III 72) By sounding forth the lion's roar of the Doctrine of the Tathāgata, may I defeat all the wild animals of erroneous views, and dwelling in the incontrovertible attainment, may I continually uphold the doctrine of the Buddha![225]

[Concluding Verses and Colophon]

(III 73) So that the Sage's Doctrine may widely flourish and so that it may remain for a long time in this world, I have opened the three entrance doors for the wise who uphold the traditions of scholarship. May the wise enter within![226] [p. 156]

(III 74) The sentient creatures of this degenerate age possess little merit. For that reason they lack the capacity to [be able to] study [to the point of] mastery. Even though I exert myself, there are few who take it up. Therefore it is difficult [for me to find] a chance for benefiting others.[227]

(III 75) Though indeed I have still more excellent sayings [to impart], these are not within the range of the beings of this corrupt age. Because persons who desire learnedness are few, I have not expatiated here at great length, for there is little it will do.[228]

(III 76) [I], the Śākya bhikṣu Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po who have great reverence toward the Doctrine here at the termination of the Doctrine[229] and who wish to defend and uphold the entire Doctrine, have composed this for the benefit of the Doctrine.[230]

(III 77) Nowadays this doctrine of the Śākya Lion diminishes day by day, like a pond whose tributary streams have dried up.[231] Those who have bright minds [and] who desire liberation must exert themselves for an excellent understanding of this procedure.[232]

(III 78) By the opening of [this] Entrance Gate for the Wise, which I have here composed so that the Doctrine may flourish, may all beings enter the gateway of the great liberation, and may the Conqueror together with his sons be pleased![233]

This treatise, the Entrance Gate for the Wise, which establishes the procedures of composition, teaching and debate, is a gateway by which intelligent persons enter into the great city of liberation; it is a passageway to be crossed over by noble persons. [p. 157] It was composed in a country of the northern region, the Land of Glacier-peaked Mountains, a place situated one hundred yojanas from the

Bodhimaṇḍa of the Vajrāsana (Bodhgayā), by the Śākya bhikṣu Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, whose mental darkness was removed to a small extent by light rays from the mind of Mañjughoṣa and who thereby attained mental illumination over most of the Maṇḍala of knowable things and thus has the merit of possessing a ready confidence concerning teaching, composition and debate.[234]

[Here] for the present

[this treatise]

is completed.

NOTES

[1]'bel ba'i gtam (sāṃkathya) "dialectical discussion or discourse." The Venerable Khenpo Appey explained it as "question-and-answer discussion, or back-and-forth conversation" (dri ba dang dris lan nam phan tshun skad cha bshad pa). Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon pa, p. 375.5 (188a.5) similarly explained: ji ltar thos bsam gyis gtan la dbab pa rnams dri ba dang lan 'debs pa'i tshul gyis phan tshun 'BEL BA'I GTAM GYIS RNAM PAR NGES PA DANG. But Khenpo Appey also pointed out that Bu-ston in his commentary on the Abhidharmasamuccaya (AS), Chos mngon pa, pp. 729.7-730.1, explained 'bel gtam as a "faultless, correct account (or speech)" (skyon med pa yang dag pa'i gtam ni/ 'bel gtam ste/).

Sāṃkathya is one of six saṃgrahaviniścaya (bsdus pa rnam par nges pa) in the AS. See also W. Rahula (1971), p. 180 and note 16.

[2]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, does not comment on KhJ verses III 1-14, but instead refers the reader to the RT (which means the RTRG). He had already commented on these passages in his RT commentary Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 282.4ff (= 191b.4ff).

For a discussion of the topics of KhJ III 1, see RTRG, chapter 11, p. 251.4.3-4:

rgol dang phyir rgol dpang po gsum//
bsgrub dang sun 'byin brda sprod pa'o//

sgrub byed brjod par khas len pa rgol ba/ sun 'byin brjod par khas len pa phyir rgol/ de gnyis pham rgyal brjod par khas len pa dpang po'o//.

[3]rgol ba (vādin), the general word for both adversaries in a debate. But in some contexts it must be translated as "proponent," i.e. as the equivalent of sngar rgol ba (pūrvavādin).

[4]brgal lan. See also KhJ III 71. Cf. KhJ II 33 (D p. 101.2.2):
brgal lan sgo nas gzhung gi don//
lung dang rigs pas gtan la dbab//

[5]rgol ba (vādin), "proponent." See above, note 3.

[6]phyir rgol (prativādin).

[7]The "witness" or "witnessing arbiter" (dpang po : sākṣin) is thus both an impartial observer and a judge or umpire. For the Sanskrit equivalent see VN (S),

D. Shastri (1972), pp. 69.1, 107.2, and 107.6. Cf. the AS: smra ba'i zhal che ba, vādādhikaraṇa; W. Rahula (1971), p. 181. Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 340, note 5, listed the following terms for "impartial judge": madhyastha, prāśnika, and sabhya. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.5, the Vinaya system too had a functionary with the title dpang po.

8 tshar bcad pa'i gnas (nigrahasthāna). See RTRG, p. 252.2.2.

9 rjes su gzung ba (anugraha). A basic meaning of this term is "to assist, favor, further." See ibid. Cf. Critical Pali Dictionary, vol. I, p. 183, anuggaha, "admission, concession."

10 Sa-paṇ discusses the opinions of these "Tibetans" in RTRG, p. 252.2.6: gangs can pa'i lugs ni/

rgol ba la ni [252.3.1] gsum gnyis drug//
phyir rgol la yang gsum gnyis drug//
dpang po la gsum kun la gcig//
gangs can pa rnams bcu drug 'dod//

rgol ba dris pa'i lan mi brjod pa skyon can brjod pa ma dris pa brjod pa ste gsum dang// skyon spong ba'i tshe/ skyon mi spang ba/ lan ltar snang ba/ skabs su ma bab pa'i lan brjod pa ste drug go//

phyir rgol 'dri ba'i tshe mi 'dri ba/ mi 'os pa 'dri ba/ ma 'brel ba 'dri ba dang gsum// skyon brjod pa'i tshe/ skyon mi brjod pa/ skyon ltar snang brjod pa/ skabs su ma bab pa'i skyon brjod pa ste drug go//

dpang po la shan mi 'byed pa/ phyin ci log tu 'byed pa/ skabs ma yin par 'byed pa ste gsum mo//

thun mong du rna mi gtod pa dang drug go zhes zer ro//

'di mi 'thad de/ . . . .

The commentators do not seem to identify these Tibetans more precisely. See for instance Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 707.7; and Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 648.5 (132b.5). But these Tibetans would seem to have been the initiators and followers of the main school of dialectics in Sa-paṇ's time, i.e. Phywa-pa and his successors.

11 This verse in the Vādanyāya (VN) appears at the beginning of the treatise. It is one of only three verses in this mainly prose work. See E. Steinkellner (1977), p. 225; cf. A. Vostrikov (1935), p. 6. The verse as preserved in the Tanjur translation is nearly identical. See VN (D), p. 326b.5, and (P) p.

364b.2:

sgrub pa'i yan lag mi brjod cing//
skyon mi brjod pa gnyis po dag//
tshar gcad pa yi gnas yin gyi//
gzhan ni mi rigs phyir mi 'dod//

line c: gcad D: bcad P

This verse is also quoted in RTRG, p. 252.2.5.

The Sanskrit (following M. T. Much [1983], cf. D. Shastri [1972], pp. 4f):

asādhanāṅgavacanam
adoṣodbhāvanam dvayoḥ /
nigrahasthānam, anyat tu
na yuktam iti neṣyate //

On the two defeat situations, cf. A. K. Warder (1971), p. 206.

[12]For an identical discussion, see RTRG, p. 252.4.4: dpang po la tshar gcod pa'i gnas . . . . The two main duties of the witness, as discerned by Shākya-mchog-ldan, are: (1) accurately repeating the words of the opponents, and (2) discerning who has won and lost. See his Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.5: dpang pos ji ltar bya ba'i rim pa la/ dam pa'i 'dul ba las rgyas par gsungs pa de nyid sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la zhugs pa nang phan tshun gyi dbang du byas shing de nyid 'dir khas blangs kyang 'gal ba med mod// 'dir ni phyi nang thun mong gi dbang du byas nas bshad na/ dang po rnam par dbye ba'i dpang pos ni/ rgol phyir rgol gyis smras pa'i ngag thams cad ma nor bar brjod par bya'o// gnyis pa shan 'byed pa'i dpang pos ni/ rgyal pham shan 'byed pa byed do/.

[13]Sa-paṇ quotes an identical version of this passage in RTRG, p. 251.4.4. Cf. the Tanjur translation, VN (D), p. 337a.5 and VN (P), p. 377b.7: yang dag pa'i sgrub par byed pa brjod pa'am/ yang dag pa'i skyon brjod pa'i sgo nas/ rigs pa'i rjes su 'jug par 'gyur te/ dbang po'i mngon sum nyid du go bar bya ba'i phyir ro// de ltar na dam pa rigs pa'i rjes su 'brang ba'i rtsod pa'o//.

The Sanskrit text in VN (S), M. T. Much (1983), p. 24, l. 6f; cf. D. Shastri (1972), pp. 68.22-69.1: nyāyam anusareyuḥ satsādhanābhidhānena bhūtadoṣodbhāvanena vā. sākṣipratyakṣaṃ tasyaivānuprabodhāya, tad eva nyāyānusaraṇaṃ satāṃ vādaḥ, . . .

[14]The explanations in brackets follow Sa-paṇ's exposition in his RTRG. For the location of each discussion, see below, note 16.

These twenty-two occasions of defeat in debate are taught in the Nyāya Sūtras (NS) ascribed to Aksapāda or Gautama, V,2,1-23. G. Oberhammer (1963), pp.

102f, has suggested that the fifth and first books had their origin in an early vāda doctrine which was later rearranged and turned into a vāda manual, to which book II and later books III and IV were added. See also G. Tucci (1929), pp. 468ff, and also G. Oberhammer (1964) as cited by K. Potter (1977), pp. 221 and 694.

There exist many editions and translations of the NS into European and Indian languages (listed in K. Potter [1970], nos. 214A-276B). See especially the edition and English translation of Ganganatha Jha, Poona Orientalist, vol. 1-10 (1936-45), which also includes Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya. The edition and translation were reprinted as Poona Oriental Series 58 (1939) and 59 (1939), respectively. A translation by Jha originally appeared in the Indian Thought Series 7 (1915), 9 (1917), 12 (1919), and 13 (1919), and it was reprinted in the Rinsen Sanskrit Series II (1983), nos. 1-4.

On these NS occasions of defeat see S. C. Vidyabhusana (1921), pp. 84-90; G. Tucci (1929), pp. 468f; Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, pp. 340f; G. Jha tr. (1939), pp. 540-554; E. A. Solomon (1976), pp. 209-261; and K. Potter (1977), pp. 272-274.

For the early Buddhist system of nigrahasthānas according to Asaṅga's Yogācārabhūmi, see G. Tucci (1929), pp. 458-460, and A. Wayman (1958), pp. 35-37. For the similar vādanigrahas in the AS, see W. Rahula (1971), p. 183.

[15]Dharmakīrti discussed these defeat situations in his VN. According to the edition of D. Shastri (1972), the defeats are discussed in the following places:

(1) pratijñāhāni (73.1-75.8)
(2) pratijñāntaram (75.9-77.11)
(3) pratijñāvirodha (77.12-92.11)
(4) pratijñāsamnāsa (92.12-93.5)
(5) hetvantaram (93.6-94.10)
(6) arthāntaram (94.11-95.4)
(7) nirarthakam (95.5-96.8)
(8) apratijñātārtham (96.9-97.4)
(9) apārthakam (97.5-98.2)
(10) aprāptakālam (98.3-104.6)
(11) nyūnam (104.7-14)
(12) adhikam (105.1-5)
(13) punaruktam (105.6-106.8)
(14) [punaruktam continued?] (106.9-109.1)
(15) [punaruktam continued] (109.2-5)

(16) ananubhāṣanam (109.6-114.6)
(17) ajñānam (114.7-117.7)
(18) apratibhā (117.8-12)
(19) vikṣepa (118.1-121.2)
(20) matānujñā (121.3-122.5)
(21) paryanuyojyopekṣaṇam (122.6-124.7)
(22) niranuyojyānuyoga (124.8-125.8)
(23) apasiddhānta (125.9-129.6)
(24) hetvābhāsa (129.7-135.1)

[16]The identical verses--which are thus probably the origin of KhJ verses III 4-7--are found in the RTRG, pp. 252.4.5-253.1.1. Sa-paṇ's autocommentary runs from pp. 253.1.1-257.1.1:

(1) dam bca' la gnod (253.1.2-5)
(2) dam bca' gzhan (253.1.5-2.4)
(3) dam bca' 'gal (253.2.4-254.1.2)
(4) dam bca' sel (254.1.2-5)
(5) gtan tshigs gzhan (254.1.5-2.3)
(6) don gzhan (254.2.3-6)
(7) don med pa (254.2.6-3.5)
(8) don mi shes pa (254.3.5-4.2)
(9) don bral ba (254.4.2-4)
(10) dus la ma bab (254.4.5-255.1.6)
(11) ma tshang (255.1.6-2.2)
(12) lhag brjod (255.2.2-4)
(13) yang brjod (255.2.4-3.5)
(14) rjes su mi smra (255.3.5-256.1.2)
(15) don mi shes (256.1.2-5)
(16) mi spobs (256.1.5-2.6)
(17) rnam g.yeng (256.2.1-3.1)
(18) 'dod pa khas len (256.3.1-4)
(19) brgal brtags 'dor ba (256.3.4-4.1)
(20) rjes su sbyor med la sbyor ba (256.4.1-3)
(21) grub mtha' nyams (256.4.3-257.1.1)
(22) gtan tshigs ltar snang (257.1.1)

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, pp. 119f, mentioned Sa-paṇ's treatment of the defeats as one of the main "original" contributions in the KhJ. But the RT was apparently composed first (c. 1219?), and the KhJ only sometime afterward (c. 1220-1230?). Thus this "original" contribution had probably already been

made in the RT.

[17] These futile rejoinders (ltag chod : jāti) were taught by Gautama in the Nyāya Sūtras, V,1. See G. Jha tr. (1939b), pp. 502-535. They are also listed or discussed by S. C. Vidyabhusana (1921), pp. 288f; S. Dasgupta (1952), vol. 2, p. 380, note 4; and E. A. Solomon (1976), pp. 144-199. K. H. Potter (1977), pp. 268-272, gives each of the twenty-four futile rejoinders, preceded by the arguments they purport to answer and followed by an explanation of how to "solve" such sophistical argumentation, in connection with Vātsyāyana's Nyāyabhāṣya.

These twenty-four are (see G. Jha [1939b] and S. C. Vidyabhusana [1921]):

(1) sādharmya-sama-jāti	[RT 7]
(2) vaidharmya--	[RT 8]
(3) utkarṣa--	[RT 15]
(4) apakarṣa--	[RT 16]
(5) varṇya--	[RT 17]
(6) avarṇya--	[RT 18]
(7) vikalpa--	[RT 9]
(8) sādhya--	[RT 21]
(9) prāpti--	[RT 1A]
(10) aprāpti--	[RT 1B]
(11) prasaṅga--	[RT 14]
(12) pratidṛṣṭānta--	[RT 20]
(13) anutpatti--	[RT 5]
(14) saṃśaya--	[RT 12]
(15) prakaraṇa--	[RT 23]
(16) ahetu-- [RT *hetu-]	[RT 2?]
(17) arthāpatti--	[RT 13]
(18) aviśeṣa--	[RT 10]
(19) upapatti--	[RT 19]
(20) upalabdhi--	[RT 11]
(21) anupalabdhi--	
(22) anitya--	[RT 22]
(23) nitya--	[RT 3]
(24) kārya--	[RT 6]

There is no anupalabdhi (NS no. 21) in the RT account (the Tibetan equivalent would be mi dmigs pa). Also in the NS list there is nothing that corresponds in name to RT no. 2, gtan tshigs (*hetu--), though it should be identified with NS no. 16, ahetu--.

Sa-paṇ in his RTRG explains the futile rejoinders in the following order, based on the PS and Nyāyaparīkṣā. Sa-paṇ counts the first two as one, as he explains on p. 257.1.4.

(1A) phrad pa mtshungs pa'i ltag chod (257.2.1-2)	[NS 9]
(1B) ma phrad pa (257.2.1-2)	[NS 10]
(2) gtan tshigs (257.2.2-5)	[NS 16?]
(3) rtag pa (257.2.5-3.1)	[NS 23]
(4) ma smras pa (257.3.1-3)	
(5) ma skyes pa (257.3.3-5)	[NS 13]
(6) 'bras bu (257.3.5-4.3)	[NS 24]
(7) chos mthun pa (257.4.3-5)	[NS 1]
(8) chos mi mthun (257.4.5-258.1.1)	[NS 2]
(9) rnam rtog (258.1.2-4)	[NS 7]
(10) khyad par med pa (258.1.4-2.3)	[NS 18]
(11) dmigs pa (258.2.3-3.2)	[NS 20]
(12) the tshom (258.3.2-5)	[NS 14]
(13) don gyis go ba (258.3.5-4.2)	[NS 17]
(14) thal 'gyur (258.4.3-5)	[NS 11]
(15) 'phel ba (259.1.3-4)	[NS 3]
(16) 'grib pa (259.1.4)	[NS 4]
(17) brjod pa (259.1.4-5)	[NS 5]
(18) ma brjod pa (259.1.5)	[NS 6]
(19) rigs pa (259.1.5-6)	[NS 19]
(20) so so'i dpe (259.1.6)	[NS 12]
(21) bsgrub bya (259.2.1-2)	[NS 8]
(22) mi rtag pa (259.2.2-3)	[NS 22]
(23) rab byed (259.2.3-6)	[NS 15]
(24) dus las 'das pa (259.2.6-3.4)	

In the NS list of jātis there is nothing that corresponds to no. 4 (ma smras pa : *anukta--?) and no. 24 (dus las 'das pa : kālātīta) of the RTRG. The latter, kālātīta, however, is discussed as a fallacious reason (hetvābhāsa: gtan tshigs ltar snang) in NS I,2,9. It is a reason that is "mistimed." See G. Jha tr. (1939b), pp. 85-97; S. C. Vidyabhusana (1921), pp. 63-65; and K. Potter (1977), p. 247.

Sa-paṇ explained the latter as a jāti because the Naiyāyikas are said to have used it as a futile rejoinder to their Mīmāṃsaka opponents (see RTRG, p. 259.2.6). He says that this was employed by later Naiyāyikas such as Vātsyāyana. For the Buddhist debator, however, this was not a "mistimed" reason. Rather, the

reason is simply unestablished (asiddha : ma grub pa).

[18]See Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya (Tshad ma kun las btus pa, D 4206), chapter 6, ltag chod brtag pa'i le'u, PS (P), pp. 12a.1-12b.6. The jātis mentioned there are as follows:

(1) phrad / ma phrad
(2) gtan tshigs ma tshang mtshungs
(3) rtag pa
(4) ma brjod mtshungs
(5) ma skyes mtshungs
(6) 'bras mtshungs
(7) chos mthun mtshungs
(8) chos mi mthun pas mtshungs
(9) rnam rtog mtshungs
(10) khyad med pa
(11) dmigs pa mtshungs
(12) the tshom
(13) don rtogs
(14) thal ba mtshungs

Sa-paṇ based his exposition of the first fourteen (or fifteen) jātis on the PS itself, and he quotes the PS some fifteen times (and quotes Dignāga's autocommentary once, p. 258.4.5). On the nityasamajāti (RT 3, NS 23) see also B. K. Matilal (1971), pp. 159f. On sādharmya-- and vaidharmya-- see also A. K. Warder (1971), p. 142.

Many of these jātis had been previously discussed by Vasubandhu in his Vādavidhi. See E. Frauwallner (1957), pp. 121ff. See also KhJ III 55, autocommentary, and below, note 186.

[19]The Nyāyaparīkṣā is one of the works of Dignāga that do not survive either in Sanskrit or in translation. It is cited by Dignāga himself in his PS (chapter VI, end; see PS [P], p. 12b.7) and by Śāntarakṣita in the latter's Vādanyāyaṭīkā. See M. Hattori (1968), p. 9 and note 52. H. Nakamura (1980), pp. 298-300, apparently overlooked the Nyāyaparīkṣā.

Sa-paṇ is the only known Tibetan author whose writings seem to indicate a more direct or detailed knowledge of the work. He introduces his introduction of the jātis in the RTRG (p. 257.1.5) by saying that these were briefly discussed by Dignāga in his PS, but that these were extensively taught in the Nyāyaparīkṣā: phyogs kyi glang pos kun las btus su bsdus te gsungs la/ rigs pa brtag par rgyas par gsungs so//. Then he introduces his exposition of his jātis nos. 15-24 by

saying (p. 259.1.3): "To explain a little of what was taught in the Nyāyaparīkṣā" (rigs pa brtag par gsungs pa de cung zad bshad na).

Sa-paṇ is not, however, recorded in his biographies to have studied the Nyāyaparīksā directly. He probably learned of it during his study of the Nyāya Sūtras with Sugataśrī. The account of the jātis nos. 15-22 in the RTRG is extremely brief, and nowhere does Sa-paṇ quote the Nyāyaparīksā itself. Still, as Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, pp. 119f, notes, this account of the jātis was one of Sa-paṇ's "original" contributions (though like the nigrahasthānas, the same treatment had in fact already appeared in the RTRG).

Sa-paṇ studied his jātis nos. 23 (rab byed : prakaraṇa) and 24 (dus las 'das : kālātīta) in more detail in an unknown separate work, as he indicated in RTRG, p. 259.3.3: rab byed dang mtshungs pa dang dus las 'das pa mtshungs pa'i dbye ba mang po zhig yod mod kyi/ yi ge mangs kyis dogs pas ma bris mod/ kho bos gzhan du bshad par blta bar bya'o/. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 718.3-7, sheds no light on this. But Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 392.6 (196b.6) notes the mention of such a work in ancient annotations (mchan rnying), though also stating that it was not available in his time.

In connection with his "jāti" no. 24 (kālātīta), Sa-paṇ makes an interesting reference to Vātsyāyana, stating that he was a later Naiyāyika whereas Dignāga had refuted the earlier Naiyāyikas (RTRG, p. 259.2.6): dus las 'das pa yang rigs pa can rgan po'i lugs phyogs kyi glang pos bkag pa la phyis kyi ba tsha'i bu la sogs pa na re dus las brgal te. Sa-paṇ seems to say that Vātsyāyana replied to the refutations of Dignāga by saying that they were "mistimed" (kālātīta).

[20] I think the source of this quote is VN (D) 355a.5: 'di yang gtan tshigs ltar snang ba dag nyid kyi nang du 'dus pa'i phyir ro//. Cf. VN (P), p. 399b.6, which is identical except that it omits the probably unnecessary final ro. See also VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 129.5: idam api hetvābhāseśv antarbhāvāt na pṛthag vācyam //.

Perhaps the addition of the ji ltar rigs pas (yathānyāyam) in the KhJ quote resulted from conflation with a similar and closely following passage in the VN, which was also quoted in RTRG, p. 257.1.6: ci de dag ji skad du mtshon pa'i rab tu dbye ba de lta bu nyid dam 'on te rnam pa gzhan yang yin zhes de dpyad par bya ba yin na'ang 'dir shin tu thal bar 'gyur ba'i phyir ma smos te/ ji ltar rigs pas gtan tshigs [257.2] ltar snang ba tshar gcad pa'i gnas yin no// zhes bya ba de tsam 'dir 'dod pa bya ba yin no//.

See also PV (D), p. 355a.7, and PV (P), p. 400a.1: ci de dag ji skad du mtshon par byed pa'i rab du dbye ba de [P: da] lta bu nyid dam/ 'oṇ te rnam pa gzhan yin shes te dpyad pa bya [D 355b] ba yin na yang/ 'di shin tu thal bar 'gyur ba'i phyir de ma spros [P: smos]/ ci ltar rigs par gtan tshigs ltar snang ba tshar gcad [P: bcad] par bya ba'i gnas yin no zhes bya ba de tsam 'dir 'dod par bya ba yin no//.

In VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 135.1, the key sentence is: hetvābhāsāś ca yathānyāyam nigrahasthānam iti.

[21]Cf. RTRG, p. 257.1.5: chos kyi grags pas ni phyogs kyi glang pos bkag zin pa dang/ ltag chod de dag spros na nyung la/ bsdus na mangs par dgongs nas btang snyoms su mdzad de rtsod rigs las/ ci de dag . . . [as quoted above, note 20]. Dharmakīrti in the final two sentences of the NB (III 140-141) briefly defines jātis. See Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, pp. 252f, and NB (D), p. 238a.5.

Sa-paṇ, RTRG, p. 259.1.1, also mentions Vasubandhu's classification of the jātis into the classes of phyin ci log (viparīta), mi bden (abhūta), and 'gal ba (viruddha) in his Rtsod pa grub pa (Vādavidhi), explaining that Dignāga rejected this classification. See G. Tucci (1929), pp. 484f. See also PS VI 21 [?] (PS [P], p. 12b.6), as quoted by Sa-paṇ below, KhJ III 55, autocommentary.

[22]On this quote see above, note 11.

[23]Compare the almost identical passage in the RTRG, p. 252.2.5: rgol bas bsgrub pa'i yan lag mi brjod pa dang/ yan lag ma yin pa brjod pa gnyis dang/ phyir rgol skyon mi brjod pa dang/ skyon min brjod pa gnyis so//.

See also ibid., pp. 251.4.6-252.1.1.

[24]KhJ III 12 was quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo, p. 387.1 (194a.1).

Eristic or sophistry (jalpa) was admitted by Gautama as a second type of disputation similar to proper debate or discussion (vāda), though it makes use of such devices as quibbles (chala) and futile rejoinders. Naiyāyikas such as Vātsyāyana (NBh, I,2,83-85) held that quibbling and similar methods "have as their proper use the guarding of one's own views by attacking those of the opposition." See K. Potter (1977), pp. 225 and 246. A third type of disputation they admitted was cavil (vitaṇḍā), which aims at destroying the opponent's position without establishing anything. The Buddhist tradition rejected both eristic and cavil, as Sa-paṇ goes on to explain in more detail in the following verses.

On a second use of the term vitaṇḍā, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1982), p. 521 and note 65.

[25]The translation of the last part of the quote is conjectural. I have not so far been able to locate these lines among the writings of Vasubandhu. As Khenpo Appey observed, several interpretations are possible. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 387.1 (194a.1) quotes the same lines, with two small differences at the ends of lines one and two:

gang zhig rgyal 'dod 'ba' zhig gi//
rtsod smra dam pa ma yin te//

See also the same text from the reproduction of an Dbu-med MS from Glo-bo: Tshad ma rigs, p. 393.4.

[26]See also Sa-paṇ's Nga brgyad ma'i, p. 149.2.1, where Dharmakīrti's disapproval of various underhanded ploys and methods for wriggling out of defeat is mentioned: mkhas pa rnams kyi gtsug gi nor bu'i bzhed pa rgol ba dang/ phyi rgol ba la brten pa'i tshar gcad pa'i gnas legs par go bas chos dang mthun par phyir rgol ba tshar gcod kyi rtsod pa'i skabs 'chol bar bya ba'i don du/ gar dang/ ca co dang/ sdigs mdzub dang/ mig zur dang/ zur ston pa dang/ rna ba mi gtod pa dang/ rgyab kyis phyogs pa dang/ pus mos 'gro ba dang/ spre'u ltar mgo dang kha bzhin bsgyur ba dang/ smyon pa ltar rgyun ma chad par smra ba dang/ go'i dogs pa ltar myur ba/ myur bar bshugs pa dang/ sa 'thor ba dang/ smras nas 'bros pa dang/ brjod pa ma rdzogs par rgyal ba'i sgra sgrogs pa dang/ dpung po la ngor bstod de/ phyogs su sdud pa dang/ dpung 'byin te sgrogs su 'jug pa dang/ yi ge dang/ phrin dang/ pho nya'i sgo nas pha rol sma ci phibs su gtong ba dang/ rang la rgyal ba'i sgra thob par bya ba'i phyir ngan g.yo'i sbyor ba sna tshogs kyi sgo nas pha rol gyi mgo smod pa ni/ blun po 'ga' zhig la mgu bar nus kyang/ mkhas pa rnams kyis khrel zhing/ rang nyid ngo tsha ba'i gnas yin no// de'i phyir de lta bu'i rtsod pa ni mkhas pa rnams mi bzhed do//.

Other underhanded methods are mentioned by Dharmakīrti in his VN (D), pp. 337a.7-337b.1. See also VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 68.15. This passage is quoted in the following note.

In the ThGS, p. 46.4.2 (92a.2), Sa-paṇ explains what is and is not "opposing [debate] which accords with religious principle" (chos dang mthun par brgal ba), explaining that the Buddha cannot be opposed in a principled debate.

[27]One finds a similar point made in RTRG, p. 252.1.5:

rdzun dang g.yo sgyus tshar bcad kyang//
de la rgyal pham mi bzhed do//

brdzun dang g.yo dang tshig dor gyis bslus kyang grub mtha' bsrung mi nus pas pham rgyal med de/.

Sa-paṇ then cites lines to the same effect from the VN: de kho na nyid bsrung ba'i don du dam pa rnams kyang rgyal bar 'dod pas g.yo sgyus la sogs pa dag gis tshar [252.2] gcad par bya ba yin no zhe na/ ma yin te/ khu tshur dang/ thal lcag dang/ mtshon bsnun pa dang/ me la sogs pas kyang zhes brjod par bya na/ 'di de kho na nyid bsrung ba'i thabs dam pa ma yin te/.

The translation in the Tanjur editions is similar--(D) p. 337a.6, (P) 377b.8: gal te de kho na nyid bsrung [P: bsrungs] ba'i don du dam pa rnams kyang rgyal bar 'dod pa rgyu [read: sgyu] la [P 378a] sogs pa dag gis tshar gcad [bcad] par bya ba yin no zhe na/ ma yin te khu tshur dang/ thal lcag dang/ mtshon chas bsnun [P: bsnan] pa dang/ me la sogs pa dag gis kyang zhes brjod par bya na/ 'di de kho na nyid [P adds: du] bsrung ba'i thabs dam [D 337b] pa ma yin te/.

See also VN (S), M. T. Much (1983), p. 24, l. 10; cf. D. Shastri (1972), p. 69.3: tattvarakṣaṇārthaṃ sadbhir upahartavyam eva chalādi vijigīṣubhir iti cet, na, nakhacapeṭaśastraprahārādīpanādibhir apīti vaktavyam. tasmān na jyāyān ayaṃ tattvarakṣaṇopāyaḥ /.

These remarks of Dharmakīrti are clearly aimed at NS IV,2,50, and Śāntarakṣita in his VN commentary indeed quotes that sūtra in this connection. See D. Shastri ed. (1972), p. 69. In this sūtra Gautama maintains that in fact "one can even employ dubious procedures like sophistry and cavil to make oneself more zealous for truth and to protect it" (K. Potter [1977], p. 237).

[28] ha cang thal [bar 'gyur ba]: atiprasaṅga. See Bhimacarya Jhalakikar (1978), Nyāyakośa, p. 7, where atiprasaṅga is equated first of all with ativyāptiḥ "over-inclusiveness" or "overextension of definition" [Tib.: khyab ches pa], one of the three major fallacies of definition. On the latter see G. S. Huparikar (1948), pp. 125 and 170; J. F. Staal (1961), pp. 124f; and K. Potter (1963), p. 87. In an inference, a logical reason that is over-inclusive (i.e. that includes a dissimilar example) is "uncertain" (anaikāntika : ma nges pa). Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 25, includes atiprasaṅga within anaikāntika. See Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 119. The term atiprasaṅga, however, is more general than ativyāpti in that it designates any description--inferential, defining or otherwise--that implies too much. See K. Potter (1963), p. 87.

[29] Cf. VN (D), pp. 337a.7-337b.1, as quoted above, note 27.

[30] VN (D), p. 350b.6, and VN (P), 394a.8: gzhan nye bar gdung bar bya ba'i phyir dam pa 'jug pa'am/ bstan bcos byed par mi 'gyur ro//

VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 114.2: *na ca paropatāpāya santaḥ pravartante, śāstrāni vā praṇīyante.*

Cf. VN (D), p. 337a.1: *skye bo ngan pa'i log par rtog pa la brten nas dam pa dag gi[s] bstan bcos la mi 'jug pa'i phyir ro//*. See also *ibid.*, p. 337a.4: *dam pa rnams ni rnyed pa la sogs pa nye bar bsags pa'i phyir rigs pa'i bstan bcos byed par 'gyur ro//*.

[31]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 255a, discusses the difference between "debate which is proper to the context of teaching" and "debate which is proper to the context of debating." The first is meant to clarify doubts and questions, and it does not require two opponents who maintain opposing tenets.

Another possible reading is *'dris na* "if one becomes accustomed or acquainted."

[32]See the discussion of the Mādhyamika's non-affirmation of tenets below, KhJ III 37-39. See also Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, *Byang chub*, p. 493.3.5: *des na dbu ma pa yin na des khas blangs pa med pas* . . . .

[33]*Vigrahavyāvartanī* 29. For the Sanskrit text and English translation see K. Bhattacharya (1978). This verse is also discussed by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 22, note 47, and it is discussed in connection with its commentary ascribed to Nāgārjuna, by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 207 and note 5. The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts for this verse (here following Chr. Lindtner [1982], p. 80) are as follows:

yadi kā cana pratijñā syāt
  tata eṣa me bhaved doṣaḥ /
nāsti ca mama pratijñā
  tasmān naivāsti me doṣaḥ //

gal te ngas dam bca' 'ga' yod//
des na nga la skyon de yod//
nga la dam bca' med pas na//
nga la skyon med kho na yin//

[34]See RTRG, p. 246.2.5: *kha cig bstan bcos las mthong ba thams cad bsgrub bya yin pas de la gnod na'ang gtan tshigs dang dam bca'i skyon yin te/ dper na sgra mi rtag par bsgrub pa la bstan bcos nas/ nam mkha'i yon tan tu bshad pa dang 'gal lo zhes zer ba gcod do//*.

The Sāṃkhya adherents apparently tried to quote the Vaiśeṣikas' scriptures against them. Praśastapāda in his Padārthadharmasaṃgraha had explained that sound was a quality of space (ākāśa). This position was reached by inference: the locus of sound had to be in ākāśa because it could not be in the other substances. Yet the Vaiśeṣikas argued that sound was nevertheless momentary. See K. Potter (1977), pp. 286 and 300. The argument by the Vaiśeṣikas in favor of the impermanence of sound was perhaps what Dharmakīrti was referring to in NB III 52. See Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, p. 163, note 2.

[35]Dharmakīrti in his NB III 46 makes the same point (cf. Th. Stcherbatsky [1930-32], vol. 2, p. 156):

> Supposing that someone has stated a proof based on some treatises [of a philosophical school]. Even though the author of that treatise has asserted many predicates [or qualities: dharma] regarding that subject (dharmin), just that predicate which that proponent at that time wishes to establish is the thesis which is to be established (sādhya), not something else.

NB (D), p. 234b.1: gal te bstan bcos 'ga' zhig la brten te sgrub pa smras na yang/ bstan bcos de byed pas chos can de la chos mang zhig khas len du zin kyang de'i tshe rgol ba des chos gang sgrub par 'dod pa de nyid bsgrub par bya ba yin gyi/ cig shos na ma yin no.

But compare NS I,2,1 in which it is stated that accepted tenets should not be contradicted.

[36]The translation of PV II 46ab is identical in D and P. See PV (D), p. 109a.6. In the commentary on these lines by Go-rams-pa (Rgyas pa'i, p. 76.1.5), the subject heading is sangs rgyas pa yi lung gi grub pa dgag pa. See also L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 150, no. 78, where it is also mentioned that these lines refer to the Cārvāka.

[37]See RTRG, p. 249.1.4: gzhal bya gnyis la tshad ma gnyis// . . . . mngon gyur mngon sum dang/ lkog gyur la rjes dpag dang/.

The two basic means of knowledge, direct perception and inference, have as their objects "manifest" phenomena and "hidden" phenomena, respectively. Direct perception is for example vision, which perceives its "manifest" object, such as the blue of a cloth. In inference, on the basis of something immediately given one recognizes the presence of an object which is not now present or visible. For example, one understands that there is a fire someplace when one sees smoke.

[38]RTRG, p. 249.1.4:

bskal pa'i don la rang tshig gis//

mi gnod gsung rab nged kyi lung// . . . .

shin tu lkog gyur la lung gi tshig phan tshun nang mi 'gal ba'i gsung rab nged kyi lung yin la de lta bu'i lung de phyogs kyi glang pos rjes su dpag par bsdus pas tshad ma gsum par mi bzhed cing/. Sa-paṇ in the RTRG then quotes PV I 216, which he also quotes below in his commentary on KhJ III 53. In this connection see also PV IV 2, 48-51, and Go-rams-pa's commentary *Rgyas pa'i*, p. 161.3.4: *dngos stobs yul la lung tshig tshad ma min pa*. On this see also RTRG, p. 249.2.2: *dngos po stobs zhugs kyis grub pa'i lung rnams ni rjes dpag tshad ma nyid yin la/ de dang mi ldan pa'i lung rnams ni/ rang tshig dang khyad par med pas . . . .*

[39]Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma rigs...dgongs*, vol. 9, p. 231.4.

[40]*mtho ris* : *svarga*. For the Buddhist, *svarga* includes the three higher realms of existence--not only the heavens of the gods and the asuras, but also the realm of humans. Hence, my translation "fortunate realms of existence." It is often opposed to the following, *ngan song*. See also ThGS, p. 46.3.1-3 (92a.1-3) for Sa-paṇ's explanation of these terms and their synonyms.

[41]*ngan song* : *apāya* (or sometimes *durgati*).

[42]PV IV 51cd; cf. PVin 12cd. The Tanjur editions D and P--see for instance PV (D), p. 141a.7--differ only with the reading *len par* instead of *len pa*. See also the commentary by Go-rams-pa, *Rgyas pa'i*, p. 167.2.4: *lung la ltos nas gzhal bya bsgrub pa'i dus*. PV IV 51 is (following Y. Miyasaka [1971/2], p. 170):

tadvirodhena cintāyās

tat siddhārtheṣv ayogataḥ /

tṛtīyasthānasaṃkrāntau

nyāyaḥ śāstraparigrahaḥ //

[43]*shin tu lkog gyur* : *atyantaparokṣa*. For the Sanskrit equivalent see PV I 314c and IV 210c.

[44]This quotation of course cannot be Vedic, but instead is probably from some Purāṇic source, perhaps a guidebook to pilgrimage places near Haridvār as Prof. R. Salomon suggested to me. Most of the places mentioned seem to be at or near Haridvār: *Gaṅgadvāra* is Haridvār itself, *Kuśāvarta* is a ghat at Haridvār, *Nīlaparvata* is "the Haridwar hills called Chaṇḍî-pâhad situated on the northern

side of the Ganges called here Nîladhârâ between Haridwar and Kankhala," and Khanakhala is the place just mentioned. See N. L. Dey (1927), pp. 62, 111 and 141. V. Mani (1975), Puranic Encyclopaedia, p. 146, identified Bilvakatīrtha too as a holy place in Haridvāra. Cf. the Kūrma Purāṇa II, 20 and 28-29.

[45] Sa-paṇ makes the same point in the RTRG, p. 249.2.5-3.2: lung gzhan 'gal ba'ang der 'gyur la/ 'o na rig byed las khrus kyis sdig pa 'dag par bshad pa dang 'gal ba'ang lung dang 'gal bar 'gyur ro zhe na/ . . . .

[46] The Buddhist writers upon whom Sa-paṇ based his account perhaps did not know that in the Purāṇic sources there are many lengthy discussions of the need to "wash the mind." See for instance R. Salomon (1985), p. 207.

[47] See P 428, 'Phags pa dpung bzang gi zhus pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud, Rgyud, tsha, p. 183b.5. See also Sa-paṇ, ThGS, p. 11.4.4 (22b.4) who quotes the full verse from the Subāhuparipṛcchā Tantra. Cf. ThGS, p. 19.4.1 (38b.1), which quotes a verse from the Abhidharmakośa to the same effect. Cf. also Dharmapāda 349 and Udānavarga 3.1.

[48] Udānavarga 2.1:

kāma jānāmi te mūlaṃ
  saṃkalpāt kāma jāyase /
na tvaṃ saṃkalpayiṣyāmi
  tato me na bhaviṣyati //

See also Mahāvastu iii, p. 190; Mūlamadhyamakākarikā (de la Vallée Poussin's ed.), pp. 350 and 451; and Mahābhārata 12.171.25. I am indebted to Professor N. Aramaki for these references. Cf. ThGS, pp. 11.4.5 (22b.5) and 35.4.6 (70b.6).

[49] Not identified. This passage is quoted at greater length by Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, pp. 39b.6-40a.3.

[50] Catuḥśataka XII 11c: tshul khrims kyis ni mtho ris 'gro//. Quoted in M. Ichigo (1985), p. 328. Cf. the similar quote in the commentary on KhJ II 34 (D, p. 101.4.1-2): sbyin pas longs spyod khrims kyis bde//, an example of a direct, literal statement.

[51] Not identified.

[52]Compare Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Byang chub, pp. 499.4.5ff, where there is a long discussion on the problem of contradictions between the scriptures of different schools, especially the Mahāyāna and Śrāvaka. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, pp. 128.3-129.4, discusses in connection with this verse whether the Pratyekabuddha path should not be classified as a third Buddhist tenet.

[53]Cf. DS, p. 301.4.3-302.1.5 and Skyes bu dam pa, p. 331.3.2.

[54]Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 30. The edited Tibetan and Sanskrit, following Chr. Lindtner (1982), pp. 110f:

de nyid tshol la thog mar ni//
thams cad yod ces brjod par bya//
don rnams rtogs shing chags med la//
phyis ni rnam par dben pa'o//

Note that in b the KhJ reads bstan instead of brjod. The KhJ too agrees with Lindtner's correction to phyis (Skt. pascat) in line d, in the place of the incorrect verbal 'phyis of N and P. The Sanskrit was recovered from the Subhāṣitasaṃgraha and the Nyāyaviniścayavivaraṇa:

sarvam astīti vaktavyam
ādau tattvagaveṣiṇaḥ /
paścād avagatārthasya
niḥsaṅgasya viviktatā //

Cf. Lindtner's translation of 30cd: "Later when he has understood the meaning he gains isolation (viviktatā) without being attached."

[55]MMK XVIII 6:

bdag go zhes kyang btags gyur cing//
bdag med ces kyang bstan par gyur//
sangs rgyas rnams kyis bdag dang ni//
bdag med 'ga' med ces kyang bstan//

The Sanskrit text as given by Chr. Lindtner (1982b), p. 198, is:

[ātmety api prajñapitam
an]ātmety api deśitam /
buddhair nātmā na cānatmā
kaścid ity api deśitam //

Cf. L. de la Vallée Poussin (1903-13), p. 355. See also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1977), p. 7.

[56]The "six limits" (mtha' drug : ṣaṭkoṭi[ka]) or six principles of interpretation are the three pairs of hermeneutical categories that Sa-paṇ discussed above in KhJ II 34 (D 101.2.5):

mtha' drug gang gis shes pa de//

gzhung bshad pa la shin tu mkhas//

gzhung lugs chen po bshad pa la mtha' drug shes dgos te/ dgongs pa dang dgongs pa ma yin pa/ drang ba'i don dang nges pa'i don/ sgra ji bzhin pa dang ji bzhin ma yin pa'o// . . . .

As Sa-paṇ goes on to explain, the first two are (1) special intention (dgongs pa : abhiprāya, saṃdhyā) and (2) without special intention (dgongs pa ma yin pa : nāsaṃdhyā?). The first includes the four "intentions" (dgongs pa : abhiprāya) and the four "ulterior motives" (ldem dgongs : abhisaṃdhi) as taught in MSA XII 16-18. On these see also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1969), p. 165, and G. Nagao ed. (1982), Mahāyānasaṃgraha, pp. 94ff. The next pair are (3) interpretable or provisional meaning (drang don : neyārtha) and (4) direct, definitive meaning (nges pa'i don : nītārtha). For the explanation of these two Sa-paṇ refers to the Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra. The final pair are (5) literal (sgra ji bzhin pa : yathāruta) and (6) non-literal (sgra ji bzhin ma yin pa: naruta?). All six categories are said by Sa-paṇ to have been discussed by "Candrakīrti." Apparently this is a reference to the Pradīpoddhyotana commentary on the Guhyasamāja, by a Vajrayānist Candrakīrti (II) or Candrakīrti-pāda. On the latter author see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 105. On the above categories see also Sa-paṇ, DS, p. 315.1.1ff; Chag lo, p. 401.1.2; and Skyes bu dam pa, p. 333.2.4.

These six "limits" or "ends" as applied to the interpretation of the Anuttaratantras were mentioned by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1962), p. 330, and they have been studied in more detail by M. Broido (1983) and E. Steinkellner (1978). Note that Sa-paṇ applies these six to all the basic treatises, and not just to the highest Tantras. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub wrote a book on the "six limits," his Mtha' drug rab gsal, which was studied by Shākya-mchog-ldan. See Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Paṇḍita, p. 132.7.

[57]Cf. Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 30 (Kajiyama [1966], p. 139): "How can there be two kinds of omniscient beings . . . and also different schools among Buddhists?

[The author:] This is not to be confuted because the Blessed One . . . taught all these [different doctrines] in order to introduce sentient beings [of different capacities] into truths."

[58]Asaṅga in the final section of the AS explains this line as requiring special interpretation since it was spoken with a special motive. See W. Rahula (1971), p. 184. Rahula, ibid., note 3, refers to the very similar verse in the Dhammapāda: XXI 5. For the Sanskrit see Pralhad Pradhan (1950), p. 109.1, and Nathmal Tatia (1976), p. 155.6. For a discussion of this verse see F. Bernhard (1968-69), pp. 57ff. For the commentaries in Tibetan see Rgyal-ba'i-sras (Jinaputra), Mngon pa chos kun nas btus pa'i rnam par bshad pa, P vol. shi, p. 395b.4; Bu-ston, Chos mngon pa, p. 744.1; and Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon pa, p. 384 (192b).

Sa-paṇ quotes this line also in KhJ I 21 and II 34. See KhJ (D), pp. 83.4.2 (tha 168b.2) and 101.4.2 (tha 204b.2).

[59]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, pp. 257b.1-258a.3, takes verses III 24-26 as the point of departure for his first real comment on part III. He explains that all the Buddha's declarations that such things as the tathāgatagarbha, śūnyatā, and niṣprapañca exist were actually stated provisionally. In this connection he quotes the Lokānuvartanā Sūtra ('Jig rten mthun 'jug gi mdo), (D), vol. (200) tsha, p. 306a.3-4. (For various citations of this verse and its Sanskrit text, see K. Mimaki [1982], p. 135, note 386.) In the vision of the Saint (ārya) there is neither existence nor non-existence, and on this point Glo-bo mkhan-chen quotes Sa-paṇ's Chag lo (D), p. 412.3.5. In the "multifarious vision" (of the Saint who is not in concentrative meditation), such things are said to exist, and here the commentator, Glo-bo mkhan-chen, cites lines from the RGV.

The commentator also mentions the opinion of some opponent: "Since those things were taught as having provisional truth, one must maintain that they do not exist on the level of transactional usage (vyavahāra)." But such people, according to Glo-bo mkhan-chen, fail to discriminate correctly the provisional from the direct, definitive truth, because according to their opinion they must affirm that all the surface level of truth does not exist on the level of transactional usage.

For the principles of scriptural debate in general, Glo-bo mkhan-chen directs his reader to the AS of Asaṅga, no doubt referring to its final section, the 'Bel ba'i gtam rnam par nges pa, in which debating is briefly treated. For a more detailed knowledge of how scriptures are to be established and refuted, he recommends Sa-paṇ's explanations in his DS, probably referring to the noteworthy lines on p. 301.1.1 (9a.1):

'on kyang mdo sde 'ga' zhig dang//
theg pa chen po rgyud bla mar//
gos ngan nang na rin chen ltar//
sems can rnams la sangs rgyas kyi//

snying po yod par gsungs pa ni//
dgongs pa yin par shes par bya//
de yi dgongs gzhi stong nyid yin//
dgos pa skyon lnga spang phyir gsungs//
dngos la gnod byed tshad ma ni//
de 'dra'i sangs rgyas khams yod na//
mu stegs bdag dang mtshungs pa dang//
bden pa'i dngos por 'gyur phyir dang//
nges pa'i don gyi mdo sde dang//
rnam pa kun tu 'gal phyir ro//

This passage is quoted by Sgra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal in his Bde bzhin gshegs, pp. 47a-b, and translated by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1973), p. 32.

On the tathāgatagarbha doctrine and its interpretation by the 14th-century scholar Bu-ston, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1969), (1971) and (1973). Regarding Sa-paṇ's opinion in particular see Seyfort Ruegg (1969), p. 58, note 5, and (1973), pp. 31ff.

60 For a discussion of the nature and use of "intermediate verses" (bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa : antaraśloka) in Indian and Tibetan treatises, see K. Mimaki (1980).

It seems that intermediate verses--together with "concluding verses"--were considered by Sa-paṇ's editors to belong to the basic verses of his works. See for instance his RT, p. 166.2.5, where an intermediate verse is included among the basic verses. For similar examples of the inclusion of "concluding verses," see RT, pp. 156.2.6 and 157.1.1.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his RT commentary (Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 23.2 [12a.2]), quotes two interesting explanations of the bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa from Indian Pramāṇa sources: bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa'i don ni/ don tshan gzhan gyis bar du ma chod pa'i tshul gyis gong gi rtsa ba'i tshigs bcad kyi don bsdu ba'o zhes bram ze shangka ra a nanta gsung ngo/ 'on kyang slob dpon dznyā na shrīs rnam nges kyi ṭī ka las/ bar skabs kyi tshigs su bcad pa zhes bya ba ni sngar ma bshad pa cung zad rgyas par bshad pa'o zhes gsungs pa nyid 'dir 'thad pa yin no//.

Khenpo Appey remembered his teacher, the great Brag-g.yab Blo-gros, explaining that an intermediate verse sums up the meaning of the earlier and later parts of the given text (tshigs bcad gzhung 'di'i mgo mjug gnyis kyi don bsdus pa).

[61]The three disciplines are:

(1) lhag pa tshul khrims kyi bslab pa : adhiśīlaśikṣā

(2) lhag pa shes rab kyi bslab pa : adhiprajñāśikṣā

(3) lhag pa ting nge 'dzin gyi bslab pa : adhisamādhiśikṣā

Each of the three "baskets" of the Tripiṭaka is supposed to treat chiefly one of these disciplines: śīla being treated in the Vinaya, prajñā in the Abhidharma, and samādhi in the Sūtras. See for instance Sa-paṇ, Nga brgyad, p. 151.1.4.

[62]"Ripening" (smin par byed pa) and "liberating" (grol bar byed pa).

[63]lta ba bka' rtags kyi phyag rgya. These are the basic philosophical tenets of Buddhism:

(1) all compounded things are impermanent ('dus byas thams cad mi rtag pa)

(2) all defiled things are suffering (zag bcas thams cad sdug bsngal ba)

(3) all factors of existence (dharma) are without a "self" (chos thams cad bdag med pa)

(4) Nirvāṇa is peace (mya ngan la 'das pa zhi ba)

Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 4a.5-6: lta ba chos kyi phyag rgya bzhi, and ibid., p. 82b.1: chos kyi sdom bzhi. See also K. Mimaki (1980), p. 172, note 48.

[64]bsod nyams pa (sukhallika). This is one of the two extremes of conduct (spyod pa mtha' gnyis) that the Buddha taught were to be avoided. See also Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 4a.6.

[65]ngal zhing dub pa. This was the second of the two extreme modes of conduct as mentioned in the previous note.

[66]mgo gcig tu lan gtab pa : ekāṃśenavyākaraṇa. This and the other three types of answers are taught in the AK V 22 and its commentaries. See also the Sandhinirmocana Sūtra 8.21.2 and 10.7.4.2 (as cited by Lokesh Chandra [1976], p. 443), and E. Lamotte (1935), pp. 103 and 154; and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1977), p. 58, note 4. The Pāli for ekāṃśa is ekaṃsa, on which see F. Edgerton (1970), p. 153.

Cf. the fourfold system of answering found in the AS: W. Rahula (1971), p. 180.

[67]rnam par phye ste lan gdab pa : vibhajya--

[68]dris te lan gdab pa : paripṛcchā--

[69] gzhag par lan gdab pa : sthāpanīya--

[70] AK V 22. The Sanskrit (following P. Pradhan [1975], p. 262):

ekāṃśato vyākaraṇam
vibhajya paripṛcchya ca /
sthāpyam ca maraṇotpatti[r?]
viśiṣṭātmā 'nyatādivat //

See also L. de la Vallée Poussin (1971), vol. IV, pp. 44ff.

[71] This perhaps refers mainly to the Sandhinirmocana Sūtra as cited above, note 66.

[72] See the Majjhima Nikāya (vol. 1, pp. 497ff), Dīghanaka Sutta, and I. B. Horner tr. (1975), vol. 2, p. 176. According to Horner, ibid., note 6, Dīrghanaka could not accept "all" (sabbam), by which he meant "all uprisings and relinkings." But the Buddha takes "all" literally, and shows by his question the logical problem implicit in such a statement. Dīrghanakha was the maternal nephew of Śāriputra, on which see G. P. Malalasekera (1960), p. 1081.

On this Sūtra see also E. Lamotte (1949), vol. 1, pp. 47-8, note 1. I am indebted to Dr. H. Eimer for this reference.

In the Kanjur there is another short Sūtra with the title Kun tu rgyu ba sen rings kyis zhus pa (P 1009, D 342?), Sanskrit: Dīrghanakhaparivrājakaparipṛcchā-nāma-sūtra. But it does not contain this discussion.

[73] This sentence is probably a gloss inserted into the Sūtra quotation, as Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg suggested to me. The point made by the glossator is that the Buddha was applying the law of double negation in this passage. See also Sa-paṇ's use of such reasoning in KhJ III 36. In general, the Buddha's style of argument in the Sūtras typically employs double negatives and hypothetical and alternative judgments. See F. Watanabe (1972), p. 978 (53).

In many cases, however, the Buddha himself did not feel bound to answer a question with either an affirmative or negative; as mentioned above, many questions were to be set aside without giving either answer.

On the principle of excluded middle in Buddhism, see A. Kunst (1957), and for the Madhyamaka see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1969), pp. 383ff, and (1977), pp. 5, 49f, 52 and 54. Cf. the sources listed in ibid., p. 71, note 185. On the law of contradiction in Indian logic in general, see J. F. Staal (1962).

[74] cang mi smra bar gyur to (*tūṣṇīṃbhūta?). In Buddhist canonical writings, silence (Pāli: tuṇhībhāva) was often a sign of agreement or affirmation which the Buddha himself also used. See G. Nagao (1955), pp. 137f, and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 35. On the silence of the Buddha see G. Nagao (1955). Cf. T. W. Organ (1954-55).

[75] In the Pali scriptures these questions are regularly enumerated not as fourteen but as ten. In the Majjhima Nikāya, Sutta 63, for example, the questions on these topics by Māluṅkyāputta were set aside as not edifying (H. C. Warren [1973], pp. 117-122):

(1) that the world [loka] is eternal
(2) that the world is not eternal
(3) that the world is finite
(4) that the world is infinite
(5) that the soul [jīva] and body are identical
(6) that the soul is one thing and the body another
(7) that the saint [i.e. the Tathāgata] exists after death
(8) that the saint does not exist after death
(9) that the saint both exists and does not exist after death
(10) that the saint neither exists nor does not exist after death

Cf. Vaccha's questions, Majjhima Nikāya, Sutta 72 (H. C. Warren [1973], pp. 123-128).

In the lists as they appear in the Chinese translations, there are sixteen or fourteen questions enumerated. For sixteen, four alternatives are given for each of the four main topics, i.e. the eternality of the world (loka), the finitude of the world, the relation of jīva and body, and the existence of the Tathāgata after death. For the enumeration of fourteen, the four alternatives are given for the first, second and fourth topics, while regarding the third, the relation of body and jīva, it is only asked whether they are the same or different. Professor N. Aramaki has suggested to me that the enumeration of fourteen may represent a Mūlasarvāstivādin scriptural tradition which was preserved both in Tibet and in some Chinese Sūtras. He also kindly referred me to the list of fourteen as found in the Chinese Samyukta Āgama, Taisho no. 99, Sūtra 962/963, Taisho vol. 2, pp. 245f, and to the study of these lists by Tetsuno Watsuji, Genshibukkyō no Jissentetsugaku [Practical Philosophy of Primitive Buddhism] (Tokyo: 1927), pp. 135f. For other studies on the points not explicated (avyākṛtavastu) and the four alternative positions (catuṣkoṭi), see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1977), pp. 58f, note 4.

[76]RĀ I 73c-74d. See the edition by M. Hahn (1982), pp. 30f. The Sanskrit:

antavān iti lokaś ca
  pṛṣṭas tūṣṇīṃ jino 'bhavat // 73 //
sarvajña iti sarvajño
  budhais tenaiva gamyate /
yenaitad dharmagāmbhīryaṃ
  novācābhājane jane // 74 //

The Tibetan from the Tanjur:

'jig rten mtha' dang ldan nam zhes//
zhus na rgyal ba mi gsung phyir// (73)
de ltar zab mo'i chos rnams ni//
snod min 'gro la mi gsung ba//
de nyid phyir na mkhas rnams kyis//
kun mkhyen thams cad mkhyen par shes// (74)

Cf. RA II 6, on which see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 25: "Now, since anything that is altogether 'not so' (nêti) cannot be stated (in some determinate manner in terms of a logico-ontological position) by the omniscient Sage, the teacher has refrained from stating that the world (loka) has a (posterior) limit, does not have one, both has and does not have one, and neither has nor does not have one." Cf. also RA II 14-15, MMK XXII 12 and XXV 21-23.

[77]On the Buddha's rejection of certain questions as unfruitful (e.g. on the nature of the "self," on the posterior limit of the world, etc.), see also E. Frauwallner (1973), vol. 1, pp. 172-177. As Frauwallner observed (in connection with the Buddha's discussions with Māluṅkyāputra and Vatsagotra mentioned above in note 75), "The teaching of the Buddha is throughout governed by an attempt to avoid unnecessary theoretical discussions."

[78]A similar point is made by Sa-paṇ in the DS, pp. 316.4.6-317.1.1:

de ltar theg pa che chung la'ang//
phan tshun gyi ni lung 'gal gyis//
so so'i gzhung lugs dgag [317] mi nus//
nyan thos gzhung lugs khas len cing//
de yi lung dang 'gal gyur na//
de yi lung gis dgag par nus//

See also Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 253 (ca 127a.3).

[79]See also Sa-paṇ's Skyes bu dam pa, p. 331.3.2-5. There he cites as his scriptural bases the following works:

(1) Sde pa tha dad klog pa'i 'khor lo
(2) 'Dul ba 'od ldan
(3) Spyod 'jug gi shes rab le'u (BCA IX)
(4) Rnam bshad rigs pa (Vasubandhu's Vyākyāyukti)
(5) Rtog ge 'bar ba (Bhavya's Tarkajvālā)

[80]DS, p. 298.3.4:
dper na nyan thos dge slong ni//
gser dngul len pa thub pas bkag//
byang chub sems dpa'i dge slong la//
gzhan don 'gyur na ltung ba med//

[81]On vegetarianism and the eating of meat in the history of Buddhism, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1980).

That which constitutes "meat that is pure in three ways" is interpreted differently by the Tibetan schools. The usual Dge-lugs-pa (and Theravādin) interpretation is that it is meat about which one has not seen, heard or even suspected that the animal was killed especially for oneself. The Sa-skya-pa interpretation following Śākyaprabha was more rigorous. The eater should not have seen, heard or suspected that the meat was from an animal killed for its meat (sha yi ched du). The meat from animals which had died from other causes (shi sha) was allowed, and as an exception the meat of slaughtered animals was allowed for sick monks. See Go-rams-pa, Sdom pa gsum...rnam bshad, p. 119.4 (ta 59a.4).

[82]Cf. KhJ III 52 autocommentary: dper na yul dus tha dad kyi so nam la sogs pa'i bya ba la rang gi lugs kyis 'grub kyi/ phan tshun 'chol na mi 'grub pa bzhin no//. See also DS, p. 302.2.4:
dper na padma'i so nam la//
rtag tu 'dam dang ljan ljin dgos//
shu dag sogs kyis bskor na skye//
me tog gzhan la de mi dgos//
chu las skye la skam sa dgra//
skam sar skye la rlon pa dgra//
grang sar dro ba'i rdzas mi smin//
dro sar bsil ba 'thad pa min//
des na bya ba gang ci'ang rung//
rang rang lugs bzhin byas na 'grub//
de las bzlog pa'i lugs byas na//
mi 'grub grub kyang bzang po dka'//

[83] To prove that a tenet or scriptural passage is of special intent (dgongs pa can), one has to demonstrate (1) the motive for teaching it with special intent (dgongs te gsungs pa'i dgos pa), (2) the subject that was ultimately intended (dgongs gzhi), and (3) the criterion which shows that the statement conflicts with the real state of things (dngos la gnod byed tshad ma). See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 237.5. For instances of the application of these three, see Sa-paṇ, DS, 301.1.2 (na 9a); ThGS, p. 27.4.4 (tha 54b) and 39.2.1 (tha 77b); and Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Byang chub, p. 494.2.5. The above-mentioned passage of the DS has been translated by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1973), p. 32, with reference to Bu-ston, Bde bzhin gshegs, and Sgra-tshad-pa.

[84] bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa : saṃgrahaśloka. On summarizing verses see K. Mimaki (1980). See also above, note 60, on bar skabs kyi tshigs bcad.

[85] Cf. KhJ III 12, autocommentary: gang zag dam pa rang rang gi bstan pa gzung bar bya ba'i don du . . . . Or one may be motivated by the desire to defend and preserve true facts: VN (D), p. 337a.6: de kho na nyid bsrung ba'i don du . . . . If one is unable to defend tenets, there is no victory or defeat in debate. See RTRG, p. 252.1.5: grub mtha' bsrung mi nus pas pham rgyal med, and above, note 24.

[86] phyogs su lhung. In non-technical language phyogs lhung means to be partial to one side, to be biased.

[87] Sa-paṇ here employs a dilemma based on the principle of double negation. Cf. the use of the same principle attributed to the Buddha above in KhJ III 28. This type of negation is thus "relative," i.e., presuppositional and implicative (ma yin dgag pa : paryudāsapratiṣedha). See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 231, note 74. On the necessity of following tenets, and the expression "Who would debate with an ox?" cf. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 22.4 (11b.4): gal te grub mtha'i rjes su mi 'brang ngo zhe na/ da ni ba glang dang su zhig rtsod par byed de/ mi smra ba'i tshul 'dzin to/

[88] I have not translated the (erroneous?) negative of the 'dus pa ma yin pa. This argument by the Sāṃkhya (see kārikā 17) has been widely discussed in the Pramāṇa literature, and its mention in the Buddhist texts goes back at least to the NMukh and PS of Dignāga. In PS III 2 it is referred to in connection with a thesis maintained mentally ('dod pa) in the midst of Dignāga's definition of a sādhya (bsgrub bya). Dignāga here establishes the intended thesis of the

proponent as the real thesis, even if the opponent tries the stratagem of not explicitly stating it.

Sa-paṇ in the RTRG (p. 246.1.4) quotes PS III 2ab as follows:

ngo bo kho na bstan bya ba//
bdag nyid 'dod dang ma gsal ba//

Vasudhararakṣita's translation (following Kitagawa [1965], pp. 471f):

rang gi ngo bo dang nyid ldan [=bstan?]//
rang dang 'dod 'gyur ma bsal ba'o//

Kanakavarman's translation of the whole verse as preserved in PS (P), p. 6b.4:

rang gi ngo bo kho na bstan//
bdag 'dod rang gi chos can la//
mngon sum don dang rjes dpag dang//
yid ches grags pas ma bsal ba'o//

Of the five unacceptable types of theses, the first four were already taught in the Nyāyamukha, as Go-rams-pa observes in Sde bdun, p. 119b.2. On this verse see also T. Tillemans (1984a), p. 376, note 42.

Dharmakīrti's discussions of this can be found for instance in PV IV 28-29 and NB 48-49, 89-90. See NB (D), p. 234b.2, and Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, pp. 158-160, and 203f. Cf. S. C. Vidyabhusana (1921), pp. 315f, and S. Mookerjee (1935), p. 348. See also A. Kunst (1957), p. 147.

As in the NB, this reasoning of the Sāṃkhya is also mentioned twice in the RTRG: pp. 245.4.1 and 246.1.5. In the first place it is mentioned by Sa-paṇ to agree with Dharmakīrti against Dignāga that this need not be considered an instance of a separate class of contradictory (viruddha) reason. The second mention is in connection with the definition of sādhya by means of a negative determination which rejects five erroneous aspects of a thesis to be proved (as listed in PS III 2). See also Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun, p. 623 (kha 120a.2); and Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 682.3: lnga po 'di bsdu na . . . ; and Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 419.3.

As Professor K. Potter pointed out to me, the Sāṃkhya basic text of kārikā 17 as it now exists actually maintains as an explicit thesis: "There exists a puruṣa" (puruṣāsti).

[89]This sophistical argumentation is identical in principle with the above reasoning of the Sāṃkhya adherent as it was traditionally characterised by Buddhist Pramāṇa scholarship. The Cārvāka implicitly affirms a self or person as the subject of his thesis, and his implicit thesis must be considered his real thesis even though it is not explicitly stated. This "syllogistic application of possessing a second" (gnyis bcas kyi sbyor ba : sadvitīyaprayoga) is refuted by

Dharmakīrti PV IV 34-35. See also Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, p. 165.3.6.

Dharmakīrti seems also to reject a sadvitīyaprayoga reasoning of some Mīmāṃsakas in the VN (S), p. 66.16; VN (D), p. 336a.2; and VN (P), p. 375a.6. Śāntarakṣita, VNV (S), p. 66, refers in this connection to the Mīmāṃsa Sūtra I,1,2 and its Bhāṣya. See D. Shastri (1972), p. 66.

Sa-paṇ discusses this reasoning in RTRG, p. 246.2.2, in connection with the word 'dod pa of PS III 2, just after the discussion of the similar Sāṃkhya argumentation: de bzhin du gnyis bcas kyi sbyor ba la'ang rjes 'gro med de/ bum pa chos can mngon par gsal ba'i sems pa can lus kyi skyes bu dang bum pa gang yang rung bas gnyis pa dang bcas pa yin te/ utpala ma yin pa'i phyir rtsig pa bzhin zhes bya ba la mngon par gsal ba'i skyes bu dpe rtsig pa la rjes 'gro med do// . . . . See also Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, pp. 11b.1, 13b.5-14a.2, and Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun, p. 623 (kha 120a).

As mentioned by H. Nakamura (1980), p. 376, S. Watanabe translated into Japanese and examined "Sadvitīyaprayoga (Pramāṇavārttika IV 28-41, an argumentation by Cārvākas)" in Mikkyogaku, nos. 13 and 14 (1977), pp. 194-209.

[90] ngan g.yo'i lta ba : kusṛtidṛṣṭi. This is listed among twenty-eight evil speculative views (lta ba ngan pa: asaddṛṣṭi) near the end of the Dharmaviniścaya (chos rnam par nges pa) section of the AS. See W. Rahula (1971), p. 140, and N. Tatia (1976), p. 113. See also Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon pa, p. 297.5 (149a.5):

> lta ba de dag las brtsams te gzhan gyis dri ba na KHAS MI LEN PA'I LTA BA DANG/ sems gzhan ma yin pa la yin par 'du shes nas PHYIN CI LOG TU LTA BA DANG/.

These two make up the class of chad pas bcad pa'i lta ba. See ibid., p. 298.6 (149b.6):

> khas mi len pa'i lta ba dang ngan g.yo'i lta ba ni CHAD PAS BCAD PA'I LTA BA ste rigs pa ma yin pas de la rgol na rgyal mi srid pa'i phyir.

Sa-paṇ in his ThGS, p. 32.3.2 (64a.2) referred to the AS in connection with these two views.

[91] One of the earliest and most important accounts of the avaktatva maintained by the Vātsīputrīyas is AKBh, chapter 9. See the translation of L. de La Vallée Poussin (1971), vol. 5, pp. 227ff, and Th. Stcherbatsky (1919). See also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1977), pp. 34ff.

The pudgala posited by the Vātsīputrīyas is said by them to be unstateable or indeterminate, being neither different nor not different from the skandhas.

[92]khas mi len pa'i lta ba : anabhyupagamadṛṣṭi. See W. Rahula (1971), p. 140, and N. Tatia (1976), p. 113.16-18.

[93]lta log : asaddṛṣṭi? In the AS these are classed as asaddṛṣṭi, which there is translated as lta ba ngan pa. Earlier, in the Lakṣaṇasamuccaya section, the mithyādṛṣṭi (log par lta ba) is defined. See W. Rahula (1971), p. 10, and Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon pa, p. 29.1 (15a.1).

[94]Cf. KhJ III 16 and Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Byang chub, p. 493.3.5.

[95]Sa-paṇ, KhJ I 34a (D) p. 84.3.4 (61a.4):

dam pa'i don la dgag sgrub med//

. . . . don dam pa spros pa dang bral ba'i phyir/ yod pa dang/ med pa dang/ dgag pa dang/ sgrub pa la sogs pa tha snyad kyi yul ma yin te/ shes bya ma yin pa'i phyir ro//

In his ThGS, (D) p. 31.1.6-2.1, Sa-paṇ further develops his position on the ultimate truth when giving his definition of the two truths:

> Some people say, "The defining marks (i.e. definitions) of the two truths are: that which is possible to be made an object of mind is the surface truth, [and] that which is not included within objects of mind is the ultimate truth." Those people base themselves on the statement in the BCA [IX 2]:
>
> [The truth-level of] ultimate reality is not the province of mind.
> Mind is held to be the surface [level of truth].
>
> These are instances of what is being defined (mtshan gzhi) and are not the defining marks. Therefore our own tradition is as follows: That which is established as an object of an uncritical mind is "the surface level." That which is not established as the object of a critical mind is "the ultimately real." The absence of any [disproving] impairment regarding the object of each one's mind is "truth."

See also ThGS, pp. 32.2.5 (63b.5) and 44.1.6 (87a.6). And according to ThGS, (D) p. 31.3.1: "This ultimate truth, moreover, is not the causal efficiency recognized by dialecticians. Here we maintain it to be just the 'free from discursive developments' (niṣprapañca) which is recognized in the Madhyamaka." Cf. RTRG, pp. 172.1.2 and 211.4.6.

There is also an interesting discussion of the two truths by Sa-paṇ in his Bka' gdams do kor, p. 403.3.4:

don dam shes bya ma yin te//

gzhan sel shes par 'gro ba'ang srid// . . . .
Cf. ThGS p. 32.2.5 (63b.5) on the role of anyāpoha here.

On the restriction of proof and disproof to the surface level, see below, KhJ III 52, autocommentary, and note 169. See also the comments of Bi-ji purportedly based on Sa-paṇ's explanations, in Ston pa rab gsal, SKKB, vol. 5, p. 416.4.6.

Sa-paṇ disagreed with the opinion of Phywa-pa as it is described by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 453.1: chos thams cad rang gi ngo bos stong pa dang/ bden par grub pa'i chos zhes bya ba cung zad kyang khas mi len pa dang/ stong nyid kyi ngo bo med dgag kho na la 'chad cing/ de yang rigs pas dpyad bzod du khas len par byed do//. See also 'Gos lo-tsā-ba's remarks made with regard to the tathāgatagarbha as taught in the RGV (p. 309.6-7; G. Roerich [1976], p. 349): Rngog lo tsā ba chen po dang slob dpon gtsang nag pa ni/ . . . . don dam pa'i bden pa ni sgra dang rtogs pa'i dngos kyi yul ma yin pa lta zhog/ zhen pa'i yul tsam yang ma yin zhes gsung/ slob dpon phywa pa ni dngos po rnams bden pas stong pa'i med par dgag pa ni don dam pa'i bden pa yin zhing/ de sgra rtog gi zhen pa'i yul du yang bzhed. See also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1973), p. 60, and (1983), p. 232, note 75.

Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 147.1 (ca 74a), discusses Sa-paṇ's opinion in some detail, after presenting the definitions of ultimate reality according to Rngog (p. 144.4) and Khyung Rin-chen-grags (p. 146.1) and their criticisms by Gtsang-nag-pa and Rma-bya-ba, respectively. In this account we are told that Gtsang-nag-pa's and Rngog's positions are not to be identified, and that Gtsang-nag-pa added the phrase "found through reasoning" (rigs pas rnyed pa) to his definition of the ultimate. Rngog and Khyung are closer in opinion. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 56.5-6, described Rngog's interpretation of Śāntideva's statement (BCA IX 2) on this point, and in a subsequent passage Shākya-mchog-ldan gives a summary of no fewer than eleven early Tibetan scholars' opinions (ibid., pp. 72.4-74.5).

On the inexpressibility of ultimate reality according to the early Indian Madhyamaka, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 18, where it is said in connection with MMK XVIII 9 that "the characteristic of reality (tattva) is to be not dependent on another (i.e. not to be communicated)," and on p. 42 in connection with the same verse, this is said to be one of the essential rationales for Nāgārjuna's philosophical procedure--"the principle that ultimate reality (tattva) cannot be expressed or conceived in the frame of vikalpa and prapañca." "For the same reason Nāgārjuna's procedure cannot be described as anti-philosophical even if he maintains no propositional thesis (pratijñā) intended to establish a speculative metaphysical system."

On the other hand, Candrakīrti in his Prasannapadā commentary on the MMK defined "the paramārtha on the basis of the MMK (xviii 7 and 9) as that with respect to which there is no functioning of words and cognitions, for it is not communicated by another, and it is still, directly knowable (pratyātmavedya) by the Āryas, and beyond all discursive development (prapañca)." See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 75, and also (1977), pp. 11, 18f, and note 42. Cf. the similar account of Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 158.6 (ca 79b.6).

On the problem of the knowability of ultimate reality, see also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1971), passim, and (1973), p. 60.

[96]Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra, VIII 33 (E. Lamotte [1962], p. 317). These lines are also quoted below in the autocommentary to KhJ III 52, where they are explicitly attributed to the "Li tstsha byi'i mdo." This is a designation for the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa because Vimalakīrti himself is "the Licchavi."

On silence in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, (D 176: Dri ma med par grags pas bstan pa), see E. Lamotte (1962), pp. 109f, 317f. Three more recent translations of the Sūtra also exist--by R. A. F. Thurman (1976), Bhiksu Prasadika and Lal Mani Joshi (1981), and the English rendering of Lamotte's translation by Sara Boin (1976). These are discussed by de Jong (1984), p. 89.

The Vimalakīrtinirdeśa is quoted by Jñānagarbha in his Sattvadvayavibhaṅga to the same effect. In the extant Tibetan translation of that treatise (D 3881), pp. 6a-6b, it is said that "as stated in the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa, only silence is adequate to the dharma-mukha which is without duality (advaya) and is free from discursive development (niṣprapañca)" (D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 70).

See also Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 97.4: 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis/ li tstsha bi la don dam pa dris pa'i tshe ci yang mi gsung bar cir yang mi grub par go ba lta bu'o//.

Meaningful or "semioticized" silence is a part of the Madhyamaka methodology and is related to the silence of the Ārya (ārya tuṣṇī[m] bhāva) and the silence of the Buddha. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), pp. 34f, the sources cited in ibid., notes 89 and 92, and also (1977), pp. 12 and 19.

[97]RĀ I 61b-62d. The full verses in Sanskrit and Tibetan as cited by M. Hahn (1982), pp. 26f, are:

sasāṃkhyaulūkyanirgrantha-
pudgalaskandhavādinam /
pṛccha lokaṃ yadi vadaty
astināstivyatikramam // 61 //

dharmayautakam ity asmān
  nāstyastitvavyatikramam /
vidhi gambhīram ity uktam
  buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam // 62 //

gang zag phung por smra ba yi//
'jig rten grangs can 'ug phrug dang//
gos med bcas la gal te zhig//
yod med 'das pa smra na dris// [61]
de phyir sangs rgyas rnams kyi ni//
bstan pa 'chi med yod med las//
'das pa zab mo 'di bshad pa//
chos kyi khud pa yin shes gyis// [62]

Cf. the rendering of these verses in D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 232. As observed there, note 77, the Tibetan version (from the Tanjur) differs slightly from the Sanskrit. The version in the KhJ itself differs in some details from the Tanjur version:

61d par KhJ: pa T
62c zhes KhJ: 'di T
62d lags mkhyen mdzod KhJ: yin shes gyis T

[98] See also ThGS, p. 32.3.2 (64a.2), where the same simile is found, and which concludes: kho bo cag don dam par spros pa dang bral ba'i phyir dam bca' khas mi len pa la ngan g.yo can zhes skur ba ci ste 'debs/ drang por smra ba zhes bstod par rigs so//.

D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 232, note 78, observes that this non-affirmation of the Madhyamaka described here by Sa-paṇ is a "case of non-presuppositional and non-implicative absolute negation" (med par dgag pa = prasajyapratiṣedha). Cf. the reasoning mentioned above, note 87. On these types of negation see also Y. Kajiyama (1973), pp. 167-174; J. F. Staal (1962); and the sources cited in D. Seyfort Ruegg (1977), p. 59, note 10.

[99] On the "Vijñānavādins who affirm external objects," see below, KhJ III 50 and note 151.

[100] On the terms mdo sde spyod pa'i dbu ma pa and rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma pa, see K. Mimaki (1983), pp. 163f and (1982), pp. 41-44. As Mimaki (1982) shows, these terms of a double filiation appear in Tibetan writings from at least the early 9th century, and according to D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 59, their

usage may be dated slightly earlier, to the end of the 8th century. As Mimaki (1982) mentions, the earliest known occurence of such terms in an Indian work is in the Pañcakrama Ṭīkā by the early-11th-century Kashmiri nun Lakṣmī. As cited in ibid., note 99, the latter work is quoted by 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa in his Grub mtha' chen mo, chapter ca (Svātantrika chapter), pp. 77a.5-77b.2 (New Delhi ed.: pp. 823-824; II 106a-b).

[101] Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 259a.1, understands Sa-paṇ as disapproving of these mixed terminologies, and quotes from KhJ III 45 in support of this. To show such combinations to be absurd, he points out that one would also have to come up with various other combined names for other instances where two schools share tenets. Glo-bo mkhan-chen was disagreeing with the answer he was given on this point by Shākya-mchog-ldan in the latter's Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 147.2: "nges par 'thad do."

Here, as Khenpo Appey suggested, Glo-bo mkhan-chen may have missed Sa-paṇ's intended meaning. Sa-paṇ merely seems to be saying that if one maintains a school with such "mixed" tenets, one should make sure to remove any contradictions by means of reasoning. Whatever elements they may include, the tenets of one's own school should be internally compatible and consistent.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, p. 259b.1, concludes by saying, "Nevertheless, some of those terms which have been previously current such as those taught in the work of the great translator Dpal-brtsegs were left as they were [read: sor bzhag] and were merely mentioned by name in such works as [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's] Mngon rtogs ljon shing." Glo-bo mkhan-chen was thus probably referring to the Lta ba'i rim pa bshad pa of Dpal-brtsegs (which also appears again in the Peking and Narthang Tanjurs under the different title Lta ba'i rim pa yi man ngag snang ba bcu bdun). This work indeed employs combined names for the sub-schools of the Madhyamaka. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 59, and K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 41f. Glo-bo mkhan-chen probably also had in mind the Lta ba'i khyad par of another early translator, Ye-shes-sde, since this too employs such terms (see also KhJNSh, p. 278a.2: sngon gyi lo tsā ba dpal brtsegs la sogs pas bshad pa'i rnam grangs). Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 147.4, had referred Glo-bo mkhan-chen to this text as the Lta ba'i rjed byang. On the work of Ye-shes-sde see Y. Imaeda (1975), D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981b), and K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 40-42, 44.

The reference to the Mngon rtogs ljon shing is to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing, p. 15.3.2 (130a.2). This passage has been studied by K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 31f. It is also cited as correct by Go-rams-pa, Zab mo, p. 26b.1 (52.1), though the latter rejects a twofold division of rnal 'byor spyod pa and mdo sde spyod pa as incomplete. See

ibid., p. 26a.3 (51.3).

[102]'phags pa'i bde ba. KhJ (C) and (D) both read 'phags pa'i bden pa (=āryasatya), which is also possible. But cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 4a.2: srid pa'i sdug bsngal zhi ba dang/ mya ngan las 'das pa'i bde ba la 'god pa . . . sangs rgyas pa'i grub pa'i mtha'o//. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 4.6 (2a.6), who when commenting on this verse reads bde ba. KhJ III 41 with autocommentary is quoted in ibid., p. 4.4f (2a.4f).

[103]tshu rol mthong ba: arvāgdarśin, arvāgdarśana. See also T. Hirano (1966), p. 396; VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 13.3; and VN (D), p. 327a.6. Literally, this is one who sees this side or the near side. Khenpo Appey defined the term as follows: (1) "one who considers only the present life" (tshe 'di kho na la lta mkhan), or (2) "one who is not a Saint (ārya)" ('phags pa ma yin pa). Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, p. 334, note 4, translated tshur mthong as "an ordinary man." Cf. L. Sopa and J. Hopkins (1976), p. 117: "etymologically, the term 'short-sighted' or 'one who looks nearby' refers to one who does not see beyond ordinary worldly appearances." Cf. also Lati Rinpoche and E. Napper (1980), p. 57: "one who looks nearby [i.e. an ordinary being]."

[104]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 260b.4, understands this as a reference to the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal where Sa-paṇ refuted various erroneous tenets. The passage referred to is in the section explaining the perfection of discriminative understanding (pp. 23.4.5-34.1.5 [46b.5-76a.5]). The structure of the beginning of the chapter is as follows:

I. The definition of discriminative understanding
II. The (detailed) ascertainment of the nature of discriminative understanding
    A. Identification of the opposite
        1. Identification of imperfect understanding
        2. Reflection on its harmful consequences
    B. The individual discernment of the nature of the antidotes
        1. The antidote to the causes of imperfect understanding
        2. The antidote to the resulting imperfect understanding
            i. The refutation of non-Buddhist schools
            ii. The refutation of erroneous opinions of Buddhists
                (A) Refutation of those who maintain Śrāvaka tenets
                (B) Refutation of followers of the Mahāyāna who erroneously

usage may be dated slightly earlier, to the end of the 8th century. As Mimaki (1982) mentions, the earliest known occurence of such terms in an Indian work is in the Pañcakrama Ṭīkā by the early-11th-century Kashmiri nun Lakṣmī. As cited in ibid., note 99, the latter work is quoted by 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa in his Grub mtha' chen mo, chapter ca (Svātantrika chapter), pp. 77a.5-77b.2 (New Delhi ed.: pp. 823-824; II 106a-b).

[101] Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 259a.1, understands Sa-paṇ as disapproving of these mixed terminologies, and quotes from KhJ III 45 in support of this. To show such combinations to be absurd, he points out that one would also have to come up with various other combined names for other instances where two schools share tenets. Glo-bo mkhan-chen was disagreeing with the answer he was given on this point by Shākya-mchog-ldan in the latter's Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 147.2: "nges par 'thad do."

Here, as Khenpo Appey suggested, Glo-bo mkhan-chen may have missed Sa-paṇ's intended meaning. Sa-paṇ merely seems to be saying that if one maintains a school with such "mixed" tenets, one should make sure to remove any contradictions by means of reasoning. Whatever elements they may include, the tenets of one's own school should be internally compatible and consistent.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, p. 259b.1, concludes by saying, "Nevertheless, some of those terms which have been previously current such as those taught in the work of the great translator Dpal-brtsegs were left as they were [read: sor bzhag] and were merely mentioned by name in such works as [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's] Mngon rtogs ljon shing." Glo-bo mkhan-chen was thus probably referring to the Lta ba'i rim pa bshad pa of Dpal-brtsegs (which also appears again in the Peking and Narthang Tanjurs under the different title Lta ba'i rim pa yi man ngag snang ba bcu bdun). This work indeed employs combined names for the sub-schools of the Madhyamaka. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 59, and K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 41f. Glo-bo mkhan-chen probably also had in mind the Lta ba'i khyad par of another early translator, Ye-shes-sde, since this too employs such terms (see also KhJNSh, p. 278a.2: sngon gyi lo tsā ba dpal brtsegs la sogs pas bshad pa'i rnam grangs). Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 147.4, had referred Glo-bo mkhan-chen to this text as the Lta ba'i rjed byang. On the work of Ye-shes-sde see Y. Imaeda (1975), D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981b), and K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 40-42, 44.

The reference to the Mngon rtogs ljon shing is to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing, p. 15.3.2 (130a.2). This passage has been studied by K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 31f. It is also cited as correct by Go-rams-pa, Zab mo, p. 26b.1 (52.1), though the latter rejects a twofold division of rnal 'byor spyod pa and mdo sde spyod pa as incomplete. See

ibid., p. 26a.3 (51.3).

[102]'phags pa'i bde ba. KhJ (C) and (D) both read 'phags pa'i bden pa (=āryasatya), which is also possible. But cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 4a.2: srid pa'i sdug bsngal zhi ba dang/ mya ngan las 'das pa'i bde ba la 'god pa . . . sangs rgyas pa'i grub pa'i mtha'o//. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 4.6 (2a.6), who when commenting on this verse reads bde ba. KhJ III 41 with autocommentary is quoted in ibid., p. 4.4f (2a.4f).

[103]tshu rol mthong ba: arvāgdarśin, arvāgdarśana. See also T. Hirano (1966), p. 396; VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 13.3; and VN (D), p. 327a.6. Literally, this is one who sees this side or the near side. Khenpo Appey defined the term as follows: (1) "one who considers only the present life" (tshe 'di kho na la lta mkhan), or (2) "one who is not a Saint (ārya)" ('phags pa ma yin pa). Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, p. 334, note 4, translated tshur mthong as "an ordinary man." Cf. L. Sopa and J. Hopkins (1976), p. 117: "etymologically, the term 'short-sighted' or 'one who looks nearby' refers to one who does not see beyond ordinary worldly appearances." Cf. also Lati Rinpoche and E. Napper (1980), p. 57: "one who looks nearby [i.e. an ordinary being]."

[104]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 260b.4, understands this as a reference to the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal where Sa-paṇ refuted various erroneous tenets. The passage referred to is in the section explaining the perfection of discriminative understanding (pp. 23.4.5-34.1.5 [46b.5-76a.5]). The structure of the beginning of the chapter is as follows:

I. The definition of discriminative understanding
II. The (detailed) ascertainment of the nature of discriminative understanding
  A. Identification of the opposite
    1. Identification of imperfect understanding
    2. Reflection on its harmful consequences
  B. The individual discernment of the nature of the antidotes
    1. The antidote to the causes of imperfect understanding
    2. The antidote to the resulting imperfect understanding
      i. The refutation of non-Buddhist schools
      ii. The refutation of erroneous opinions of Buddhists
        (A) Refutation of those who maintain Śrāvaka tenets
        (B) Refutation of followers of the Mahāyāna who erroneously

maintain teachings of provisional meaning as of definitive meaning

(C) Refutation of those who uphold as Buddhist a doctrine that is neither Śrāvaka nor Mahāyāna

(1) Refutation of a previously appeared Chinese tradition

(2) Refutation of a later tradition that follows the former

(3) Refutation of a tradition that maintains a meditation of the Nirākāra ("cognitive-image-less") Mind-Only as being the Mahāmudrā

(4) Refutation of a fallacious semblance of the Perfection of Discriminative Understanding (prajñāpāramitā) that is held to be Mahāmudrā

For a first translation of section (1), see Roger Jackson (1982), pp. 91-93. That writer, p. 90, described the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal as "possibly the oldest Tibetan history of Buddhism . . . written in Mongolia sometime between 1244 and 1251." The Thub pa'i dgongs gsal is in fact a religious treatise on the stages of the Bodhisattva's path (i.e. it is a special kind of lam rim, not a history, though it does contain this one "historical" passage). It was composed and widely taught by Sa-paṇ before his departure from Tibet; however, according to a final addendum at the end of the work, Sa-paṇ sent a copy of it in its final form back to his disciples in Tibet after leaving for the Mongol camp in Liang-chou. Note that the Sa-skya-pa tradition usually cites its abbreviated title as Thub pa('i) dgongs gsal, and not as Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab gsal.

R. Jackson (1982), pp. 93f, suggests that Sa-paṇ in section (1) "put into the mouth of Kamalaśīla" words that reflect "more closely what a Buddhist logician [i.e. Sa-paṇ himself] would like the ācārya to have said than what he actually said." But it is difficult to substantiate this. Kamalaśīla himself was of course a highly accomplished Buddhist logician, and regarding his dialectical procedure, it was typical for him to negate the views of his opponents by dividing them into sets of alternatives and then refuting the alternatives one by one. See for instance his MĀ1 (Dbu ma snang ba), (P) pp.198a.6-198b.4, and the translation of that passage by S. Moriyama (1984), p. 15, note 24.

Moreover, to know how closely Sa-paṇ followed his sources or whether he altered their content to suit his own purposes, one would have to know what sources Sa-paṇ based his account on and examine their contents. The second task is not possible at present, but in the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal Sa-paṇ does cite four written sources (pp. 25.3.6 and 25.4.1): the chronicles known as Rgyal bzhed, Dpa' [or Dba'?] bzhed and 'Ba' bzhed, and "other bka' chems writings" (bka' chems

kyi yi ge gzhan). See also Sa-paṇ, Skyes bu dam pa, p. 332.4, where he again explains the sources of this account: 'di dag gi lo rgyus rnams/ rgyal bzhed/ dpa' bzhed/ 'bangs bzhed rnams mthun par snang/ bdag gis kyang ka ma la shi la'i rjes su 'brangs nas bshad/. Just above, (ibid., p. 332.3), Sa-paṇ mentioned the Dbu ma sgom rim gsum and Dbu ma snang ba of Kamalaśīla. That Sa-paṇ in his Skyes bu dam pa referred to the three Tibetan histories was noted already by A. Vostrikov (1970), p. 25, note 55.

R. Jackson, p. 93, translates the references to the three chronicles as "the Rgyal bzhed dba' bzhed chronicles," and comments, p. 98, note 7, "This almost certainly refers to the Rgyal rabs sba bzhed, an early chronicle that is concerned chiefly with the reign of Khri srong lde btsan." Of the three chronicles, the only one that is extant is the Sba bzhed ('Ba' bzhed in Sa-paṇ's list?), of which the Zhabs btags ma version was edited by R. A. Stein (1961). There is also one version of the Sba bzhed, recently published from Beijing (1980, second printing 1982) based on a manuscript in the Mi-rigs-rig-gnas-pho-brang library, in which an account of the debate almost identical to that in the Thub pa'i dgongs gsal is related. See Sba Gsal-snang, Sba bzhed, pp. 72-75, where the passage is introduced with the words yang lugs gcig la.

One should also note that fragments of some of the works attributed to the master Mahāyāna in Sa-paṇ's account have indeed been found among the Tun Huang documents, though not all were by Mahāyāna himself. See S. Karmay (1975), p. 153, on the identification of the Bsam gtan nyal ba'i 'khor lo (Pelliot tibétain 811), Bsam gtan gyi lon (Pelliot tibétain 117), and Mdo sde brgyad cu'i khung (Pelliot tibétain 818; compare Pelliot tibétain 996). Cf. R. Jackson (1982), p. 98, note 6, and G. W. Houston (1980), p. 5. Sa-paṇ, Skyes bu dam pa, pp. 332.1.1-2, explains the contents of the five works attributed to Mahāyāna, as was also recorded by S. Karmay (1975), ibid.

[105]On this work see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), pp. 62f. This hundredfold classification was the subject of later discussion. Glo-bo mkhan-chen as a young scholar had asked Shākya-mchog-ldan, "Which words in the Tarkajvālā teach the 'In the Tarkajvālā they were summarized into one hundred' that [Sa-paṇ] mentioned?" Shākya-mchog-ldan's answer, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, pp. 130.5-131.3, was that one could neither point out the specific place that taught it nor deny that it was taught as such in the work. And Shākya-mchog-ldan held that it was not substantially wrong to classify them as one hundred, for many basic scriptures clearly state the numerical determinateness of the tenets as four less than one hundred, and this, he believed, was what the general content of the Tarkajvālā seems to convey. He then listed the groups of Tīrthika dialecticians as follows:

18 sngon gyi mthar rtog gi lta ba
44 phyi ma'i mthar rtog gi lta ba
14 lung du ma bstan pa'i lta ba
20 'jig lta ['jig tshogs la lta ba], "which issue forth from the five views which are their 'root.'"

96

Shākya-mchog-ldan furthermore suggested that the number of views attributed to the Tarkajvālā by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, viz. 363, may be a scribal error in which 363 was written instead of 163. (But as I was informed by Dr. Chr. Lindtner, the number 363 indeed appears in TJ V, 108.) See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 8.1-10.3 (4b.1-5b.3), where the list of some one hundred and twenty theories from this source is given.

When Glo-bo mkhan-chen wrote his KhJNSh, he did not mention Shākya-mchog-ldan's system of enumeration. Instead, on p. 264b, he discussed the classification and numbering of the non-Buddhist schools quoting from the Dbu ma rin chen sgron ma (*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa). (The latter is ascribed to Bhāvaviveka, but is perhaps the work of a Bhāvaviveka II; see D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 66 and note 214.) The following are taught there, according to Glo-bo mkhan-chen:

363 lta ba'i 'phreng ba
62 lta ba
20 'jig tshogs kyi ri bo
12 byed pa'i skyes bu
12 bdag tu smra ba
5 lta ba
3 lta ba
2 lta ba

Next Glo-bo mkhan-chen quotes from the Rnam bshad dag ldan of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan for its commentary on Hevajra Tantra I,x,12, which is interpreted as indicating the five main schools. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan then summarizes the enumerative classifications of these "erroneous views": they may be reduced to 360, or to 62. Moreover, those can be reduced to twenty 'jig tshogs la lta ba. And the rtog ge gzhi tshugs pa are here reduced to five doctrines. Those may be further reduced to two: eternalist or annihilationist. And those may finally be reduced to a single category: "self postulating" (bdag tu 'dzin pa).

Somewhat later Glo-bo mkhan-chen presents the opinion of some authorities ('ga' zhig gsung) on how the Tīrthika theories are summarized into one hundred in the Tarkajvālā:

16 sngon gyi mthar rtog ge [read: gi] mtha' dang ldan
mi ldan la ltag chad gnyis su phye bas . . .
8 ngag gi g.yeng ba can
1 rgyu med smra ba
32 phyi mthar rtog gi 'dus shes ldan pa
16 'dus shes mi ldan pa
16 'dus shes yod min med min
10 mthong ba'i chos la mya ngan 'das pa
1 chad smra

100

Glo-bo mkhan-chen then goes on to list a different way of classifying and enumerating these theories as found in a commentary on the Phung po lnga'i rab tu byed pa (Pañcaskandhaprakaraṇa) of Vasubandhu:

50 'jig pa la lta ba
10 mthar 'dzin gyi lta ba
24 lta ba mchog 'dzin [gyi lta ba]
10 tshul khrims dang brtul zhugs mchog 'dzin gyi lta ba
6 log par lta ba

100

This comment no doubt expands the basic fivefold classification of theories found in the basic work (P 5560), si, 15a.3 (vol. 113, p. 238.2.3).

Glo-bo mkhan-chen also opined that of the above two ways of arriving at one hundred, the latter was through a division of the five main schools [?], while the former embraced all five schools in general (cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 131.1). He also states that the Dbu ma rin chen sgron ma explains two da ltar gyi mthar rtog, whereas these are said not to be found in the Tarkajvālā.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen also investigated this problem in his Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 10 (5b), but did not reach a final conclusion.

For other classifications of lta ba, see Bu-ston, Chos mngon pa, p. 170.1ff, esp. p. 173.5 (wa 48a.5), where he discusses the sixty-two lta ba mentioned in the Mdo sde tshangs pa'i dra ba (Brahmajāla Sūtra), and Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 7.5f (4a.5f), where several others are listed.

[106]Sa-paṇ followed this fivefold grouping in several of his own works. It was also accepted by his predecessors Phywa-pa and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, his students Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal and Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, and by later scholars such as Bla-ma-dam-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and Dbus-pa Blo-gsal. See D. Jackson (1985), pp. 9, note 7, and 11, note 16. Bcom-ldan Rigs-pa'i-ral-gri apparently criticized this fivefold system. See Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 11.4 (6a.4).

[107]According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 136.7, Dbus-pa Blo-gsal criticized the KhJ for its inclusion of the Gsang-bar-smra-ba in the same group as the Rig-byed-pa. This is a reference to Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 44b.2, who bases himself on the Tattvasaṃgraha:

kha cig rig byed pa dang gsang ba pa rnam grangs su 'chad pa 'di ni ches mi rung ste/ gsang ba pa ni/

gzung ba'i mtshan nyid dang ldan pa//
'di ni cung zad yod min pa//
de phyir 'di dag thams cad ni//
rnam shes gyur par yang dag snang//

zhes sems tsam du smra la snga ma ni de 'gog pa'i phyir te/ ji skad du/

yang 'dir gzhan dag mi shes pa'i//
dri mas gos pas blo can rnams//
sems tsam tshul 'di mi rigs te//
thos pas gnod pa'i phyir zhes smra//

zhes tshad ma'i de kho na nyid bsdus pa las 'byung ba'i phyir//

The Gsang-bar-smra-ba-pa are identified as Vedāntins by Shākya-mchog-ldan in his Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 135.6. One should also note that the Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa, a treatise on siddhānta falsely ascribed to Sa-paṇ, also advocated a radically separate classification of the Vedānta from the Mīmāṃsa. See D. Jackson (1985), p. 4. Cf. also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 14.5 (7b.5), where Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus and some others are said to have identified the Spyod-pa-ba with the Ngo-bo-nyid-rgyur-smra-ba.

[108]Alternatively, this may mean "devotees of Brahman," as Sa-paṇ discusses below, commentary to III 44. But Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 7a.4, also reads tshangs pa.

[109]This is a reference to the Prābhākara, the branch of the Mīmāṃsa founded by Prabhākara (c. 650-720). In some ways it "might be held to provide a via media between Buddhism and Nyāya" (K. Potter [1977], p. 14). This school is also

mentioned by Mokṣākaragupta in his TBh. See below, note 177. It is unclear why Sa-paṇ associates the Prābhākara with the Sāṃkhya, though one suggested explanation is that the name refers to the Sāṃkhya theory of causation.

Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 7a.3, classifies the Gsal-byed-pa (Prābhākara) among his "Vaiṣṇava" class, and states that Gsal-byed-pa, 'Od-byed-pa and Nyi-ma-pa are synonyms. But the 'Od-byed-pa should be "followers of Uddyotakara." Dbus-pa Blo-gsal later (p. 77b.1) mentions this school as "'Od-byed-pa-dag." See K. Mimaki (1980a), p. 151.

[110]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 266b.3, states that the Sanskrit equivalent of ('Jig-rten) Rgyang-'phen [pa] or Rgyang-song is *Lokāyatin (the text actually reads: lo ka a yo ti), and that the opinion of some followers of Gtsang-nag-pa that the term is rkyang pa ba ("one who [maintains] merely or solely") is thus incorrect. Glo-bo mkhan-chen apparently emended his text to read rkyang pa ba (see also ibid., p. 261b.4) based on this understanding of the pūrvapakṣa. See also his Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 14.4 (7b.4) where he reads: 'jig rten snga phyi mi 'dod pas rkyang pa ba'o zhes zer ba ni rgyang 'phen pa'i sgra don ma shes par zad la. Here rkyang pan pa would seem more likely because it is closer phonetically to the standard form.

Compare Dbus-pa Blo-gsal's treatment of the same problem (p. 6b.3): de dag gi sgra'i don ni 'jig rten pa'i yang dag pa'i lta ba las gud du song bas na rgyang pan pa ste/ a yo ti ni song ba dang bral ba dang 'gro ba'i don to zhes slob dpon byang chub bzang pos bshad pa 'di yin no/ des na tshe snga phyi rgyang du 'phen pas rgyang 'phen pa dang/ tshe snga phyi mi 'dod pas rgyang pan pa dang/ tshe 'di kho na la phan par 'dod pas rgyang [read: rkyang?] phan pa la sogs par 'chad pas ni rgyang pan pa'i sgra'i don mi shes par zad do//

Dbus-pa Blo-gsal (or his later scribes or editors) thus seem to have used the spelling Rgyang-pan-pa, which seems to have been the preferred spelling for other good scholars of the period as well. It is found for instance in Bu-ston, Chos mngon pa, p. 177.1 (wa 50a.1), and also in KhJ (B). In the Derge edition of the KhJ, however, the accepted spelling was Rgyang-'phen-pa.

The Sanskrit term lokāyata has been interpreted as "concerning the world" by E. Frauwallner (1973), vol. 2, p. 221, and as "found among people in general" by S. N. Dasgupta (1951), vol. 1, p. 78.

[111]rgyal rigs gzhung du smra ba. This seems to be a reference to the doctrines of statecraft taught by such persons as Cāṇakya and Kautilya. However, Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 134.7, explains that this is a reference to the "doctrine of the evil Kṣatriya" (rgyal rigs ngan pa'i gzhung lugs),

a phrase used in India for the defeating or suppressing of those who abide in proper doctrines while oneself abides in an improper religious system. He also cites PV IV 63d (=PVin III 20d):

bya ba rgyal rigs lugs yin no//

(Here the Sanskrit equivalent of rgyal rigs lugs is rājakulasthiti.) Shākya-mchog-ldan explains that Dharmakīrti used this phrase to refer to such an evil system.

On this latter "Kṣatriya tradition" see also KhJ II 30 (D p. 100.4.2 [tha 40b.2]): rgyal po'i gra sa'i rnam gzhag dang/ rgyal rigs kyi lugs yin no zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni/ rang mi rigs pa la spyod cing gzhan mi rigs pa byed pa tshar gcod pa'i dpe'o//.

See also the explanations of this system merely as unethical materialism in Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, pp. 14.6-15.2 (7b.6-8a.2).

[112]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, pp. 263a.5-266b.6, took verses III 43-45 as a point of departure for various comments and expansions, most of which have already been mentioned in the previous notes. To summarize his commentary:

He begins with a quote from Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal (from his now-unavailable commentary on the BCA) in which Lho-pa would seem to be recording Sa-paṇ's general teachings on the origin and nature of the five main non-Buddhist philosophical schools of India:

(1) Sāṃkhya (263b.4)

(2) *Vaidika (Mīmāṃsa and Vedānta) (264a.3)

(3) Vaiśeṣika (264b.1)

(4) Jaina (264b.2)

(5) Cārvāka (264b.3)

Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 5b.1, who denies that the Sāṃkhya came first, thus rejecting an interpretation of a line in Candrakīrti's Madhyamakāvatāra. For more discussion of this fivefold classification of the Tīrthika schools, see D. Jackson (1985), pp. 4ff.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen next discusses the numbering of the non-Buddhist schools as found in the Dbu ma rin chen sgron ma (described above, note 105). Next (p. 265a.1) he quotes from the commentary on Hevajra Mūlatantra I,x,12 given in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Rnam bshad dag ldan. There the Tantra is interpreted as indicating the same five schools as in Lho-pa's list. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's account concludes with a summary that reduces all the schools to 360, 63, 20, 5, 2, and 1. Glo-bo mkhan-chen interprets this commentary as being in accord with the KhJ.

Next (p. 265b.5) Glo-bo mkhan-chen asserts that just this classification of the non-Buddhist schools into five main schools is found in other great basic

scriptures too. As an instance he quotes the closing lines of the Rigs gter:

thub pa ser skya rkang mig pa dang 'ug pa'i bu//

mkha' gos can dang tshu rol mdzes pa'i gzhung 'dzin pa//

Here the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are listed separately, while the Mīmāṃsaka are omitted. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 129.5, had already pointed out this difference between the Rigs gter and KhJ to Glo-bo mkhan-chen. However, in his subsequent Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, pp. 741.7-742.1, Shākya-mchog-ldan described these as the "five schools of [non-Buddhist] dialecticians" (rtog ge sde lnga), though still identifying each correctly. The later scholar Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas, pp. 54f, in a gloss explained rkang mig pa as rig byed pa, thus only obfuscating the point. Here Ngag-dbang-chos-grags may have been following Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 17.3 (9a.3) where this passage is explained.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen (p. 266a.1) then goes on to mention the two ways in which the Tīrthika views may be summarized into one hundred in the Tarkajvālā (as listed above in note 105). Then (p. 266b.2) he discusses the term Lokāyata and its Tibetan equivalent (see above, note 110). The final point he makes (p. 266b.3) is to refer the reader to the following works for further clarifying analyses:

(1) The Tarkajvālā of Bhāvaviveka.

(2) The commentary on Bhāvaviveka's Prajñāpradīpa by Avalokitavrata (on which see D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 67).

(3) The Dbu ma rin chen 'phreng ba (D 3901, the Madhyamakaratnamālā of "Candrahari-pa"; could this be a mistake for the Dbu ma rin po che'i sgron ma ascribed to a Bhāvaviveka? Cf. number 5 below. But Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 12.5 [6b.5] cites it in the same way.)

(4) The Lta ba'i rab dbye of Atiśa (not extant?).

(5) The "Madhyamaka treatise" of the ācārya Candrahari (probably his Ratnamālā, D 3901, but cf. number 3 above).

(6) The treatise by Kamalaśīla famed as the "great authority" (?) (tshad chen) (=probably his Pañjikā on the Tattvasaṃgraha).

(7) The Nyāyabindu pūrvapakṣasaṃkṣipta of Kamalaśīla.

For more sources on siddhānta, the modern reader should consult the lists in K. Mimaki (1976), pp. 67f, and (1982), p. 2.

[113] See Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 15.4 (8a.4), who quotes this passage. Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 7b.3, who also refers to this Hindu trinity.

[114]Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, pp. 6b.6-7b.3. On p. 7a.3 the Dbang-phyug-pa (Aiśvara = Śaiva) are said to include the Rigs-pa-can, Bye-brag-pa, Gsal-byed-pa, and the Rna-ma-phug-pa. The Khyab-'jug-pa (Vaiṣṇava) are said to include the Tshangs-pa-ba, Dpyod-pa-ba, Rig-byed-pa, Brda-sprod-pa, Tsa-ra-ka-pa, Rgyal-dpog-pa, and Gsang-ba-pa. At least, this is what "the masters explain" (slob dpon dag 'chad do). Thus here the "followers of Brahman" are classed as Vaiṣṇavas. Cf. the classification by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, pp. 429.5f.

[115]Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, pp. 6b.6-7a.1: dper na sangs rgyas [7a] pa'i sde pa gzhan dag kyang bcom ldan 'das kyi mdo 'dzin mod kyi mdo sde pa zhes sde pa de nyid la btags pa bzhin no//. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal makes this remark to explain not rig byed pa, but dbang phyug pa and khyab 'jug pa.

Bodhibhadra in his JSSN states that the name Sautrāntika has been given to those who accept literally the text of such Sūtras as the Ṣaṇmukha and Bhadracaryā and who follow them. See K. Mimaki (1976), pp. 196f, and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 59, note 175.

[116]Is this a loose paraphrase of Asaṅga's description in the AS of satkāya-dṛṣṭi ('jig tshogs la lta ba)? See W. Rahula (1981), p. 10; and Gzhan-dga', Chos mngon, p. 27.3 (14a.3). Here 'jig tshogs la lta ba is said to be "lta ba thams cad kyi rten byed pa'i las can no//."

Cf. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Brtags pa, pp. 133.2.4-133.3.4, also quoted in KhJNSh, pp. 265a-b. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's comments conclude with the same quote or paraphrase from Asaṅga, though its wording at the end is slightly different from the KhJ: bdag tu lta bar 'du'o/. Perhaps Sa-paṇ got this quote second-hand from his uncle's work.

[117]gzhan la grags pa'i rjes dpag : *paraprasiddhānumāna. Within the Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka, this is to argue not only by means of logical consequences (prasaṅgas), but also through the formally stated inferences of an opponent who accepts the "three modes" (tshul gsum) of the logical reason. See also below, note 157. Cf. the discussion of anumāna that is anyataraprasiddha by Candrakīrti in the Prasannapadā (on MMK I 1), cited by K. Mimaki (1982), p. 176, note 478. I have not yet found an instance of the use of this term in another school.

The term stong pa nyid (śūnyatā) was indeed interpreted differently in other schools. To cite an extreme example, Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārttika III 1 denied that śunya had no denotation; rather, he held that it meant "fit for dogs" and denoted any substance that was fit for dogs. See K. Potter (1977), pp. 327f. Elsewhere śūnyatā was understood in the more usual sense of mere emptiness or

voidness. See for example Śaṃkara, Upadeśasāhasrī II,18,125 and K. Potter (1981), p. 248.

KhJ III 45 is quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...phyogs snga, p. 16.2-3 (8b.2-3).

118Khenpo Appey here glossed ci rigs with 'ga' zhig.

119On the Grub mtha' rnam 'byed, which is no longer extant, see D. Jackson (1985), pp. 4 and 8, note 2.

120Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, pp. 266b.6-283a.2, discusses and expands upon III 46 at length. He gives background information on the classification of the Buddhist schools, and also presents what amounts to a brief summary of the tenets of the four main schools with special emphasis on the Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. He begins by quoting Hevajra Tantra II,viii,9-10 (see D. Snellgrove [1959], vol. 1, p. 116). Then he quotes a verse from the JSS of a later Āryadeva (see K. Mimaki [1976], p. 186). In this way he shows that the fourfold classification has canonical authority. He also points out that the latter is also quoted in the Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakra Tantra.

He next (p. 267a.3) addresses a very interesting issue. By his time some scholars had adopted a critical, historical approach to the Buddhist scriptures. They had come to the conclusion that the four schools were established and named subsequent to the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha by different teachers according to their own opinions, whereas during the Buddha's own lifetime there had been no such classifications.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen (p. 267a.5) could not accept such a view because he believed that in that case it would have been unfeasible for the Buddha to have given these various teachings in accordance with the different mentalities of his disciples. Moreover, this would contradict the statement by the Ārya (Nāgārjuna) that the Buddha made doctrinal pronouncements which possessed a special intent (Śūnyatāsaptati 44; see also Chr. Lindtner [1982], pp. 54f.):

yod ces pa yod med ces pa'ang//
yod de yod med de'ang yod//
sangs rgyas rnams kyis dgongs nas ni//
gsungs pa rtogs par sla ma yin//

Those Tibetan scholars who followed a historical approach moreover proposed the following (p. 267b.2): After the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, the first scriptures to appear were those of the Vaibhāṣika school. Then there arose the tenets of the Sautrāntika, and next the Madhyamaka. Then Ārya Asaṅga established the tenets of

the Yogācāra. For that reason one finds the tenets of the Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika appearing as pūrvapakṣas in the basic writings of Nāgārjuna, whereas the latter does not take the tenets of the Yogācāra as his pūrvapakṣas and refute them.

According to Glo-bo mkhan-chen (p. 267b.6) this too is untenable. He points out that the Yogācārins are mentioned in the Bodhicittavivaraṇa (BV) of Nāgārjuna, quoting first verse 30 and then 31 (for these verses see also Chr. Lindtner [1982], pp. 194f). He quotes in addition Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 12, as also quoted in the auto-commentary on KhJ III 48. Glo-bo mkhan-chen interprets the "unwise person" of the latter verse to be one who maintains the existence of a momentary non-dual Gnosis, which is the very tradition of the Mind-Only.

Regarding the authorship of the BV, see D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 104. Cf. Chr. Lindtner (1982), p. 11, who counts the BV among the twelve texts--not including the MMK--attributed to Nāgārjuna that must be considered genuine. See also ibid., p. 122, note 149, and p. 180, and Chr. Lindtner (1982a), pp. 186ff.

On the four major Buddhist schools, Glo-bo mkhan-chen's exposition is as follows:

[Nyan thos theg pa]

I. Bye brag tu smra ba (268b.2)

II. Mdo sde pa (269a.2)

[Theg pa chen po-- Introduction (270a.5)]

III. Rnal 'byor spyod pa sems tsam pa (270b.3)

- A. kun gzhi'i rnam shes de'i mtshan nyid
  1. gzhan dbang (270b.5)
  2. kun btags pa (271a.1)
  3. yongs su grub pa (271a.1)
- B. sems tsam pa grub mtha' tha dad
  1. sems tsam rnam med pa (271a.3)
  2. sems tsam rnam pa dang bcas pa (271b.1)
- C. phyi rol gyi don mi 'dod pa (272a.3)
  1. Mngon rtogs ljon shing
  2. Ye shes snyin po kun las 'dus pa'i 'grel pa (272a.4)
  3. bod snga rabs kyi mngon pa smra ba (re: KhJ III 50)
     - a. [phyogs snga brjod pa]
     - b. de gzhung 'dir 'gog pa (272b.2)
     - c. Mngon rtogs ljon shing las kyang (273a.1)
     - d. Mu stegs dang nyan thos dang rtsod pa'i tshe phyi don khas len pa (273a.4)

D. gzhan dbang
   1. ming gi don (273b.1)
   2. dbye ba (273b.2)
      a. ma dag pa
      b. dag pa
E. kun btags (273b.6)
   1. ming don (273b.6)
   2. dbye ba (274a.1)
F. yongs su grub pa (274b.3)
   1. ming gi don (274b.4)
   2. dbye ba (274b.4)
      a. gnyis su dbye ba (274b.4)
      b. bzhir dbye ba (275a.1)
G. mtshan nyid gsum bden pa gnyis su bsdu na (275b.4)

IV. Dbu ma pa (277a.3)
A. [Rje btsun dang Sa paṇ gyis gzhan du gsungs pa] (277a.3)
   1. Mngon rtogs ljon shing (277a.4; rejected by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, 278a.2)
   2. Rgyal sras lam bzang (277a.4; rejected by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, 278a.2, as "grub mtha'i rim pa ma yin")
B. ji ltar 'dod pa (278b.6)
   1. [dbye ba]
      a. snga rabs pa rnams kyi gzhung phyi mo'i dbu ma
      b. de rjes su 'brang ba'i dbu ma (279a.1)
         i. thal 'gyur ba
         ii. rang rgyud pa
   2. de'i nang tshan gyi dbye ba la/ thal 'gyur ba'i dbye ba (279a.2)
      a. rags pa phyi'i dbu ma (279a.3; cf. 280b.2: thal rang la sogs pa'i dbu ma rnams rags pa phyi'i dbu ma yin)
      b. phra ba nang gi dbu ma (cf. 280b.2: rim pa lnga la sogs pa'i man ngag du 'byung ba'i sgom rim gyi dbu ma rnams)
   3. don dam pa'i 'dod tshul la mi mthun pa med (280b.5)
   4. don dam pa la nges pa bskyed pa'i rigs pa (281a.3)
      a. thal rang gnyis kyi khyad par (281a.4)
         i. Bka' gdams do kor ba'i dris lan las (281a.4)
         ii. Lho pa'i gsung sgros mar (281a.6)

Cf. Glo-bo mkhan-chen's earlier analysis of tenets in his Sde bdun mdo, p. 33.3 (17a.3), which includes quotes from representative texts of each school.

The above account in the KhJNSh seems somewhat rough or hastily put together. Nevertheless, it has passages of considerable interest, such as on the division of the Dbu-ma into *phra ba* and *rags pa* (279a.3-280b.3) attributed to Atiśa, and the long quote from the otherwise unavailable *Gsung sgros ma* commentary on the BCA by Lho-pa kun-mkhyen (281a.6-283a.2). The same attribution to Atiśa is made by Ngag-dbang-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, *Sdom pa gsum*, 267.5 (134a.5). He here mistakenly ascribes the *Dbu ma rin po che'i sgron ma* (*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa*) to Atiśa, as Glo-bo mkhan-chen (and Lho-pa?) also did, if the mention of the title was not the beginning of the quotation from Atiśa.

I could not locate the *rags pa* / *phra ba* distinction in Atiśa's writings, but one can compare his *Dbu ma'i man ngag* (P), vol. 102, p. 55.2.7 with KhJNSh p. 559.4 (279a.4). As Mr. S. Matsumoto informed me, the passage attributed to Atiśa above quotes the *Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* (P), *tsha*, 353a.3-4. This passage has been discussed by S. Yamaguchi in his Works, vol. 1, p. 313.

121 See NB III 59 and its commentary by Dharmottara (Th. Stcherbatsky [1930-32], vol. 2, p. 172). Stcherbatsky, *ibid*., note 1, stated that "this is the celebrated rule of Dignāga which lays down the fundamental principle that a philosophical debate must have some common ground to start with. Neither the speaker nor his opponent has the right of quoting facts or reasons that are not admitted as real by the other party." In his *Nirvāṇa* (1927), pp. 118f, Stcherbatsky translates Candrakīrti on the difficulties this rule caused for Mādhyamikas. Cf. K. Potter (1963), p. 67, where agreeing on an example of established subject is described as a basic procedure for making progress in Indian debating in general.

122 One of the points that Sa-paṇ stressed in his teaching of Pramāṇa was that Dharmakīrti when investigating material objects operated from the standpoint of Sautrāntika tenets, whereas when he negated external objects he adopted a Yogācāra standpoint (on this approach of Dharmakīrti, see also S. Moriyama [1984], p. 16 and note 27). In stressing this, Sa-paṇ was rejecting the procedure of Phywa-pa and his followers. See above, chapter 7, and Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad*, p. 453. Sa-paṇ explained this in more detail in his RTRG, p. 170.1.4: *phyi rol gyi don khas len pa na/ mdo sde pa'i lugs gzung bar bya'o//*, etc. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, *Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad*, p. 468; and Go-rams-pa, *Sde bdun mdo*, pp. 399.1 and 555.5.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh (pp. 273a.6-273b.1) already quoted KhJ III 47, and now (pp. 283a.6-287a.6) devotes considerable space to explaining it and its autocommentary. According to his topic headings, this verse is the first part of a main fourth section: *de dag rtsod pa'i tshul* (p. 283a.2?). According to the

topic headings he worked out (see also below, Appendix I), this first part consists of the identification of Dharmakīrti's intended meaning (chos kyi grags pa'i dgongs pa ngos bzung ba). Glo-bo mkhan-chen discerns four steps in Sa-paṇ's autocommentary on this verse, which are four steps in a critical philosophical analysis of entities:

(1) phyi rol gyi don dgos pa'i dbang gis khas len pa'i tshul (283a.6)

(2) rigs pas dpyad nas de nyid 'gog pa'i tshul (285a.5)

(3) kun tu tha snyad pa'i gzhi rnam rig bsgrub pa (285b.4)

(4) tha snyad las 'das pa don dam la 'jug pa'i tshul (286a.6)

The comment on the first of these seems to consist of a quote from a PV commentary by Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (see 284b.3), though the beginning of the quote is not clearly marked. The topic is the first section (skabs) of the discussion of pramāṇaphala (tshad 'bras) in PV III 301-367. On this see also L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 287, note 182. Here Rong-ston quotes PS I 8cd, on which see M. Hattori (1968), pp. 28 and 182f. Rong-ston--if he is the real author--considered the lines

tshad ma nyid du 'dogs pa ste//
bya ba med pa'ang ma yin no//

to belong to the kārikās, and they are found in PS (P), p. 2b.2; see also K. Mimaki (1979), note 14. On the tshad 'bras discussion in the PV, see also Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, pp. 136.2.4-137.2.4. After this quote, Glo-bo mkhan-chen (pp. 284b.4-285a.5) also applies the Sautrāntika tenets to the third skabs of the tshad 'bras investigation, quoting PV III 341d and also RTRG, p. 230.1.2.

In a similar passage in the RTRG (p. 169.3.5), Sa-paṇ describes the purport (dgongs pa) not of Dharmakīrti but of the Buddha. (But this is presumably also how Dharmakīrti is supposed to have identified that intent.): bde bar gshegs pa'i lugs bsgrub pa la gnyis las/ dang po dgongs pa dngos bzung ba ni/ thub pas phyi rol don dpyod pa na rdul phran zhal gyis bzhes la/ tha snyad kyi de kho na dpyod pa na sems tsam zhal gyis bzhes shing/ don dam pa'i de kho na nyid la 'jug pa na spros pa dang bral ba la 'jug par mdzad do// . . . . (p. 169.4.1) gnyis pa de slob dpon gyis ji ltar gtan la phab pa'i tshul la don rig dang rnam rig gnyis so//. (The slob dpon of the last sentence is Dharmakīrti.) See also below, note 144.

[123]The Venerable Khenpo Appey here considered the possible emendation to don gyi mthus skyes la 'dra ba since D: don gyi mthus skyes did not seem to make good sense. In any case, the skyes la 'dra ba is definitely what is being referred to in this passage. This is the second moment of cognition in Sautrāntika epistemology. The mind cognizes only this cognitive image that arises in

resemblance to the original object. According to the Sautrāntikas, this is not the object itself, and there is an interval of one moment before the image is cognized (in contrast to the Vaibhāṣikas who maintain the direct and immediate perception of the object). See RTRG, p. 170.1.5: de dag tshogs pa las skad cig gnyis par rnam shes kyi phyi rol yul gyi rnam pa 'dra bar skyes pa de nyid skyes la 'dra ba'i shes pa yin no/. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 646.6.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 284b.2 (a quote from Rong-ston?) defines the gzung rnam of the Sautrāntikas as don dang 'dra bar skyes pa yul gyi rnam pa'o//. On the subsequent refutation of the skyes la 'dra ba by Dharmakīrti, see PV III 323 and Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, p. 139.4.5. For more on Sautrāntika epistemology, see Jadunatha Sinha (1938), pp. 35-42.

[124]PV III 219. This verse is identical in the Tanjur version except that P and N read spyod in line d, according to E. Steinkellner (1977), p. 152. This verse is also quoted in RTRG, p. 169.3.5, and explained in RTRG, p. 221.1.4.

[125]These lines are not found in Dharmakīrti's main works, but are only attributed to him by oral tradition. They are also quoted in RTRG, p. 170.2.6, and Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 399.3. In the Rigs gter rang 'grel, skas appears instead of skabs.

[126]This is the second of four philosophical stages that Sa-paṇ treats in his autocommentary: rigs pas dpyad nas phyi rol gyi don 'gog pa. See KhJNSh, p. 285b.4, and below, note 144.

[127]PVin I 51 and PV III 360. See T. Vetter (1966), pp. 92f; K. Mimaki (1979), p. 204, note 38, and (1980b), p. 158; and Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 149 and note 420. The canonical Tibetan for the PV as given by Miyasaka (1971/72), p. 89, is:

gang gis dngos po rnam dpyad pa//
de nyid du na de dngos med//
gang gi phyir na de dag la//
gcig dang du ma'i rang bzhin med//

(No variants were noted.) The Sanskrit from K. Mimaki (1980b) is:

bhāvā yena nirūpyante
tadrūpaṃ nāsti tattvataḥ /
yasmād ekam anekaṃ ca
rūpaṃ teṣāṃ na vidyate //

[128]The reasoning of "absence of oneness and manyness" is one of the four or five great reasons used by later Mādhyamikas to establish the Madhyamaka theory of dharmanairātmya. See below, note 155. But it was also used in many Mahāyāna works. It is found for instance in:

Nāgārjuna, RĀ, I 71
Vasubandhu, Viṃśatikā, 11ff.
Dignāga, Ālambanaparīkṣā 5
Dharmakīrti, PV III 360 (cf. VN [P], p. 371a.6)

This reasoning was elaborated especially by Śrīgupta, who made it the subject of his Tattvāvatāravṛtti, and by Śāntarakṣita, who discussed it in detail in his Madhyamakālaṃkāra. It was also employed by Jñānagarbha, Kamalaśīla and Haribhadra. Atiśa was one of the later Mādhyamikas who listed it as one of the four (or five) great reasons used to establish their doctrine. See K. Mimaki (1982), p. 212, note 547, and Chr. Lindtner (1981), p. 207. On this reasoning see also Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 514, and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 68 and note 221.

Sa-paṇ, RTRG, p. 170.3.1-5, used the "absence of oneness and manyness" reasoning to negate two distinct sorts of "constructions": (1) coarse substances which constitute a "whole" which possesses sections or parts (rags pa yan lag can gyi rdzas) as accepted by the Vaiśeṣikas, and (2) subtle "atoms" (aṇu) which are supposedly impartite (phra mo cha med = rdul phran) as accepted by Sautrāntikas and some Tīrthikas (e.g. the Vaiśeṣikas). The first is not simple or impartite because it involves several parts and directions (or sides), like a heap of rice. The "atoms" too are not truly simple and impartite, for they involve six parts (the six sides of spatial extension) just as a house does. Here Sa-paṇ quotes Vasubandhu's Viṃśatikā 12:

> If an "atom" (paramāṇu) was conjoined with six [other atoms] simultaneously, it would have six parts [i.e. sides]. If those six occupy the same place (samānadeśa), a physical object would also be just the size of an "atom."

In addition, Sa-paṇ states that "atoms" are negated by critically investigating whether one or a series of two of them have or lack spatial extension (ring thung yod med). In this connection he then quotes PV III 360 (=PVin I 51). See also Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, pp. 191 and 519, note 2; L. de La Vallée Poussin (1971), vol. 1, pp. 89f; and Y. Kajiyama (1976), p. 141, note 5.

Later in the RTRG (pp. 171.2.6 and 171.4.5), Sa-paṇ as an interpreter of Dharmakīrti restricts the application of these critical negations to the coarse and subtle substantial entities just described. He says these reasonings are here not to be applied to momentary impartite consciousness in the way that Mādhyamikas

do. See also below, note 131.

129 This refers to the drug gis gcig char sbyar ba na (ṣaṭkena yugapadyogāt) of Viṃśatikā 12a. As mentioned in the previous note, Sa-paṇ, RTRG, p. 170.3.2, used this reasoning to negate the notion of "atoms" (rdul phran = aṇu) and quoted this verse of the Viṃśatikā. See also Mokṣākaragupta 32 (Kajiyama [1966], pp. 145f), where the same verse is quoted.

130 PV III 353b-d. The Tanjur version of this verse (following Miyasaka [1971/72], p. 89):

ji ltar rnam pa 'ga' zhig ltar//
don dngos med par snang can de//
ji ltar don 'dzin zhe na bden//
de 'dra ngas kyang mi shes so//

Cf. PVin I 44b-d, which is very similar. On this verse from the PV see T. Vetter (1966), pp. 90f; and K. Mimaki (1979), p. 206, note 46, and (1980b), p. 160. The Sanskrit text in K. Mimaki (1979) is:

yathā kathañcit tasyārtha
rūpaṃ muktvāvabhāsinaḥ /
arthagrahaḥ kathaṃ satyam
na jāne 'ham apīdṛśam //

131 Rngog and his successors (including Phywa-pa) used the "absence of oneness and manyness" reasoning of Dharmakīrti to establish all knowable entities as empty of own-natures, i.e. they used it to establish the Madhyamaka. See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mkhas pa, p. 95.7: rngog lo [b]rgyud par bcas pa dag . . . rnam 'grel du gcig du bral gyi rigs pa gsungs pa de shes bya mtha' dag rang stong gis gtan la 'bebs byed nyid du sbyor ba dag/. On Phywa-pa in particular, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 33.1: des rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i dgongs pa ji ltar bkral ba ni/ mthar thug gi dgongs pa ngo bo nyid med pa . . . . de gtan la 'bebs byed gcig dang du bral la 'chad pa dang/. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, ibid., pp. 23.2 and 30.5; and Springs yig, p. 324.5.

As mentioned above, note 128, Sa-paṇ explains the gcig dang du bral reasoning of Dharmakīrti also in RTRG, pp. 171.3.1 and 171.4.5. There he indicated that Dharmakīrti had in mind the negation of "objects" (yul = viṣaya) of the duality of apprehended object and apprehending subject (gzung 'dzin = grāhya grāhaka) but did not use this reasoning to criticize the notion of a momentary impartite consciousness as the Mādhyamikas do. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 376.4f. But in the ThGS where he adopts the Madhyamaka

standpoint, he criticizes non-dual cognition as not being the ultimate because in the last analysis it amounts to an entity. See ThGS p. 31.3.4 (62a.4).

[132]This pūrvapakṣa begins the third of the four philosophical stages dealt with by Sa-paṇ in his autocommentary: kun tu tha snyad pa'i gzhi rnam rig bsgrub pa. See below, note 144.

[133]This seems to be quoted from the Viṃśatikāvṛtti (3.2-3) of Vasubandhu and not from the Daśabhūmika directly. See K. Mimaki (1982), p. 95 and note 291. The corresponding passage in the extant version of the Sūtra does not contain the words kye rgyal ba'i sras dag (bho jinaputrā). Cf. Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 82b.3: kye rgyal ba'i sras dag khams gsum pa 'di dag ni sems tsam mo, and Daśabhūmika Sūtra (Tib P) [25] (761 [31]), vol. li, p. 103a.8: khams gsum pa 'di sems tsam ste/.

[134]This is not one verse but is two pairs of pādas from two nearby verses. bag chags kyis, etc., is Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra X 155ab, and don yod ma yin, etc., is X 153cd. See K. Mimaki (1982), p. 96, notes 293 and 294. Sa-paṇ quotes from the same translation as Dbu-pa Blo-gsal, p. 82b.4-5. Cf. the Tibetan translation in the Tanjur (P) [29] (775) ngu, pp. 180a.8-180b.1, as quoted by K. Mimaki (1982), p. 96, textual notes to lines 1-8.

bag chags kyis ni dkrugs pa'i sems//
don du snang ba shin tu 'byung//

and:

phyi rol don mthong log pa ste//
don ni sems ni 'ba' zhig go//

The non-canonical translation follows the available Sanskrit text closer for 153cd:

bāhyārthadarśanam mithyā
nāsty arthaṃ [sic] cittam eva tu //

See ibid., p. 96, note 293.

[135]There are two reasons or proofs used in the tradition of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti to establish vijñapti. See RTRG, p. 170.4.2: rnam par rig pa bsgrub pa ni/ kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma dpyod pa na mdo mdzad pa dang rnam 'grel mdzad pa'i rjes su 'brang ngo/ de la gnyis te/

gsal dang lhan cig dmigs nges 'grub//

Thus the two proofs are:

(1) "illumination (gsal ba = prakāśa) and awareness (rig pa)"

(2) "the necessary concomitance (nges pa = niyama) of things simultaneously apprehended (lhan cig dmigs pa = sahopalambha)"

Sa-paṇ, ibid., explains the first as follows: The defining mark of cognition (shes pa) is said to be illumination and awareness (gsal zhing rig pa). And since it is impossible for there to be an object of knowledge (shes bya) that does not possess illumination and awareness, all objects of knowledge are established as the mind, just as a cow is established [to be such] by its dewlap [which is one of its defining marks]. [Cf. S. Matsumoto (1980), p. 273, note 2; and L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 311, note 335.]

Sa-paṇ then explains the second proof: Whatever things are necessarily concomitant (nges pa = khyab pa) through simultaneous apprehension are not something different. He gives as his example (from PVin I, =T. Vetter [1966], p. 94.18-19) that a perceived patch of blue and the cognition that apprehends it are necessarily concomitant through simultaneous apprehension, the implication being that cognition and its object are one.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 474, explains this reasoning: Through the necessary concomitance of simultaneous apprehension, [whatever] appears is established as not being a substantial entity different from cognition. Whatever is necessarily concomitant through simultaneous apprehension is impossible to be different from cognition, as for example the appearance of two moons and the cognition of those [moons are not different]. The appearance as blue, etc., and the cognition that apprehends it too are necessarily concomitant as simultaneously apprehended.

Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 560.6, expresses the thesis of this reasoning as follows: The sensory cognition (dbang shes) in which there appears something as an object and that which at that same time appears as the object in it are one and the same. He also explains the meaning of the proof according to the Rnam-brdzun-pa (p. 561.6): lhan cig pa ni yul dus cig car du snang ba yin la/ dmigs pa ni 'dzin pa yin la nges pa ni khyab pa yin no/. See also the discussion of this reasoning in PV III 388 with its commentary by Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, p. 146.2.3, and in Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, beginning on p. 90b.2.

As Sa-paṇ asserted at the beginning of the above account (RTRG, p. 170.4.2), when one critically discerns the Pramāṇa of transactional usage, one should follow the author of the (Pramāṇa) Sūtra (i.e. Dignāga) and of the (Pramāṇa) Vārttika (i.e. Dharmakīrti). Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 21, points out that the above two reasonings are indeed peculiar to the Pramāṇa tradition of Dignāga and are not found in other systems, whereas the reasoning of "absence of oneness and manyness" is employed in many other scriptural traditions.

Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 355, note 1, briefly mentioned the sahopalambha-niyama, and translated it as "coextensiveness of existence and knowledge." J. Sinha (1938), pp. 27-29, termed it "the law of simultaneous apprehension, and on p. 282, "invariably simultaneous perception of cognition and objects." A. K. Chatterjee (1975), p. 232, called it "the availability of the object along with its consciousness, thus refuting its independence." And S. Matsumoto (1978), p. 969 (9), and (1980), p. 1, translated it as "the necessity of being perceived together." In the latter study Matsumoto discusses the occurrence of this reasoning in the Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā 65-82, Tattvasaṃgraha (and pañjikā) 2029-2030, the PVin and its commentary by Dharmottara, and the Anekāntajayapatāka V by the Jaina scholar Haribhadra Sūri.

On the equation of niyama (nges pa) with vyāpti (khyab pa), see also B. Jhalakikar (1978), p. 426, niyamaḥ 1, ka.

[136]Vasubandhu, Triṃśikā 28. The full verse in Tibetan is:

nam zhig shes pas dmigs pa rnams//
mi dmigs de yi tshe na ni//
rnam par rig pa tsam la gnas//
gzung ba med pas de 'dzin med//

In Sanskrit:

yadālambanam vijñānam
naivopalabhate tadā /
sthitaṃ vijñānamātratve
grāhyābhāve tad agrahāt //

See K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 123f and note 360. Dr. Chr. Lindtner has kindly suggested that line a should read yadātrālambanaṃjñānaṃ.

[137]dngos po stobs zhugs = vastubalapravṛtta. On this term see below, note 146.

[138]PVin I 38a, T. Vetter (1966), pp. 86f. (See also PV III 273). The Sanskrit of this verse is:

nānyo 'nubhāvyo buddhyāsti
tasyā nānubhavo paraḥ /
grāhyagrāhaka vaidhuryāt
svayaṃ saiva prakāśate //

For other citations and translations of this verse see K. Mimaki (1982), p. 125, note 363.

[139]Here begins the fourth of the four stages of philosophical analysis dealt with in Sa-paṇ's autocommentary, according to KhJNSh, p. 286a.5: tha snyad las 'das pa don dam la 'jug pa'i tshul. See below, note 144. This passage is quoted at length by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 47.4f (24a.4).

[140]Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra X 257ab. The full verse in the Tanjur (P), vol. [29] (775) ngu, p. 184a.4, is considerably different, as is the Sanskrit:

sems tsam las ni 'das nas ni//
snang ba med las 'da' bar bya//
rnal 'byor snang ba med gnas pa//
theg pa chen po mi mthong ngo//

In Sanskrit:

cittamātram atikramya
  nirābhāsam atikramet /
nirābhāsasthito yogi
  mahāyānaṃ sa [alt.: na] paśyati //

See Y. Kajiyama (1976), pp. 136-140; D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 90, note 293; and K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 237-239 and note 592. The translation of lines ab in the latter is:

> Après avoir dépassé le "rien que pensée", il doit dépasser la [connaissance] sans apparence [des deux, c.-à-d. d'objet et agent de cognition].

The translator there followed Kamalaśīla's interpretations in the first Bhāvanākrama, 211.10-12: evaṃ cittamātram atikramya tad api dvayanirābhāsam yaj jñānam tad atikramet/.

The version found in Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 110b.4, is closer to the KhJ quote:

sems tsam las ni 'das nas su//
snang ba med la bzla bar bya//

K. Mimaki (1982), note 592, discusses the likelihood that the lines quoted by Dbus-pa Blo-gsal were taken from a secondary source and not directly from the Sūtra. Indeed, for these two lines the text is identical to that found quoted in Kamalaśīla's MĀl. See (P), p. 171a; (D), p. 157a; and S. Moriyama (1984), pp. 29f, note 56.

A quite different version is found in KhJNSh, p. 279b.1:

sems tsam las ni 'das gyur na//
snang ba med par gnas par 'gyur//
snang med gnas pa'i rnal 'byor pa//

de yis theg pa chen po mthong//

This translation is imbedded in a quote from an unidentified work by Atiśa, and it was based on the Sanskrit reading sa instead of na.

Still another version is found in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, p. 433.4:

sems tsam las ni 'das nas kyang//
snang ba med la shin tu 'da'//
snang med gnas pa'i rnal 'byor pa//
de yis theg pa chen po mthong//

Here Shākya-mchog-ldan interprets Śāntarakṣita as maintaining that the sems tsam refers to the Rnam-bden-pa, the snang med to the Rnam-brdzun-pa, and the theg pa chen po mthong to the Dbu-ma-pa.

141 PV II 252cd, 253ab. See (D) ce, p. 117a.5. The Tibetan:

'du byed sdug bsngal la dgongs nas//
sdug bsngal bsgom par gsungs pa yin// [252cd]
nged kyi de yang rkyen las skyes//
de ni bdag med lta brten yin// [253 ab]

The Sanskrit, following Miyasaka (1971/72), p. 36:

saṃskāraduḥkhatām matvā
  kathitā duḥkhabhāvanā // [252cd]
sa ca naḥ pratyayopattiḥ
  sā nairātmyadṛgaśrayaḥ // [253ab]

142 Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 12. The wording of the version in the Tanjur is different, though the meaning is the same. See Chr. Lindtner (1982), pp. 106f:

dngos po shin tu phra ba la'ang//
gang gis skye bar rnam brtags pa//
rnam par mi mkhas de yis ni//
rkyen las byung ba'i don ma mthong//

No variants were noted from N and P.

143 Anavataptanāgarājaparipṛcchā Sūtra (Tib.: Klu'i rgyal po ma dros pas zhus pa'i mdo), (D) pha, p. 230b.2-3; and (P) [33] (823), pu, p. 238a.6:

rkyen las skyes pa gang yin de ma skyes//
de la skye ba ngo bo nyid kyis med//
rkyen la rag las gang yin stong par gsungs//
stong nyid gang shes de ni bag yod pa'o//

Line 1 of P reads te instead of de. See K. Mimaki (1982), p. 225, note 572.

9

The version found in Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, p. 108b.5-6, is the same as in the KhJ except that the former reads stong par bshad in line three (KhJ: stong pa nyid).

The edited Sanskrit in K. Mimaki (1982), p. 226, note 572, is:

yaḥ pratyayair jāyati sa hy ajāto
na tasya utpāda svabhāvo 'sti /
yaḥ pratyayādīnu sa śūnya ukto
yaḥ śūnyatāṃ jānati so 'pramattaḥ //

[144]Thus the Madhyamaka is the fourth and final main stage that the philosophical analyses and dissolutions lead to in the autocommentary to KhJ III 47-48. The four stages, as listed in KhJNSh, p. 283a, were:

(1) How external objects are accepted because of a special motive (phyi rol gyi don dgos pa'i dbang gis khas len pa'i tshul) (p. 283a.6)
(2) How those very [external objects] are negated after critical examination through reasoning (rigs pas dpyad nas de nyid 'gog pa'i tshul) (p. 285a.5)
(3) The establishment of vijñapti, the basis of transactional usage (kun tu tha snyad pa'i gzhi rnam rig bsgrub pa) (p. 285b.4)
(4) How to enter into the ultimate truth, which has transcended transactional usage (tha snyad las 'das pa don dam la 'jug pa'i tshul) (p. 286a.6)

Glo-bo mkhan-chen considered the subject of KhJ III 47-48 to be the identification of Dharmakīrti's intended meaning or purport (chos kyi grags pa'i dgongs pa ngos bzung ba), and thus he understood Sa-paṇ to be identifying Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika. This seems all the more justified by the last sentence of the autocommentary. But in a parallel passage of the Rigs gter rang 'grel (p. 169.3.5), Sa-paṇ's subject was "to identify the intent" (of the Buddha) and to described how the Ācārya (i.e. Dharmakīrti) systematically established that intent (slob dpon gyis ji ltar gtan la phab pa'i tshul). See above, note 122.

Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, pp. 398.6-399.1, interprets the above passage of the Rigs gter rang 'grel as above, beginning his explanation of "the identification of the intent" with the words bde bar gshegs pas ("the Sugata [maintained]") where the Rigs gter rang 'grel has thub pas ("the Muni [maintained]"). He explained the second part, the systematic establishment of the intent, beginning, "Thus from among the four Buddhist philosophical tenets, if you ask which did the Ācārya establish . . ." (de ltar sangs rgyas pa'i grub mtha' bzhi las/ slob dpon gyis gang gtan la dbab pa yin zhe na). And in the following passages of the Rigs gter rang 'grel Sa-paṇ states that Dharmakīrti adopted Sautrāntika and Yogācāra tenets. Here Sa-paṇ did not mention Dharmakīrti as following the Madhyamaka. Cf. the DS, p. 315.1.2, regarding the Buddha's purport (dgongs pa):

de la 'jig rten mthun 'jug la//
dgongs nas phyi rol don du gsungs//
tha snyad dpyod pa'i rigs pa la//
dgongs nas chos rnams sems su gsungs//
dam pa'i don la dgongs nas ni//
chos kun spros pa bral zhes gsungs//

Dharmakīrti himself in PV III 195-213 and 301-367 also engaged in step-by-step critical analyses of this sort. See L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 272, note 99 and p. 277, note 123; and T. Vetter (1964), pp. 67-71. In his Rigs gter rang 'grel Sa-paṇ interpreted these ontological dissolutions as ending with the Nirākāra (Sems tsam rnam med) and did not go on to the establishment of the paramārtha of the Madhyamaka.

In the KhJ, however, Sa-paṇ used a gradual series of negations (bkag pa'i rim pa) to lead through the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra to the final view, the Madhyamaka (see above, chapter 7). In so doing he was following a procedure that was well established among the Indian Mādhyamikas of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka. Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, pp. 27f (ca, pp. 14a.5-14b.6) spoke of such procedures as forming two of three methods by which the Madhyamaka could be established in the minds of those who had been trained in philosophical tenets. The three methods were:

(1) Where a student reaches [on his own?] the higher philosophical tenets of the four Buddhist schools by hearing explanations of the reasons through which the relatively higher schools criticize what the schools beneath them maintain as their ultimate real.

(2) Where the teacher, who is a Mādhyamika, applies the student in the end to the Madhyamaka after criticizing those who maintain the existence of entities according to the non-Buddhist and lower Buddhist schools, by stating the reasons which the relatively higher schools use to disprove the relatively lower schools.

(3) Where a Mādhyamika teacher applies the student in the end to the Madhyamaka tenets by stating the criticisms of the lower schools according to the Madhyamaka tradition itself (i.e. using the reasoning that is peculiar to the Madhyamaka).

According to Go-rams-pa, the sequence of argumentation in the second method is:

(a) Refutation of the Vaibhāṣika tenets through Sautrāntika reasoning

(b) Refutation of the Sautrāntika opinion of a really existent "atom" through the reasoning of "simultaneous combination of six"

(c) The refutation of the opinion of the Yogācārin that mind is really existent, by means of the reasoning of "devoid of oneness and

manyness"

Go-rams-pa later (pp. 298f) quotes the lines from BCA IX 4:

rnal 'byor pa yang blo khyad kyis//
gong ma gong ma rnams kyis gnod//

And he discusses the step-by-step refutation of lower tenets by higher as being "like the reasoning taught in the JSS" (ye shes snying po kun las btus las bshad pa'i rigs pa lta bu). Still later in the same work (p. 337), Go-rams-pa mentions two Madhyamaka works that adopted such a procedure of sequential refutation of tenets: the BV attributed to Nāgārjuna and the JSS attributed to an Āryadeva. Here the negations begin with the "self" imputed by non-Buddhists and end with the non-dual consciousness (advayajñāna) of the Yogācāra. Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, pp. 433.2, 437.1ff and 587.6; and vol. 15, pp. 381.6f and 468.

Perhaps the earliest Indian Buddhist source for such a series of refutations is the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra X 256-258, and indeed Sa-paṇ did quote from this in his autocommentary. See also above, note 140. Later Indian "Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas" commonly took this Sūtra as their basis for first refuting external objects through Cittamātra reasoning and finally refuting the notions of a really existent mind as held by the Yogācārins. Those who are known to have followed such a method include:

(1) Jñānagarbha (fl. mid-8th c.) in his Satyadvayavibhaṅga. See M. Ichigo (1985).

(2) Śāntarakṣita (fl. late-8th c.) in his MA 92-93. See Y. Kajiyama (1976), p. 132, and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 90. (See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, pp. 433f.)

(3) Kamalaśīla (fl. late-8th to early-9th c.?) in his Bhāvanākrama (Skt. p. 210.9-14), on which see K. Mimaki (1982), p. 238, note 592; and Y. Kajiyama (1976), pp. 133-140. And also in Kamalaśīla's Madhyamakāloka, as cited by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), pp. 95f, and S. Moriyama (1984), pp. 29f.

(4) Vidyākaraprabha (fl. c. 800?) in his Madhyamakanayasārasamāsa. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 99.

(5) Jitāri (c. 1000?) in his Sugatamatavibhaṅga kārikās and Bhāṣya, which is directly linked to the JSS. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 100 and note 312.

(6) Mokṣākaragupta (late-11th or 12th c.) in his Tarkabhāṣā, a manual of Buddhist logic and philosophy. See Y. Kajiyama (1966), pp. 139-148.

Ratnākaraśānti (c. 1000) of the "Vijñapti-Madhyamaka" in his commentary on the Madhyamakālaṃkāra also interprets the stages of understanding taught in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra as four stages of Yogācāra. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), pp. 122f. Cf. the similar approach of Haribhadra of the Madhyamaka-Prajñāpāramitā synthesis

as described by S. Moriyama (1984), pp. 33ff, and by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, p. 434.6. Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna is also said to have followed such a method. See the quote in KhJNSh, p. 279a.3, from an unidentified work attributed to him, and also the discussion above, note 120, end.

Sa-paṇ and Sa-skya-pa tradition accept the establishment of all appearances as mind (snang ba sems su sgrub pa) as a useful propaedeutic to the meditative realization of the Madhyamaka view. Some Dge-lugs-pa critics rejected this stage because for them it smacked of the Yogācāra. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 280b.4, replied to such critics by quoting Candrakīrti(pāda?) and Atiśa against them, and then saying: gang dag snang ba sems su khas blangs pas sems tsam las ma 'das zhes smra ba rnams kyi[s] ni/ rang nyid kyi sgrub byed kyi gtso bor byed pa'i dpal ldan zla ba grags pa'i lugs/ jo bo a ti shas gsal bar bkod pa 'di yang ma gzigs par gsal lo//. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, pp. 557.5f, and vol. 15, pp. 65.6f, and Ngag-dbang-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, Sdom pa gsum, p. 266.6-267.6 (133b-134a). Cf. Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna Atiśa, Dbu ma'i man ngag, (P), vol. 102, p. 55.2.7: thams cad rang gi sems sgyu ma'i . . . ."

Some later Dge-lugs-pa scholars identified the above procedure as a point of similarity between various early Tibetan masters (including Mar-pa and Bu-ston) and the Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas such as Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1966), p. 12, and note 1. Cf. Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpal-'byor, Dpag bsam ljon bzang, p. 175: de las gzhan pa'i bod snga rabs pa'i mkhas pa phal cher gyis slob dpon de yab sras kyi gzhung la brten nas sems tsam pa dang cung zad 'dra ba'i rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma'i srol 'dzin la/ phyis su sems tsam pa'i lta ba la 'di'i lta bar nor ba'ang byung ngo//.

145 Sa-paṇ when directly expounding in his Rigs gter rang 'grel the Pramāṇa doctrines of Dharmakīrti did not state that the latter considered vijñapti a steppingstone to the Madhyamaka or even that Dharmakīrti explicated the Madhyamaka at all. See above, chapter 7. But Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 287a.1, held that in the opinion of Sa-paṇ, "The ultimate intent explicated by Dharmakīrti in his Pramāṇavārttika was just the Madhyamaka that accords with the traditions of Ārya Nāgārjuna." In this Glo-bo mkhan-chen goes against the prevailing Sa-skya-pa tradition as represented by both Go-rams-pa and Shākya-mchog-ldan, and even against his own earlier commentary on the Rigs gter. But he no doubt felt justified in his interpretation by the words of the KhJ itself.

As discussed above in chapter 7, the interpretation of Dharmakīrti as a Mādhyamika was the old tradition of Rngog and his successors, and Glo-bo mkhan-chen states that Sa-paṇ here was in agreement with that great translator. Rngog's tradition derives from the teachings of Indian scholars such as Prajñākaragupta,

the author of the Pramāṇālamkāra. (Another later Indian scholar of this persuasion was Jitāri [fl. c. 1000?], who attempted in his Sugatamatavibhaṅga Bhāṣya to show that Dharmakīrti was a Mādhyamika who was in agreement with Nāgārjuna. See D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 100.) Earlier in his Rigs gter commentary (Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 47-70 [24a-35b]), Glo-bo mkhan-chen himself had staunchly denied this interpretation, and in this connection had discussed also Prajñākaragupta's interpretations.

146 dngos po stobs zhugs = vastubalapravṛtta. The Venerable Khenpo Appey explained this term as "reasoning which is connected with real fact or which possesses proof while lacking disproof" (don dang 'brel ba'am sgrub byed yod cing gnod byed med pa'i rigs pa). The first sense (don dang 'brel ba) indicates that logical reasoning of this sort must have a correspondence to real things. But even though the intentional objects of inference are real things (RTRG, p. 251.3.5: rjes dpag gi yul dngos po yin), an inference as verbally expressed or thought entails a mistaking of the meaning of the words to be the really existent particular (svalakṣaṇa, the object of pratyakṣa). See RTRG, pp. 247.2.6 and 248.2.1. Cf. KhJ I 31, autocommentary (D p. 84.2.6) and KhJ I 35 (D p. 84.4.1). The real correspondence between word or thought and its referent, according to this system, is indirect. It is a function of "exclusion of other" (anyāpoha), which is the conceptual apprehension of a "universal" (sāmānyārtha). Cf. KhJ I 35b (D p. 84.3.6 [tha 170a.6]): spyi 'dzin pa ni gzhan sel yin.

In the Naiyāyika tradition, the actual existence of the subject of an inference was a strict requirement. See S. Mookerjee (1935), p. 408, and K. Potter (1977), p. 204. (On the subject or locus [pakṣa] of Indian inferences, see also J. F. Staal [1973] and K. Potter [1963], p. 66.) And for both Buddhist and non-Buddhist logician alike, the inferential relation, i.e. "pervasion" (khyab pa : vyāpti) too had to be founded upon true facts. See E. Steinkellner (1974), p. 120, note 9.

In the Buddhist logic of Dharmakīrti, "objectively grounded" was one of three types of sound reasons (rtags yang dag) in inference:

(1) dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rtags yang dag

(2) yid ches pa'i rtags yang dag

(3) grags pa'i rtags yang dag

The latter two can be classified as a single type for they depend on human acceptance and not on objective fact for their validation or grounding. See RTRG, p. 247.4.4: rjes dpag la rtags kyi khyab pa khas blangs dang dngos po stobs zhugs gnyis so// dang po la'ang rang gis khas blangs dang/ thams cad kyis khas blangs pa gnyis su phye bas so/. (Sa-paṇ based this account on PV IV 93.) See also Go-

rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 603.4.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, pp. 354.6-355.1 (177b.6-178a.1), gives a clear and succinct definition of dngos po stobs zhugs when differentiating the two types of sound reasons: don la gnas pa ltar blos bzung zhing blos bzung ba ltar don la 'jug pa ni dngos stobs/ don la mi gnas kyang 'dod pa rkyang pas sbyar ba ni grags pa yin te/.

A correct reason that is objectively grounded is necessary for an inference that is concerned with "slightly hidden objects" (cung zad lkog gyur). And this ultimately is based on direct perception (see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 98.4). The other type of inference is concerned with "completely hidden objects" (shin tu lkog gyur) and it has as its sound reasons the two remaining ones in the above list. Thus inference can be classified as twofold:

(1) dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rjes dpag

(2) yid ches pa'i rjes dpag

See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 10, pp. 33.7-34.1; Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, pp. 694.7-695.2, and 696.5; and Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 631.

In a sound reason that is given by objective grounding, the connection between the reason and predicate can be said to be an "objectively grounded relation." See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 520: gzhan yang dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rtags yang dag gi rtags chos gnyis kyi 'brel pa la dngos po stobs zhugs kyi 'brel pa dang/ grags yid kyi rtags chos kyis [?] 'brel pa la sgro btags pa'i 'brel pa zhes bya ba 'di yang nges par grub pa yin no//.

The term "objectively grounded" is also applied by Sa-paṇ on occasion to the connection between words and their referents (RTRG, p. 251.1.2), to scripture (RTRG, p. 249.2.2), as well as to means of knowledge (pramāṇa) themselves (RTRG, pp. 246.4.6-247.1.1). Direct perception too is gained by objective grounding:

mngon sum rjes dpag dngos stobs kyi//
tshad yin khas blangs grags pa gnyis//
sgro btags yin phyir khongs su [p. 247.1] bsdus//

mngon sum dang rjes dpag gnyis dngos po stobs zhugs kyis bsal ba yin la/ khas blang dang grags pa gnyis ni . . . . Cf. Tsong-kha-pa, Lam rim chen mo, p. 435b, as translated by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 229: "an objectively gained pramāṇa." A dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma may also be opposed to a tha snyad kyi tshad ma. See Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 242.4.

Sometimes Sa-paṇ uses the term "objectively grounded reasoning" in opposition to "fallacious reasoning" (rigs pa ltar snang). See his Skyes bu dam pa, p. 333.2.6: dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rigs pa dang mi 'gal na/ rigs pa ltar snang

dang 'gal yang mi skyon/. See also his Lung rigs, p. 334.1.4:

rigs pa'ang dngos po stobs zhugs gzung//
rigs pa ltar snang snying po med//

The term vastubalapravṛtta has been variously translated. Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, p. 157: "the weight of real facts." A. Wayman (1978), notes 241 and 260: "authority aroused by strength of a present fact." Lati Rinbochay and E. Napper (1980): "the power of the fact" (dngos stobs). And K. Mimaki (1982), p. 178: "mus par la force des choses réelles." D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 229, elucidated the term as follows: "Inferential knowledge may be gained by objective validation (vastubala) and by consensual validation through convention or authority." The latter also mentioned the occurence of vastubala in PV I 65 and 130, III 45 and 185, and in Kamalaśīla's TS Pañjikā 1395. One should also note that the relation of vastubala to scripture is discussed in PV IV 2, 48-51b and 98-101b. See Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, pp. 161.3.4, 167.1.3, and 173.1.6.

On the different theories of grounding or validity of judgments in Indian philosophy--whether "external," "internal," or both--see K. Potter (1977), pp. 158ff.

KhJ III 49 is quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 35.6 (18a.6).

147 This is a tenet of the later Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Uddyotakara (fl. c. 650) in his Nyāyavārttika I,1,4, for instance, described six types of connection between sense object and sense organ. See G. Jha (1983), pp. 118ff. One is "contact" (saṃyoga : phrad pa) and four of the other five are types of "inherence" (samavāya : 'phrod pa 'du ba). One of the latter is saṃyuktasamavāya, on which see K. Potter (1977), p. 307: "Inherence is [read: in] that which is in contact, . . . e.g., when we see the color of a jar, the color inheres in the jar which is in contact with the visual organ." See also ibid., p. 162. (According to Śrīdhara, however, the Vaiśeṣika do not uphold the commonsensical notion of contact, as Professor K. Potter informed me.)

Sa-paṇ, RTRG, p. 229.3.5, discusses this model of sensory cognition: rig[s] pa can dbang po dang don phrad pa tshad ma de las don rtogs pa 'bras bur 'dod de/ ji skad du/ dbang po dang don phrad pa las skyes pa'i 'phrod pa 'du ba can tshad ma'i 'bras bu yin no zhes zer ba'ang mi 'thad de/ dbang po don gyi bdag nyid kun dang phrad pas kun rtogs par thal ba'i phyir ro//. And in RTRG, p. 192.4.2, he criticizes inherence as an unacceptable type of relation or connection ('brel pa), quoting for instance PV III 149, where the notion of samavāya is refuted. See also Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, pp. 119.1.3-3.3.

Jinendrabuddhi in his PS commentary refers to the theory of five varieties

of indriyārthasaṃnikarṣa. See Hattori (1968), p. 121, note 3.1 and p. 137, note 4.13.

[148] See RTRG, p. 170.1.3:

yul dang dbang po yid la byed//
de las skyes pa'i rnam shes yin//

Cf. RTRG, p. 220.3.6ff.

[149]Sa-paṇ quotes this in RTRG, p. 170.1.3. This quote is also given in Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 520, note 7: rupaṃ pratītya cakṣuś ca cakṣur vijñānam utpadyate. This passage is used by a Sarvāstivādin who objects to the repudiation of the external world. Dignāga, Ālambanaparīkṣā 7cd, explains this along mentalistic lines. See S. Yamaguchi (1929), pp. 10f.

[150]dngos po = vastu. This is to be understood here according to the Sautrāntika as a momentary, efficacious entity. Something that is permanent and unchangeable cannot be efficacious; hence it is not a really existent entity. See Madhyamakālaṃkāra 8, and PV I 211 (on the link between the MA and PV at this point see D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 93, note 298; on other links between these works see also M. Ichigo [1972], p. 993 (38), and L. van der Kuijp [1983], p. 289, note 188). See also Y. Kajiyama (1976), p. 118, and now M. Ichigo (1985).

[151]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 272b.1, in his exposition of Yogācāra tenets identified this pūrvapakṣa as the opinion of "early Tibetan teachers of Abhidharma" (bod snga rabs kyi mngon pa smra ba dag). Abhidharma and Vinaya were the only scholastic subjects systematically studied and taught in 11th-century Tibet prior to the founding of Atiśa's and Rngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab's respective schools. The early scholars of Abhidharma alluded to perhaps belonged to the lineage of AS (and Kośa?) studies which persisted in Tibet since the late-8th century, the time of the great translators Ka-ba Dpal-brtsegs, Lcog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, and Zhang Ye-shes-sde. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dam pa'i chos mngon, p. 389, records this lineage and his place in it. Or those early scholars belonged to the lineage of AK studies established in 10th-century Tibet by the Indian paṇḍita Smṛtiśrījñāna. On these Abhidharma lineages see also Kong-sprul, Theg pa'i sgo, pp. 440.7ff (oṃ 143a.7).

The topic of this verse was already discussed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in his Rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing, and Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 273a.1, briefly quotes from there: sems tsam yin na phyi rol gyi don khas blangs zhes pa 'gal ba'i phyir ro. See also the commentary proper in KhJNSh,

p. 287b.5.

The opinions of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Sa-paṇ on this point are also discussed at greater length by Glo-bo mkhan-chen in his Sa skyar bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa (Tōyō Bunko MS, cha, pp. 191b.3-197a.5), a number of replies to questions put by Sa-skya lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, written at Thub-bstan-dar-rgyas-gling on the 8th day of the sixth lunar month of a monkey year (1512 or 1524). The sixth question is on this topic, and Glo-bo mkhan-chen's reply begins on p. 194b.4. To begin his answer, Glo-bo mkhan-chen quotes KhJ III 50 with its autocommentary. Several early and later Tibetan scholars apparently interpreted Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's remarks to mean that the AS must therefore be an exclusively Sautrāntika scripture. Glo-bo mkhan-chen (p. 195b.2) observes that there exist scriptures in which more than one system of tenets are taught in different sections, such as the PV of Dharmakīrti and the AKBh of Vasubandhu. Indeed, there are no basic treatises available in Tibetan translation in which the Sautrāntika tenets are set forth independently and in their own right (rang rkang tshugs pa), he says. Those critics thought that Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan did not understand the final purport of the scriptures, but in Glo-bo mkhan-chen's opinion they were indulging in controversy on a flimsy basis--their supposition that slight textual corruptions in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's works indicated a real error on Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's part.

[152]See above, note 128. KhJ III 51 is quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 36.1 (18b.1).

[153]See above, note 135.

[154]The correct reading is probably rig pa'i gtan tshigs. Here rig pa'i gtan tshigs is equivalent to gsal zhing rig pa'i rtags. Cf. PVin I, (T. Vetter [1966], p. 100.1-3, also quoted in S. Matsumoto [1980], p. 26, note 3): lhan cig dmigs pa dang rig pa dag gis phyi rol gyi don yod kyang sngon po la sogs pa snang ba dang de rig pa dag tha dad med par grub bo//. The reading rigs pa'i gtan tshigs was perhaps a lectio facilior caused by the proximity of the word lung. See also above, note 135.

[155]These two belong to the four (or five) "great reasons" (gtan tshigs chen po) used to establish an understanding that all factors of existence (dharma) are insubstantial. They are treated in the Bodhimārgadīpaka commentary attributed to Atiśa. As described by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 112, these are:

(i) the 'reason' analyzing the (supposed) production of a product;

(ii) the so-called *Vajrakaṇa-'reason' (rdo rje gzegs ma'i gtan ćhigs) analysing origination from any of the causes postulated in the frame of the catuṣkoti by either non-Buddhists (e.g. Īśvara, puruṣa, svabhāva, the guṇas, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva) or Buddhist (e.g. the Ābhidharmika's six hetus and four pratyayas;

(iii) the 'reason' analysing things as devoid of both a single and multiple nature; and

(iv) the 'reason' constituted by origination in dependence (pratityasamutpāda) establishing śūnyatā.

See also Dbus-pa Blo-gsal, pp. 106b.5-108b.6; K. Mimaki (1982), p. 212, note 547; and T. Tillemans (1984a), pp. 361 and 371, note 16. Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba thams, pp. 307ff (ca pp. 154a ff), discusses these four and an additional one under the rubric chos kyi bdag dgag pa'i rigs pa'i gtso bo bshad pa:

(1) ngo bo la dpyod pa gcig dang du bral (p. 308.1)

(2) rgyu la dpyod pa rdo rje gzegs ma (p. 313.5, but discussed in detail earlier in the work)

(3) 'bras bu la dpyod pa yod med skye 'gog (p. 313.5)

(4) gnyis ka la dpyod pa mu bzhi skye 'gog (p. 316.5)

(5) thams cad la dpyod pa rten 'brel gyi gtan tshigs (p. 318.2)

For Shākya-mchog-ldan's treatment of these under the rubric bden grub gyi spros pa 'gog byed kyi rigs pa bshad pa, see his Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, pp. 370.2-398.2:

(1) gcig dang du bral gyi gtan tshigs (pp. 370.2-385.7)

(2) rdo rje gzegs ma'i gtan tshigs (pp. 385.7-392.6)

(3) yod med skye 'gog gi gtan tshigs (pp. 392.6-393.5)

(4) rten 'brel gyi gtan tshigs (pp. 393.5-396.7)

(5) mu bzhi skye 'gog (pp. 396.7-397.2)

Cf. the Gzhung lugs legs bshad, pp. 73.4.4ff. On Gtsang-nag-pa's acceptance of these reasonings when discerning the ultimate, see Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 202.3. On the gcig dang du bral in particular, especially as used by later Tibetan (Dge-lugs-pa) Mādhyamikas, see T. Tillemans (1982), (1983), and (1984a).

[156] bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa : sādhyasama. See below, KhJ III 64, and note 211.

[157] The full name of this reasoning is rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms "parity (or logical balancing) of the same reasoning." This is one of four reasonings used by Prāsaṅgikas which together constitute for them "inference" (anumāna), one of the four means of knowledge (pramāṇa) that establish the ultimate truth (don dam sgrub byed kyi tshad ma bzhi). The four pramāṇas are:

(1) mngon sum : pratyakṣa

(2) rjes dpag : anumāna

(3) lung : āgama

(4) dpe nyer 'jal ba : upamāna

See Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, pp. 266ff (ca p. 133b). The pramāṇa of inference is there defined as knowledge that has arisen from a non-mistaken understanding regarding [the relation between] the logical mark and the thing to be proven, and which has a "hidden object" as its subject (rjes su dpag pa'i tshad ma ni lkog tu gyur ba'i yul can rtags bsgrub par bya ba la mi 'khrul pa las skyes pa'i shes pa). As mentioned above, the four reasonings of the Prāsaṅgika's inference are as follows:

(1) 'gal ba brjod pa'i thal 'gyur

(2) gzhan la grags pa'i rjes dpag

(3) rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms

(4) sgrub byed bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa'i ma grub pa

Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 267.2 (ca 134a.2) interprets the PP as teaching the following with regard to the first two:

(1) [This is] an adducing of a logical consequence which states something that contradicts [the opponent's position] ('gal ba brjod pa'i thal 'gyur). It is used if a mere elicitation of a logical consequence (thal gyur : prasaṅga) which indicates a contradiction is able to remove the erroneous idea of the opponent. For instance, as when proving that "birth" cannot be meaningfully predicated to an entity "self," the reason being its existence as a [permanent] "self." [It is nonsensical to predicate birth to something that is permanent.] Go-rams-pa earlier (ibid., p. 28 [ca 14b]) explained that this reasoning can be used against such opponents as the Sāṃkhya adherent who maintains the birth of a self and the Jaina who maintains both "self" and "other."

(2) Inference which is accepted by others (gzhan la grags pa'i rjes dpag). This is where one starts with the statement of a contradictory logical consequence as described above, and adds to it further elements of a formal argument, even going so far as to state the full five branches of the traditional Indian argument form.

(3) Balancing of the same reason (rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms). This is a reasoning used against someone who maintains that even though a reason (rgyu mtshan : hetu) is the same, the conclusions it leads to (rgyu mtshan can) are dissimilar. Here the Mādhyamika argues by a logical "balancing" (i.e. analogous reasoning) that the conclusions led to are the same. In general, there are two ways of answering an objection: (a) directly, with the actual reply (lan rnal ma), and (b) indirectly, through "balancing" or a parity of reasoning (mgo snyoms

or mgo bsgre). For instances of these two see Sa-paṇ, ThGS, pp. 5.3.6-4.1 (D 10a.6-10b.1), and Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, pp. 595.2, 603.1.

Go-rams-pa states that the earlier master Gtsang-nag-pa classified the rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms into the following three types (which are not clear to me):

(a) rtog ge'i mgo snyoms ("the balancing argumentation of dialectics"?). This is said to be a negation of the opponent's position by means of a similarity in there existing a reason accepted in pragmatic usage (tha snyad kyi rgyu mtshan yod par mtshungs pas dgag pa).

(b) thod rgal gyi mgo snyoms ("balancing argumentation which does not follow the normal sequence" ?) This is said to be a negation by means of the similarity in there not existing a sound reason (yang dag pa'i rgyun [read: rgyu mtshan] med par mtshungs pas dgag pa).

(c) spyi ldog gcig pa yin pas dgag pa ("negation by its being the same general concept"?). [On this type see also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 406.1.]

Go-rams-pa above (ibid., p. 28 [ca 14b]) mentioned that the rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms is used for instance against fellow Buddhists who maintain the birth of an entity that is different (from what gives rise to it) and against non-Buddhists such as Jainas who maintain both "self" and "other," and Lokāyata adherents who maintain the birth of something in the absence of a cause.

Another discussion of this reasoning is found in Tsong-kha-pa's Lam rim chen mo, p. 250, where according to the Mchan bzhi sbrags ma, pp. 474f, the system of Khu lo-tsā-ba is the pūrvapakṣa. For still other discussions, see K. Mimaki (1982), p. 176, note 478.

(4) The fourth Prāsaṅgika reasoning is called sgrub byed bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa'i ma grub pa "the probans being unestablished like the probandum." See KhJ III 64 and below, note 211.

For a classification of these four Prāsaṅgika reasonings ascribed to Pa-tshab's disciple Zhang Thang-sag-pa, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, pp. 404.1ff.

[157] [sgrub byed] bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa['i ma grub pa] : sādhyasama. On this reasoning see KhJ III 64 and below, note 211.

[158] Here Sa-paṇ holds that the Prāsaṅgika reasonings are vastubalapravṛtta. According to 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa in his Grub mtha' chen mo, Pa-tshab lo-tsā-ba held that the key difference between Svātantrikas and Prāsaṅgikas was that the Svātantrikas accepted a sound means of knowledge given by objective grounding

(dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma) whereas the Prāsaṅgikas did not. The passage from the Grub mtha' chen mo, ca, p. 74b.5-7 (as quoted in K. Mimaki [1982], p. 45, note 110): dbu ma thal rang gi khyad gang yin zhe na/ pa tshab dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma khas len pa dbu ma rang rgyud dang de mi len pa thal 'gyur ba zhes zer skad de/.

Cf. Sa-paṇ on the differences between the Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika, Bka' gdams do kor, p. 403.3.3:

tha snyad du ni mi bslu bar//
'dod pa de ni tshad ma'i lugs//
dbu ma pa la rnam gnyis te//
rang rgyud de dang cha mthun la//
thal 'gyur pa dag tha snyad du'ang//
bden par mi 'dod mdor bsdus pa'o//

Tsong-kha-pa, Lam rim chen mo, p. 436b, describes as his fourth pūrvapakṣa an early Tibetan Mādhyamika (apparently one of the Rma-bya-bas) who held that the correct procedure was to negate objectively gained pramāṇas and establish ultimate reality by means of pramāṇa recognized in everyday consensus, which he accepts in pragmatic usage. See also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), pp. 229f, and note 68. The scholar "Rma-bya-ba chen-po" is also referred to by Go-rams-pa as having held that the Mādhyamika does not maintain any such dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma. (This was perhaps Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus being referred to here. Rma-bya Byang-chub-ye-shes is specified by Go-rams-pa in Rgyal ba, p. 153.4 [ca 77a.4], but compare Go-rams-pa, Lta ba'i shan 'byed, p. 431.5 [ca 216a.5] where Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus is the only Rma-bya-ba mentioned.) See Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba'i, p. 203.6 (ca p. 102a.6): 'o na rang [p. 204] rgyud par ci'i phyir mi 'gyur snyam na/ rang rgyud kyi don ni tshul gsum dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad mas grub pa'i rtags las bsgrub bya bsgrub pa yin la 'dir ni dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma gtan med pas des bsgrub bya bsgrub pa ni don dam dang tha snyad gang gi skabs su'ang khas mi len cing rtags kyi tshul thams cad kyang 'jig rten na grags pa'i tshad ma tsam gyis grub pa yin pas rang rgyud par mi 'gyur ro//.

Later (p. 209.5) Go-rams-pa sums up a similar discussion by saying that Sa-paṇ maintained the opposite opinion: . . . dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma dbu ma pas khas mi len par rma bya chen pos bshad kyang/ sa paṇ gyis dngos smra rnams kyis de ltar 'dod kyang/ dbu ma pas chos de la rtags de bskyed pa'i nus pa tha snyad du yod pa'am/ chos de dang rtags de tha snyad du gcig yin pa tsam gyis chog pa la dgongs nas dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rigs pa bzhed par bshad pa ni shin tu legs so//. I am not sure which work of Sa-paṇ it is that Go-rams-pa refers to here, if not the KhJ.

Go-rams-pa mentions Rma-bya-ba again, ibid., p. 242.4: rma byas chos can tha snyad pa'i tshad mas grub kyang dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad mas ma grub pas rang rgyud du mi 'gyur bar bshad pa'ang . . . ." See also below, note 169.

On Rma-bya-ba Byang-chub-brtson-'grus and his later critics, see now P. Williams (1985). That Rma-bya Byang-chub-brtson-'grus was the direct disciple of Pa-tshab would seem to be indicated by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 482.4, where he quotes from the work Pa tshab lo tsā ba'i gsung dbu ma pa chen po byang chub brtson 'grus kyi brjed byang du bkod pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos. But according to Mkhas-grub-rje's gsan yig, Byang-chub-brtson-'grus belonged to the subsequent generation. See D. Jackson (1985a), p. 31, note 33, and also D. Seyfort Ruegg (1983), p. 230, note 68.

159 Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 288a.4, identifies the pūrvapakṣa here as the system of Phywa-pa: "gangs can gyi rigs pa smra ba chen po slob dpon phywa pa'i lugs."

Cf. Dharmottara's commentary on NB III 46 (Th. Stcherbatsky [1930-32], vol. 2, p. 157):

> Should not a logical argument [liṅga = "logical mark, reason"] disregard all established doctrines and be guided exclusively by the weight of real facts? Therefore a philosopher should never take his stand on a body of established doctrines, since they must be left out of account? (56.20) Quite right! But, as a matter of fact, even in those cases when (a philosopher) selfreliantly takes his stand on a body of established doctrines, i.e. if he is an adherent of a definite system (and) quotes arguments (in accordance with that system), nevertheless only that proposition will represent his thesis which he himself chooses to advocate (at a given occasion)."

On the relation of scripture (lung : āgama) to reasoning that has objective grounding (dngos stobs), see RTRG, p. 246.2.6: de la'ang dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rigs pa lung la mi ltos la/ gnas gsum par 'pho ba na rigs pa dang mi 'gal ba'i lung len pa'i phyir ro/. And RTRG, p. 249.2.2: dngos po stobs zhugs kyis grub pa'i lung rnams ni/ rang tshig dang khyad par med pas . . . .

Some (Tibetans?) seem to have held that logical marks accepted by oneself (i.e. from the scripture of one's tradition, yid ches pa'i rtags) and accepted by everyone (i.e. from worldly consensus, grags pa'i rtags) are also given by objective grounding. See Sa-paṇ, RTRG, p. 248.1.2, where he rejected this.

[160]On whether the sphere in which negation and proof are possible is limited, see below, note 169.

[161]See also Go-rams-pa, Lta ba'i, pp. 454.5ff. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 288b.3, summarizes this passage as follows: snang ba tha dad pa dang/ gang zag tha dad la bltos nas dngos po stobs zhugs su mi 'gyur ba med ces pa'i don to//. Cf. the Mahāyānasaṃgraha (G. Nagao ed., p. 70), II. 14A, where similar reasoning is used to refute the existence of objects.

[162]The words byas yod should be understood as byas pa'am yod pa ("made" or "existent"). See for instance the RTRG, p. 194.2.6: byas yod dang mi rtag pa gcig gang gis 'grub ce na/, and p. 194.3.3: yod pa'am byas pa gang bkod kyang rung mod/.

[163]See Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 187.7 (ca 94a.6). Cf. RTRG, p. 196.3.3: kho bo cag dngos med ngo bo med par 'dod la/ rtag mi rtag gi dpyad pa'ang dngos po la 'jug gi dngos med la mi 'jug go; and also Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 25.1 (Y. Kajiyama [1966], p. 121): "No logical mark as essential nature is available just because the existence of the entity (dharmin) . . . is itself not established."

[164]I have not yet located this quotation in the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras. The same quote occurs in the ThGS, p. 32.1.2 (63a.2). dmigs su yod pa is perhaps upalamba. Cf. dmigs su med pa, anupalamba, AA I 30. See E. Conze (1973), p. 35.

[165]Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā V 1. See A. Yuyama (1976), pp. 28 and 165; and E. Obermiller (1960), p. 28. The edited Sanskrit of this verse is (following Yuyama [1976], p. 28):

saci rūpa saṃjña api vedana cetanā ca
cittaṃ anitya paridīpayi bodhisattvo /
prativarṇikāya carate aprajānamāno
na hi dharma paṇḍita vināśa karoti jātu //

The Tanjur recension of this verse (Yuyama's recension B) is:

byang chub sems dpa' gal te rab tu mi shes bzhin//
gzugs dang 'du shes tshor ba sems dang rnam par shes//
mi rtag yongs su ston pa bcos la spyod pa ste//
mkhas pas nam yang chos rnams 'jig par mi byed do//

Recension A (the Tunhuang recension) reads, following Yuyama (1976), p. 165, brjod pa instead of ston pa in line c, and chud gzon instead of 'jig par in line d.

[166]'bras bu'i rtags = kāryahetu. This, the following, and rang bzhin gyi rtags (svabhāvahetu) make up the three types of reasons or logical marks. The above discussion mainly concerns the rang bzhin gyi rtags.

[167]mi dmigs pa'i rtags = anupalabdhihetu. On this type of reason see K. Mimaki (1976), pp. 27 and 228ff, notes 93 and 94; and E. Steinkellner (1974), p. 117, note 1.

[168]Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra IX 41. The Sanskrit of this verse as given in S. Lévi (1907), p. 41:

pañcendriyaparāvṛttau
 vibhutvaṃ labhyate paraṃ /
sarvārthavṛttau sarveṣām
 guṇadvādaśatodaye //

The canonical version, P [108] (5521), phi 11b.3 [p. 6.5.3]; and D (4020), phi 157a.5 (p. 79.1.5), is identical except that D reads 'thob in line d. Cf. the translations of S. Lévi (1911), p. 80, and R. A. F. Thurman et al. (1979), p. 89. The latter also includes the brief explanations of the commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu, for which see also D phi 157a.5. See also the commentaries Rgyal-sras Thogs-med-bzang-po, Theg pa chen, p. 165, and Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho, Theg pa chen, pp. 163ff. The Tibetan translation and commentaries are clear that the number is 1,200. Cf. S. Lévi (1911), p. 80, note 41.1, who perhaps misread or misunderstood brgya phrag bcu gnyis as brgya rtsa bcu gnyis or brgya dang bcu gnyis.

[169]Sa-paṇ thus holds that reasoning or pramāṇa that is objectively grounded can only function on the surface level, the level of transactional usage, where negation and proof are possible. In this he accords with a doctrine expounded by Śāntarakṣita in his MA 77. See also Y. Kajiyama (1976), p. 130 and below. Cf. above, KhJ III 37, autocommentary, and note 95.

This "doubt" seems related to the real views of Rma-bya chen-po as described by Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 203.3: des na dbu ma pas kun rdzob tu dgag sgrub kyi dam bca' gnyis ka'ang 'dod la/ rtags shing dpyad pa'i shes ngor don dam par dgag sgrub kyi dam bca' med/. He also holds (ibid., line 4): tha snyad du dgag sgrub byed pa'i tshad ma'ang yod de/, but that for the Dbu-ma-pa there is no dngos po stobs zhugs kyi tshad ma. See ibid., p. 204.1, and above, note 158.

[170]The four conditions are:

(1) dmigs pa'i rkyen : ālambanapratyaya

(2) de ma thag pa'i rkyen : samanantara--

10

(3) rgyu'i rkyen : hetu--

(4) bdag po'i rkyen : adhipati--

On these see for instance E. Lamotte (1949-80), vol. 5, pp. 2163-2173, and S. Mookerjee (1935), pp. 316-318.

[171]See above, KhJ III 31-32, autocommentary, and above, note 82.

[172]See above, note 95.

[173]See above, note 96.

[174]PV III 209. The Sanskrit, following Miyasaka (1971-72), is as follows:

idaṃ vastubalāyataṃ
yad vadanti vipaścitaḥ /
yathā tathārthaś cintyante
viśīryante tathā tathā //

See also Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, p. 126.1.1. KhJ B, C and G read rnam bral, whereas only D reads rnam 'brel as in the Tanjur. The corresponding Sanskrit is viśīryante "they are shattered, dissolved."

[175]See also RTRG, p. 249.1.5: shin tu lkog gyur la lung gi tshig phan tshun nang mi 'gal ba'i gsung rab nged kyi lung yin la de lta bu'i lung de phyogs kyi glang pos rjes su dpag par bsdus pas tshad ma gsum par mi bzhed cing/ gnod byed nyid yin te rnam 'grel las/. (He then quotes PV I 216.)

The source of this in Dignāga's writings is PS V 1. See Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 459, and M. Hattori (1968), p. 68, note 1.12. But in the AS, Asaṅga already had specified that trustworthy scripture (yid ches pa'i lung : āptāgama) was teachings that do not contradict the first two pramāṇas. See W. Rahula (1971), p. 182, and Gzhan-dga', p. 379.1 (190a.1).

[176]PV I 216. The Tanjur versions D and P are almost the same as in the KhJ. In line a, D and P read slu instead of bslu, and in line d they read pa nyid du gsungs instead of pa'i tshad mar bzhed. Miyasaka (1971/72), p. 147, notes the reading ldog instead of lkog (line b) and rje instead of rjes in N (line d). The KhJ version is identical to that found in RTRG, pp. 249.1.6-2.1. For the interpretation of this verse see Go-rams-pa, Rgyas pa'i, p. 57.2.

The Sanskrit of this verse, following Miyasaka (1971/72), p. 146, is:

āptavādāvisaṃvāda
sāmānyād anumānatā /

buddher agatyābhihitā
parokṣe 'pi asya gocare //

[177]KhJ B and G omit: "two [pramāṇas]," though D has it. Cf. Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 4 (Kajiyama [1966], p. 30):

By the word 'twofold' are refuted the different opinions which [classify valid knowledge into] one, three, four, five and six kinds. That is to say, the Cārvāka recognizes only one valid cognition, i.e. perception; the Sāṃkhya perception, inference and verbal testimony (śabda); the Naiyāyika perception, inference, identification (upamāna), and verbal testimony; the Prābhākara perception, inference, verbal testimony, identification and presumption or postulation (arthāpatti); the [Bhāṭṭa-] Mīmāṃsaka perception, inference, verbal testimony, identification, presumption and non-existence (abhāva).

Kajiyama, ibid., note 27, also refers to the same account with slight variations in the Tarkasopāna of Vidyākaraśānti. See G. Tucci (1956), p. 277.4-10.

For a similar list see M. Hattori (1968), p. 78, note 1.12, which is ultimately based on H. N. Randle (1930), p. 305. Here in addition to the above, the Vaiśeṣika are said to recognize two means of knowledge: perception and inference, while the Paurāṇikas recognize eight. In maintaining two pramāṇas, the Vaiśeṣikas actually were not in fact very different from the Naiyāyikas, for they classified the comparison and verbal authority of the latter within their pramāṇa of inference. See K. Potter (1977), p. 174. For another summary of the pramāṇas maintained by the different schools, see S. C. Chatterjee and D. M. Datta (1939), pp. 55-68.

[178]Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 289b.6, states that one reason Sa-paṇ did not expatiate here in the KhJ was because he had already investigated this topic in detail in the Rigs gter rang 'grel, and that the error of this opinion was well known to all: tshad ma rigs pa'i gter las/ zhib tu dpyad pa dang/ 'di dag 'khrul par thams cad la grags pas 'dir ma spros so zhes gsungs so/. I have not identified which passage or passages in the Rigs gter rang 'grel are referred to.

[179]E. Frauwallner (1961), p. 131, assigned the date c. 400-480 to the logician Vasubandhu, as opposed to the earlier Vasubandhu (Asaṅga's brother), who flourished c. 320-380. However, it is simpler to assume instead that there were two phases in the career of one and the same Vasubandhu, who flourished in the late-4th century. Bhāvaviveka (Bhavya) can be placed c. 500-570. See D. Seyfort Ruegg (1982), p. 513.

It is interesting that Bhāvaviveka, who was probably a younger contemporary of Dignāga and who "evidently wished to utilize methods developed by the Buddhist logico-epistemological school headed by . . . Dignāga" (D. Seyfort Ruegg [1981], p. 61), was nevertheless classified doctrinally as belonging to the earlier school of Pramāṇa. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 8.7: snga ma ni thogs med mched dang legs ldan sogs yin la/ phyi ma ni phyogs kyi glang po'i rjes 'brang la 'chad pa bzhin no/.

According to Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Derge ed.), p. 16a, some scholars held that the Indian scholars of Pramāṇa could be grouped into three periods: early, middle, and late. But Ngag-dbang-chos-grags himself follows just the exposition of Sa-paṇ in the KhJ and in this connection quotes KhJ III 54-55. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 239a.4-254a.3, was one of those who followed a threefold division. For him, in the first period there came the Buddhist logicians before Dignāga, including the arhat *Dharmatrāta (Chos-skyabs) and Vasubandhu. In the middle period he placed Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. In the last period he put all the subsequent scholars of Pramāṇa.

[180]See above, note 175.

[181]See RTRG, p. 259.1.1: slob dpon dbyig gnyen gyi rtsod pa sgrub par ltag chod rnams phyin ci log dang mi ldan pa dang/ 'gal ba zhes gsum tu bsdus pa ni phan tshun 'chol ba'i phyir slob dpon mi bzhed pas 'dir mi bshad de/. See also G. Tucci (1929), pp. 484ff, and above, note 21.

On the identification of the Rtsod pa grub pa with the Vādavidhi, see M. Hattori (1968), p. 114, notes 2.1 and 2.3-5. On this treatise see also E. Frauwallner (1957) and H. R. R. Iyengar (1953).

[182]See RTRG, p. 259.4.5, and below, KhJ III 55, autocommentary.

[183]E. Frauwallner (1961), pp. 134 and 137, assigned the approximate dates of c. 480-540 to Dignāga and c. 600-660 to Dharmakīrti.

[184]See above, note 175.

[185]The logical relations ('brel pa : saṃbandha) of identity and causation are the bases for the two logical reasons of "nature" (rang bzhin gyi rtags : svabhāvahetu) and "result" ('bras bu'i rtags : kāryahetu), respectively. The third reason, "non-apprehension" (mi dmigs pa : anupalabdhi) is ultimately a variety of "nature." See E. Steinkellner (1974), p. 117, note 1. The Rigs gter

rang 'grel, chapter 6 (pp. 190.2.6-201.1.5), is devoted to an investigation of the logical relations of the terms of an inference.

On these relations, see also E. Steinkellner (1971), pp. 202f (cited by E. Steinkellner [1974], p. 118, note 2), Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 72, and Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, pp. 248 and 309.

[186]PS VI 21 [?] (the numbering of the verses in this chapter is not clear to me). See PS (P), ce, p. 12b.6-7. P line c reads: rtsod pa sgrub par skyon gsum bshad//. On the futile rejoinders (ltag chod : jāti) see also KhJ III 8-10, and above, note 21. On this verse see also the commentary of Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho, Tshad ma kun, p. 614; and E. Frauwallner (1957), pp. 121 and 138, fragment 11.

[187]Cf. Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 11.2 (Y. Kajiyama [1966], p. 73). One of the classical statements of the five members of the Indian argument form or "syllogism" is NS I,1,3.

[188]Tib.: spyi khyab. This is very similar to the major premise in an Aristotelian syllogism.

[189]See also RTRG, pp. 259.4.6-260.1.1: grangs can la sogs pa'i snga rabs pa dag la la me yod de du ba yod pa'i phyir tshang mang bzhin/ la la'ang du ba yod pas me yod ces lnga ldan du brjod pa mi 'thad de/ spyi khyab brjod pa ma tshang la/ bsgrub bya nyer sbyor mjug sdud gsum lhag pa'i phyir [260] ro//. Sa-paṇ then quotes two unidentified lines from Dharmakīrti, and then PVin III 5ab (which is similar to PV IV 17ab). This criticism of the superfluous members was first made by Dignāga, for instance in the Nyāyamukha. See Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 73, note 185, and Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 1, p. 281.

On the Indian and Buddhistic "syllogistic" forms, see Th. Stcherbatsky, ibid.; S. Sanghvi (1961), pp. 85ff; K. Potter (1963), pp. 56-74; K. Mimaki (1976), p. 48; and the sources cited by the latter on pp. 251f, note 185. For the five-membered form in the AS, see W. Rahula (1971), p. 182, sādhana nos. [1]-[5].

[190]"Expansive in brevity" (nyung rgyas). See also RTRG, p. 260.2.2, where it is explained that for the inexpert (mi mkhas pa) one should use the nyung rgyas form with its two branches:

blun po la ni nyung rgyas sbyar//

tshig yan lag gnyis pa'i ngag tu sbyar te/ rjes 'gro dang phyogs chos brjod pa chos mthun pa nyid kyi ngag/ dper na gang byas pa de mi rtag ste bum pa bzhin sgra yang byas so//. For an expert or learned man (mkhas pa), however, the

"reason" itself is sufficient (p. 260.2.5):

mkhas pa la ni gtan tshigs nyid//

gtan tshigs brjod pas khyab pa dran nus par shes pa de la gtan tshigs tsam gyis grub ste/ dper na byas pa la mi rtag par khyab par smra ba'i rgol ba mkhas pa de la 'o na sgra yang byas so zhes brjod pas 'grub po//. But Sa-paṇ adds that in a formal debate that is conducted in the midst of an assembly one should use the fuller form of expression. In this connection he quotes PV I 27.

The phrase nyung rgyas became the subject of scholastic discussion in the later Sa-skya-pa school. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, Bod kyi mkhas (Derge ed.), p. 16b.3, explains the term as meaning the same in the KhJ as in the Rigs gter rang 'grel, and he indicates his uncertainty about Shākya-mchog-ldan's interpretation of the term because the latter is not clearly supported by the Rigs gter rang 'grel: sgrub ngag brjod tshul la yan lag lnga ldan las tshig nyung la don rgyas pa'i yan lag gnyis ldan gyi sgrub ngag 'god par mdzad/ 'dir gsungs pa'i nyung rgyas dang/ rig[s] gter du/

blun po la ni nyung rgyas sbyar//

zhes gsungs pa'i nyung rgyas go don gcig/ paṇ chen gyi rig[s] gter ṭikkar nyung zhes pa rtsa ba'i sgrub ngag yan lag gnyis ldan dang/ rgyas pa de'i tshul gsum sgrub byed kyi rig[s] pa rnams la sbyor bar mdzad kyang/ 'grel par de 'dra'i gsal kha mi 'dug pas ji ltar 'thad dam/.

And on p. 23b.4, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags points out again the different interpretation of Shākya-mchog-ldan: rig[s] gter du/

blun po la ni nyung rgyas sbyar//

zhes pa'i ngag nyung ngu ni gang byas na zhes sogs yan lag gnyis ldan gyi sgrub ngag yongs grags 'di yin/ ngag rgyas pa ni byas rtags lta bu la mtshon na/ de'i tshul gsum sgrub byed kyi rigs pa rnams yin gsungs/.

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 723.1, can be seen to explain nyung as a brief expression and rgyas as a longer expression of a formal proof: tshul gsum mi shes pa'i rgol ba blun po la ni/ thog mar rtsod gzhi gang yin pa de nges par byas nas/ rtsa ba'i rtags bkod dam/ ma bkod kyang rung/ tshul gsum ston byed kyi ngag rgyas pa dang/ dran lam du 'phen byed kyi ngag nyung ngu gnyis ka sbyar dgos te/. And a little later (p. 723.4): tshul gsum shes pa'i mkhas pa la ni/ ngag nyung rgyas gnyis ka sbyar mi dgos te/. Cf. also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 385.1.

[191]The basis for the theory of a two-membered argument form was stated positively by Dignāga in his PS III 1. He also rejects the longer argument form in his Nyāyamukha. See Y. Kajiyama (1966), pp. 72f, note 185.

[192]The last three lines of this verse together with KhJ III 57 are quoted in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.4.

[193]I have not located an explicit mention of "removing the thorns" (tsher ma 'byin) in the VN. However, as Glo-bo mkhan-chen rightly points out, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 385.2 (193a.2), the VN enjoins the negation of these possible faults in the passage beginning: chos can la dang por yod pa nyid rab tu bsgrub nas phyis kyang khyab pa rab tu bsgrub pa nyid ni/ dper na sgra ni yod pa'am byas pa yin la/ de lta bu gang yin pa de thams cad ni mi rtag pa yin te. Dr. T. Much kindly located this passage (which occurs very near the start of the work) in VN (P), p. 365a.7 and VN (D), p. 327a.2. See also M. T. Much (1983), p. 1, line 15.

[194]tsher ma 'byin : kaṇṭakoddhara. According to the Venerable Khenpo Appey, "thorn" (tsher ma) may here be understood as "[potential] fault" (skyon). According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, the procedure of "extracting thorns" was one of the three essential steps of the advancing of the "initial position" (phyogs snga : pūrvapakṣa) by the proponent (sngar rgol ba : pūrvavādin) in a debate. See his Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 302.2: rtsod pa'i skabs su phyogs snga ma 'jog par khas len pa'i gang zag de sngar rgol gyi mtshan nyid/ phyogs snga ma 'jog pa'i tshul la yang gsum ste/ dam bca' 'jog pa dang/ sgrub byed 'god pa dang/ tsher ma 'byin pa'o//. (For a summary of the duties of the respondent, see ibid., p. 304.3.)

Below (p. 303.6), Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions two incorrect ways of "thorn removal" and states the one correct way: tsher ma 'byin pa la/ tsher ma 'byin rgyu med bzhin du 'byin pa dang/ yod kyang mi 'byin pa dang/ ji ltar yod pa bzhin du 'byin nus pa/. The former two are mistakes that constitute defeats for the proponent.

Shākya-mchog-ldan's most detailed discussion, however, is found below, pp. 322.7-323.5. Thorn removal is there said to be proper only to the proponent, and it has two procedures: (1) the proponent's own denying of faults in his probans, and (2) his stating of the fault of the refutation made by the respondent: tsher ma 'byin pa zhes bya ba sngar rgol kho na'i khyad chos yin la/ de la tshul gnyis te/ sngar rgol rang gis sgrub byed kyi skyon sel ba dang/ phyir [323] rgol gyis 'phangs pa'i sun 'byin la skyon brjod pa'o//

dang po la tshul gsum ste rang gi rtsa ba'i sgrub byed de skyon med du bya ba'i phyir du/ 'gal ba dang ma nges pa dang ma grub pa'i skyon gsum sel ba'o// gnyis pa ni/ gzhan gyis 'phangs pa'i thal 'gyur la 'gal ba dang/ ma nges pa dang/ ma grub pa dang/ bsal ba med pa'i lan btab nas de rang rjes su mthun pa'i rigs pa rang rgyud kyi sgo nas ston pa'o/ mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgor/ dang por

sgrub ngag yang dag bkod nas/ de'i rjes su tshul gsum sgrub pa la tsher ma 'byin pa zhes bya zhing/ tsher ma mi 'byin na rgol ba tshar bcad pa'i gnas yin no zhes gsungs/ de'i dgongs pa ni snga ma de nyid las gzhan du mi bsam mo//. From his mention of the KhJ, it is clear that Shākya-mchog-ldan had that work in mind when describing this procedure.

Finally, Shākya-mchog-ldan (ibid., p. 340.4) describes in more detail the "thorn removal" to be practiced by the proponent when the respondent states a fallacious rebuttal. Not only may he remove the thorns of his own thesis and reason, but he may "insert thorns" (tsher ma 'jug) into the fallacious rebuttal of the opponent.

The Mādhyamika, however, does not follow this procedure. He need not "remove thorns" because he advances no independent formally stated proof or "syllogism." See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 14, p. 445.1.

Sa-paṇ's description of "thorn removal" in KhJ III 56-57 was considered by Shākya-mchog-ldan (mkhas 'jug dris lan, p. 120.5) to be one of the "original" contributions made in the KhJ. Such "extraction of thorns" is also known from other Indian traditions of debating. Y. Bagchi (1953), P. 570, describes the extraction of thorns (kaṇṭakoddhara) in Naiyāyika debate, basing himself on the Vādavinoda of Śaṃkara Miśra (fl. c. 1450). See also the edition of the latter by G. Jha (Allahabad: 1915), p. 11, lines 18-19. For the Naiyāyika there are five "thorns" to be removed, for he maintains five fallacies of the reason (hetvābhāsa) that require negation:

(1) vyabhicārin "wandering" (=anaikāntika "uncertain")

(2) viruddha "contradictory"

(3) asiddha "unestablished"

(4) satpratipakṣa "having an equally justified counter-inference"

(5) bādhita "sublated"

These five are maintained for instance by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (late-9th century) in his Nyāyamañjarī. See K. Potter (1977), p. 394. Y. Bagchi (1953), p. 570, also relates that there exists a completely different tradition of "thorn extraction." It is a procedure of eliciting the formal argument of the opponent through interrogation, and it is said to be explained in Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa's commentary on the Avayava section of the Tattvacintāmaṇi. On this term cf. also S. C. Vidyabhusana (1920), p. 333, note 4.

[195]This passage is paraphrased by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 305.3, as quoted above, note 194. See also ibid., p. 305.3: de'i tshe yang sngar rgol gyis tsher ma 'byin ma shes na rgyal pham med pas/ phyir rgol kho na la tshar bcad pa'i gnas yin la/ tsher ma 'byin shes shing sgrub byed yang dag

brjod pa de'i tshe phyir rgol kho na tshar bcad pa'i gnas su 'gyur ro//.

[196]Cf. Y. Bagchi (1953) p. 571, who explains that in the system of the Vādavinoda: "having extracted the thorns in this way, the disputant will stop; and then his opponent will point out the faults in the hetu put forward by the former."

[197]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.4-5, quotes this verse. In the quotation, line b reads brjod pa instead of brjod la. See also the quotation of the autocommentary by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 385.5 (193a.5).

[198]Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.5, combines these two lines into one when quoting them (presumably from memory):

tshul 'di grags pa'i bzhed pa min//

[199]See above, note 193.

[200]For the "Group of Seven" treatises by Dharmakīrti, see above, chapter 6, note 5, nos. (1)-(7). The citation of the Rigs gter probably refers mainly to the last chapter of the Rigs gter rang 'grel, which deals with "inference for others" (gzhan don rjes dpag).

[201]This is ananubhāṣaṇa (rjes su mi smra or rjes su smra ba med pa), the sixteenth occasion of defeat mentioned in the Nyāya Sūtras and the fourteenth in Sa-paṇ's list in KhJ III 5.

[202]This supposed occasion of defeat is discussed at length in the VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), pp. 109.6-114.6; and VN (D), pp. 349a.5-350b.7. See also RTRG, pp. 255.3.5-256.1.2.

In this connection Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 292b.1, refers to a story of Devendrabuddhi repeating and then refuting five hundred pūrvapakṣas. He concludes that this must be an incorrect account. He also thinks that the practice of some of his contemporaries of putting forward many theses concerning one basic treatise--as a way of displaying their wide knowledge-- was not in accord with Sa-paṇ's teachings. He sums up (p. 293a.4) by saying that the debating in his day was simply that of childish persons testing their knowledge and that therefore it is difficult to apply the terms "fault" and "virtue" to it. Cf. above, KhJ III 15, autocommentary.

[203]apratibhā (spobs pa med pa or mi spobs). This is the eighteenth defeat situation of the Nyāya Sūtras and it is listed as number sixteen by Sa-paṇ in KhJ III 5. It is discussed in VN (S), D. Shastri (1972), p. 117.8-12; and VN (D), p. 351b.5-7. See also RTRG p. 256.1.6-2.1.

[204]This does not seem to be a direct quote from the VN. The same point is made in RTRG, p. 252.1.5, and there Sa-paṇ quotes VN (D), p. 337a.6. See above, note 27.

[205]Cf. RTRG, p. 253.3.4, where in his discussion of the defeat situation of "thesis in contradiction [with the reason]" (dam bca' 'gal : pratijñāvirodha) he states: sgrub bya gcig la rtags mang po mi 'jug ste/ phyi ma rnams don med pa'i phyir ro//. Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 293b.3, explains this in terms of definiens (mtshan nyid) and definiendum (mtshon bya): 'di mtshon nas/ mtshon bya gcig la mtshan nyid mang po mi 'jog ste/ snga ma mtshon mi nus na mtshan nyid du mi 'gyur zhing/ nus na phyi ma bzhag pa lhag pas tshar bcad du 'gyur ba'i phyir ro//.

[206]See above, KhJ III 55, and note 189.

[207]chos can ma grub : *dharmyasiddha [=āśrayāsiddha], "unestablished subject or locus." For Buddhists this is one type of failure of the first of the three relations (tshul gsum : trairupya), namely, the failure of the reason's presence in the subject. The reason too is thus "unestablished" (asiddha). A systematic and detailed analysis of this fallacy does not seem to have been made by the great masters of Indian Buddhist Pramāṇa. Among the Naiyāyika, Uddyotakara in his Nyāyavārttika (re: NS I,2,8) discerned three types of asiddha fallacy:

(1) where the logical reason (hetu) is as much in need of proof as the probandum (sādhyasama)

(2) where the locus of the hetu is not established (āśrayāsiddha)

(3) where the hetu can be explained in a way other than that which would make it a proof (anyathāsiddha)

See K. Potter (1977), p. 319. Cf. G. Jha tr. (1983), vol. 1, p. 515. On other classifications, see S. Saṅghvi (1961), p. 100f.

Of these three, the unestablished locus or subject became a topic for much discussion among the later Indian Buddhist logicians and their Naiyāyika opponents, especially in connection with the proof of universal momentariness in its positive and negative contraposed forms. This problem has also stimulated a number of modern discussions. See for instance S. Mookerjee (1935), pp. 29f; D.

Seyfort Ruegg (1970), pp. 301f; A. C. S. McDermott (1970); B. K. Matilal (1970) and (1971), pp. 130f; J. L. Shaw (1974); K. Mimaki (1976), p. 60; and K. Potter (1977), p. 204.

The problem of the unestablished locus has been briefly touched on by Sa-paṇ above, KhJ III 20, in connection with the scope of scripture in debate: A "completely hidden" (shin tu lkog gyur) object such as the existence of future or past lives is in some sense unestablished since it is not established by the two pramāṇas. He also discusses it in much more detail in his RTRG, p. 242.2.3, in connection with fallacies of reason (rtags ltar snang : hetvābhāsa). There he discerns three main varieties of this fallacy:

(1) Unestablished in fact (or with regard to real objects) (don la ma grub pa)

(2) Unestablished with reference to cognition (blo ngor ma grub pa)

(3) Unestablished with respect to the opponent (rgol ba la ltos te ma grub pa)

The subdivisions of these and their examples as subsequently expounded by Sa-paṇ in his Rigs gter rang 'grel are as follows:

(1) don la ma grub pa

(a) chos can gyi ngo bo ma grub pa (the essential nature of the subject is unestablished)

(i) mi srid nas ma grub pa (unestablished, being impossible). For example, "The self is omnipresent" (cf. NB III 67) or "The sound of absolute truth is impermanent." (RTRG, p. 242.2.5)

(ii) srid kyang rtsod gzhir ma grub pa (subjects that, though possible, are not established as the basic subject of debate) (RTRG, p. 242.2.6). For example: "Sound is an audible object" or "Sound is not an audible object." [Here any reason will do; the fault is in the thesis.] Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 609.6, in connection with (I) (2) (b) below, comments that if the subject and predicate are identical as in the above case, the basic subject of debate is not established. Sound is by definition an audible object, and thus the thesis really asserts nothing. But regarding the second example, this seems to be nothing but an egregious self-contradiction.

(b) rtags kyi ngo bo ma grub pa (the essential nature of the reason is unestablished)

(i) mi srid nas ma grub pa (unestablished, being impossible). For example: "This person possesses a self, because he possesses the quality of self[hood]" or "because he was poked by the horn of a

hare."

(ii) srid kyang shes 'dod dang ma 'brel nas ma grub pa (though possible, the reason has no logical connection with what is desired to be known, i.e. with the subject of inquiry)

A. ngo bo ma yin nas ma grub pa (unestablished, not being [the same] nature). For example, "Sound [is impermanent], because it is an object apprehended by the eye." (Cf. NB III 60)

B. ldog pa tha dad med nas ma grub pa (unestablished, in that there does not exist a difference of differentiated concept)

1. gzhi rtags tha dad med pa (no difference between subject and reason). For example, "Sound [is impermanent] because it is sound."

2. chos rtags tha dad med pa (no difference between predicate and reason). For example, "[Sound] is impermanent, because it is impermanent."

(c) de dag gi phyogs re la ma grub pa (unestablished in just a part of those)

(i) rtags chos can gyi phyogs gcig la ma grub pa (the logical mark is not established in part of the subject)

A. rigs kyi spyi chos can du bzhag pa (setting forth the general concept of a class as the subject) (242.3.5). For example, "Trees possess a mind, for they sleep." (This is unestablished from three points of view.) Or "Sound is impermanent, because it arises from effort." (It overlooks water and wind sounds.)

B. tshogs kyi spyi rtags su byas pa (making the general concept of a group or assemblage to be the logical mark). For example, "The three relations of the terms of an inference (tshul gsum) is a sound reason, for this is able to show a reason to be sound."

(ii) rtags kyi phyogs gcig chos can [la?] ma grub pa (part of the logical mark is not established [in] the subject)

A. rigs kyi spyi gzhi rtags su byas pa'i tshe mtshungs pa

1. grub ma grub mtshungs pa

2. grub par mtshungs pa (242.4.3)

B. tshogs pa'i gzhi (?) gzhi rtags su byas pa'i tshe mtshungs pa

(2) blo ngor ma grub pa (unestablished with respect to the cognizing mind) (242.4.6)

(a) chos can la the tshom za ba (doubt regarding the subject)

(i) nges rung med nas the tshom za ba (doubt, in that there does not exist an ascertainable object). For example: putting forward a demon's pot as the subject.

(ii) nges rung yod kyang the tshom za ba (doubt even though there exists an ascertainable object). For example, to put forward a jewel as the subject when one has not ascertained whether it is a [glowing] jewel or a lamp [that one sees].

(b) rtags la the tshom za ba (doubt with regard to the reason)

(i) nges rung med nas the tshom za ba (doubt since there does not exist an ascertainable object). For example: [The pot is impermanent] because it is made by the freedom from desire.

(ii) nges rung yod kyang the tshom za ba (doubt even though there exists an ascertainable object). For example, when one doubts whether it is smoke or water vapor [on the pass], to put forward smoke as the reason. (Cf. NB III 64)

(c) de gnyis kyi 'brel pa la the tshom za nas ma grub pa (unestablished since one doubts the connection of those two).

(i) nges rung med nas the tshom za ba (doubting something which is not determinable). For example: "Previous merit exists, because it is the cause of present happiness [Go-rams-pa reads: bde]."

(ii) nges rung yod kyang the tshom za ba (doubting something which is [otherwise] determinable) (243.1.3). For example, "In the middle one of three caves there is a peacock, for the peacock's cry is heard [though the hearer is not sure from which]." (Cf. NB III 65-66)

(3) rgol ba la ltos pa'i ma grub pa (unestablished with reference to the discussants) (243.1.3)

(a) rgol ba rang nyid la ma grub pa (unestablished for the proponent himself). For example, when a Sāṃkhya adherent says, "Thought and happiness are unconscious, for they possess an origination" or "because they are impermanent." Here the Sāṃkhya does not in fact maintain originating and destruction. Instead, he is said to maintain mngon par gsal ba (abhivyakti?) and nye bar zhi ba (upaśānta?).

(b) phyir rgol ba la ma grub pa (unestablished for the respondent). For example, when the Jaina says, "A tree possesses a mind, for it dies if you peel off the skin." (Cf. NB III 61)

Examples of (3) are classified as unestablished with regard to the philosophical tenets of the opponents, but in fact they are from the point of view of the Buddhist dialectician unestablished by virtue of the nature of the subject or reason, i.e. they belong to (1) (a) or (1) (b) in the above scheme. See RTRG, p. 243.2.3.

Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 609.1 (kha 113a.1), expands some of the examples in the above. See also his Tshad ma rigs, pp. 543.3-547.3 (272a-274a). Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 677.4, observes that the opinions of the great early dialecticians of Tibet were not unanimously decided on the subdivisions of the unestablished reason because the basic Indian sources were not clear on this score. Rngog lo-tsā-ba, for instance, followed a basic fourfold classification, while Phywa-pa in his Bsdus pa taught a sevenfold classification. Shākya-mchog-ldan (ibid., p. 676.2, 676.7) describes both systems in detail. Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 86.5, where Rngog's position is described after that of Dharmottara (based on his NB commentary and the Pramāṇaparīkṣā). For Dharmakīrti's discussion in NB III 59-67 and Dharmottara's comments, see Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, pp. 172-179. See also Stcherbatsky's own discussion of hetvābhāsa in ibid., vol. 2, p. 179, note 3. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 364.2-6 (192b.2-6), where the Acarya Jetāri is said to have maintained a tenfold classification.

[208]In the Rigs gter rang 'grel both the horn of a hare and a self (bdag : ātman) as subjects would be classified as (1) don la ma grub pa, (a) chos can gyi ngo bo ma grub pa, (i) chos can gyi ngo bo mi srid nas ma grub pa. See above, note 207. Here the locus is not established as a really existing thing, and it is considered an impossibility. According to the Buddhist dialectician, then, (and in harmony with the Buddha's answering through setting aside certain questions as unedifying), the self cannot be a subject of meaningful discussion. See also Mokṣākaragupta, TBh 25.1 (Y. Kajiyama [1966], pp. 119 and 121).

According to Tsong-kha-pa, some Tibetan dialecticians such as Phywa-pa held that "an independent 'syllogism' is not proper for an [unreal] subject designated by 'others' [i.e. by non-Buddhists]" (gzhan gyis btags pa'i chos can la rang rgyud mi rung). See Tsong-kha-pa's Dbu ma rgyan gyi zin bris, p. 77b.5, as cited by T. Tillemans (1984a), pp. 365 and 383.

[209]A demon's pot (sha za'i bum pa : piśācaghaṭa?) and freedom from desire ('dod chags dang bral ba : vītarāga?) as subjects would be classified in the Rigs gter rang 'grel as (2) blo ngor ma grub pa, (a) chos can la the tshom za ba, (i) nges rung med nas the tshom za ba. They are not established as subjects in relation to a cognizing mind, and they are a matter for doubt, being impossible to ascertain. See above, note 207.

[210]Mental direct perception (yid kyi mngon sum : mānasapratyakṣa) and the non-contingent or non-dependent (ltos med : nirapekṣa) as subjects would seem to

be classified in the Rigs gter rang 'grel as (1) (a) (ii): though possible, not established as a subject of meaningful debate. See above, note 207. They may also belong to the class of subjects that are unestablished with reference to the opponent, i.e. (3) rgol ba la ltos pa'i ma grub pa, subjects that are problematic when debated on by followers of different philosophical schools.

The mānasapratyakṣa is, according to the Naiyāyikas, the faculty which perceives the jivātman. Buddhists maintain a quite different mānasapratyakṣa. See S. Mookerjee (1935), p. 311, and Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 120, note 324. The Buddhist view on mental direct perception and its Naiyāyika criticisms are discussed by Th. Stcherbatsky (1930-32), vol. 2, pp. 311-339, and S. Mookerjee (1935), pp. 309-315. See also TBh 6.1 (Y. Kajiyama [1966], pp. 45-47).

Something non-contingent or independent of other causes (ltos med : nirapekṣa) is permanent and non-efficacious. Dharmakīrti uses non-contingence as a reason in refuting a permanent agent such as a creator God in PV II 268. See also TBh 28 (Y. Kajiyama [1966], pp. 130-132). Buddhists also argue that destruction is a necessary characteristic of every impermanent entity; this being subject to destruction is thus not contingent on causes. See K. Potter (1977), p. 62. Sapaṇ, RTRG, p. 195.1.3, discusses and rejects an objection that non-contingence is not established:

'jig pa rgyu gzhan la ltos phyir//
ltos med 'di ni ma grub lo//

See also RTRG, p. 195.4.5. The motive for teaching ltos med is explained in RTRG, p. 198.2.1: ltos med ni mu stegs byed 'ga' zhig dngos po rnams 'jig rgyu dang phrad na 'jig la/ ma phrad na mi 'jig par 'dod pa la 'jig par khas len na rgyu la mi ltos par rang gis 'jig par 'grub pa yin cing/. See also Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 106.2. The opposing position of the Naiyāyika--that an entity requires a cause for its destruction--is called sahetukavināśatva. See also the Buddhist critique of this by Ratnakīrti in K. Mimaki (1976), pp. 125ff.

211 [sgrub byed] sgrub bya dang mtshungs pa'i ma grub pa. This is one of the four reasonings that constitute the pramāṇa of inference for the Prāsaṅgika. See above, note 157. This reasoning is basically to reply to the proponent that his reason is not established (rtags ma grub) because it is just as much in need of proof as the probandum. This sort of fallacy has had a long history of discussion in the Nyāya school. In NS I,2,8 the sādhyasama is listed as one of five fallacies of the reason (hetvābhāsa). See B. K. Matilal (1974), pp. 212, and K. Potter (1977), p. 196. Uddyotakara in the NBh classified it as an unestablished (asiddha) reason. In the Buddhist Pramāṇa tradition too this sort of reason would

be classified as "unestablished" (ma grub pa : asiddha). It is usually a case where the reason is not present in some or all instances of the subject. See note 207, where in the Rigs gter rang 'grel this would be classified as (1) (c) (i) rtags chos can gyi phyogs gcig la ma grub pa. For an example of this type of reason, Sa-paṇ gives the argument by a Jaina: "Trees possess mind, for they sleep." Sa-paṇ (RTRG, p. 242.3.5) explains that such a reason is unestablished from three points of view: (1) If the Jaina means "to retract [the leaves]" as "to sleep," then that reason is not established in one part of [the class of] trees [because not all trees exhibit this]. (2) If he means "to doze" by "to sleep," then the reason is by its nature unestablished [i.e. it is untrue of the subject]. (3) The reason "they sleep" is not established for the [Buddhist] respondent with respect to the tenets he upholds. The basic example of the NBh (on NS I,2,8) is "A shadow is a substance, because it has movement." In these instances the sādhyasama involves a fault of circularity of reasoning or "begging the question" (petitio principii), though here this is not the specific fault of identity of reason with predicate of the thesis. Sa-paṇ (see above, note 207) classified the latter fault in particular as (1) (b) (ii) B.2: chos rtags tha dad med pa. In the previous examples it is just that the premises are unreal and require the conclusion (i.e. the thesis) for their proof.

The sādhyasama of the Mādhyamika seems usually to be the same as that of the Naiyāyika. The main difference is that here it is śūnyatā which shows the reason to be unreal and in need of proof, just as it dissolves any other conceptually conceived entity. If the proponent (someone who maintains the existence of entities) adduces any thing as his reason, it has the same unreality as the basic probandum. K. Bhattacharya (1974), pp. 228f, translated the Madhyamaka sādhyasama as "equal to the object or thesis to be established" or "sembable à l'objet à démontrer," and he attempts to differentiate it sharply from the use of the term by the Naiyāyikas. But see also B. K. Matilal (1974), p. 222.

Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 269.1 (ca 135a.1) discerns two main applications of this reasoning: (1) as a reply to the proponent's statement of proof, and (2) as a rejoinder to an opponent's rebuttal. These two types go back to Nāgārjuna's two different mentions of sādhyasama in MMK IV 8 and 9, respectively. Go-rams-pa states that the first embraces more than the fallacy of unestablished reason: "When the proponent puts forward some 'true properties' (bden pa'i chos) [as probans], the presence of the reason in the subject (phyogs chos) is not established. If he puts forward some 'appearing properties' (snang ba'i chos) [as probans], the pervasion (khyab pa) [i.e. the presence of the reason in like instances] is not established. And for both cases he is not able to show an example which is established by a means of knowledge."

Cf. Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 403.4: gzhan gyi gtan tshig sun 'byin pa sgrub byed bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa'i ma grub pa'o/. And ibid., line 6: gnyis te/ gzhan gyi sgrub byed 'god tshul bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa dang/ rang la skyon 'dogs tshul la bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pa'o/. And p. 405.6: sgrub byed bsgrub bya dang mtshungs pas ni/ thal ba de ltar 'phangs pa la gzhan gyis tsher ma 'byin mi nus par bstan pa yin no/. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, this was one of three prasaṅga reasonings (the others were 'gal ba brjod pa and rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa) which negate the erroneous conceptual constructions of others, and which are employed before the gzhan la grags pa'i rjes dpag.

Sādhyasama is also the name of a Naiyāyika futile rejoinder. See above, note 17, numbers 8 and 21 in the first and second lists, respectively.

212 The proof of the existence of Īśvara through "the putting forward of such things as 'shape' (dbyibs : sanniveśa)" refers to the argumentation of Aviddhakarṇa. The latter is widely quoted in Indian philosophical literature as having propounded two arguments for the existence of Īśvara. The reasonings are as follows (K. Potter [1977], p. 339):

(1) An object, perceptible by the two sense organs, or not perceptible at all, is produced by a conscious cause, because it possesses an arrangement among its parts, like a pot, etc., or atoms, etc., respectively.

(2) Material causes (upādāna) of an organism are dependent upon an intelligent Being, because they possess color, etc., like threads, etc.

On these two see also Umesha Mishra (1957-66), vol. 2, p. 57.

Sa-paṇ perhaps learned of the first of these from Kamalaśīla's TSP, Īśvaraparīkṣā chapter, commenting on TS 47. On the Pañjikā account, see K. Mimaki and A. Akamatsu (1984), pp. 753, note (i), and 763f, where Dbus-pa Blo-gsal's discussion of this argument (p. 27b.3) is identified as a quote from the TSP (=TSP [D] 166b.5; and [P] 202b.1): dbang po gnyis kyis gzung bar bya ba dang gzung bar bya ba ma yin pa blo mi mthun pa'i gzhi nyid du gyur pa ni blo dang ldan pa'i rgyu sngon du 'gro ba can yin te/ rang rtsom par byed pa'i cha shas kyi dbyibs kyi khyad par dang ldan pa'i phyir bum pa la sogs pa bzhin no// chos mi mthun pa ni rdul phra rab lta bu'o zhes smra'o//.

On other Naiyāyika proofs of the existence of Īśvara, see G. Bhattacharya (1961) and K. Potter (1977), pp. 101-110. For the Buddhist critiques, see the sources and studies cited in Y. Kajiyama (1966), p. 95, note 255; G. Chemparathy (1968-69); and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 30, note 73a.

213 On the two proofs establishing vijñapti, see above, note 135.

[214]MMK IV 8. The canonical Tibetan text in the Tanjur is:

stong pa nyid kyis brtsad byas tshe//
gang zhig lan 'debs smra byed pa//
de yi thams cad lan btab min//
bsgrub par bya dang mtshungs par 'gyur//

The Sanskrit text as given in Chr. Lindtner (1982b), p. 181:

vigrahe yaḥ parīhāram
kṛte śūnyatayā vadet /
sarvaṃ tasyāparihṛtaṃ
samaṃ sādhyena jāyate //

On this verse see also K. Bhattacharya (1974), p. 225; B. K. Matilal (1974), pp. 221f; and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1981), p. 12.

[215]On the rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms and the other Prāsaṅgika reasonings, see above, note 157. Here Sa-paṇ seems to indicate that the principle behind the Madhyamaka sādhyasama also applies to the other Prāsaṅgika reasonings.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 294b.4, in his comment on KhJ III 64 refers to Vasubandhu's Vyākhyāyukti (Rnam bshad rigs pa) as explaining another way of answering, though it apparently has no direct connection with this verse.

[216]This opinion is attributed to Phywa-pa by Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma'i mdo, p. 38.6. On this passage see also Tom J. F. Tillemans (1984), p. 63; cf. L. van der Kuijp (1983), p. 84. Phywa-pa held that there were three and only three replies to fallacious refutations in the form of prasaṅgas, namely, those listed in KhJ III 65. The third reply, 'dod thog, is synonymous with 'dod pa grub or just 'dod. (No separate explanation seems necessary for thog in the sense of "in addition to." Cf. T. Tillemans [1984], p. 63.) Sum-pa mkhan-po, Dpag bsam ljon bzang, p. 197, in a disparaging comment also links the earliest use of certain prasaṅga forms with Phywa-pa, though he seems to be speaking only in a very general way: cha pa chos seng gis [sic] dus nas dar ba'i thal brdab thal skad 'khor gsum bskor ba'i sgra gang che la 'gran pa ci/.

Phywa-pa's student Gtsang-nag-pa also followed this classification, though he is said to have devised his own colorful terminology for the prasaṅgas to which each answer corresponded. According to Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 739.7, these were:

(1) The consequence which causes no contradiction with the proponent's position and which can be answered as "Agreed" was called "the peacock overcoming poison" (rma bya dug 'joms).

(2) An "unestablished" (ma grub pa) consequence for which the proponent replies "the reason is unestablished" was called "the hero with arms cut off" (dpa' bo lag rdum).

(3) A consequence of unestablished pervasion was called "a catapult for weapons [?]" (mtshon cha'i khri sgyogs).

(4) The sound consequence which stymies the proponent was called a "meteorite-" or "lightning-bolt-consequence" (gnam lcags thog gi thal 'gyur).

(Note that the fourth is not fallacious and thus does not have a corresponding reply.) Such classifying and systematizing seem to have been typical of Gtsang-nag-pa and some of his contemporaries. See also Gtsang-nag-pa's classifications of the rgyu mtshan mtshungs pa'i mgo snyoms in Go-rams-pa, Rgyal ba, p. 267.4 (ca 134a.4), and the names for the four types of Prāsaṅgika reasonings ascribed to Zhang Thang-sag-pa in Shākya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam, vol. 15, p. 404.1-3.

The threefold system of Phywa-pa and his followers is presented as a pūrvapakṣa by Sa-paṇ also in his RTRG, p. 263.4.1:

thal 'gyur lan ni sgo gsum zhes//
kha ba can pa de skad smra//

bod rnams thal 'gyur gyi lan la gtan tshigs ma grub/ khyab pa ma grub/ 'dod thog ces gsum las mi srid do// zhes zer ro/.

This threefold system was continued within the bsdus grwa traditions of the Dge-lugs-pa. See T. Tillemans (1984), p. 66, note 13, and Geshe Lobsang Tharchin (1979), pp. 218f.

[217]This argument is also found in the RTRG, p. 263.2.1, though differently phrased: 'di mi 'thad de/

'gal dang ma nges gcig tu 'gyur//
'dod na ltar snang gnyis su 'gyur//
de ltar gtan tshigs ltar snang kun//
ma grub gcig tu 'du bar 'gyur//

Mkhas-grub-rje criticized this in his Tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel, p. 178b, and Shākya-mchog-ldan, Rigs gter...rnam bshad, p. 738.6, replies to him, as Mr. S. Onoda pointed out to me. He also informed me that 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa, Bsdus ra, p. 480, gives a fivefold system and seems to harmonize the Rigs gter and bsdus ra traditions, including even a fifth answer: the tshom za ba.

[218]PV I 15; cf. PVin II 68 (E. Steinkellner [1973], pp. 100f). This verse is found in PV (D), p. 95a.6, PV (P), p. 190b. The only difference between the Tanjur and KhJ versions is that the latter has 'di instead of de at the start of line b. The Sanskrit text (Miyasaka [1971/72], p. 116) is:

hetos triṣv api rūpeṣu
niścayas tena varṇitah /
asiddhaviparītārtha-
vyabhicārivipakṣataḥ //

[219]This criticism is evidently directed against a Tibetan dialectical practice of his day. His point seems to be that the use of the particle kyang may lead to ambiguity in that it indicates the possible existence of the predicate in similar instances. See also RTRG, p. 263.4.5 (da 219a.5), where the same topic is treated briefly:

> Moreover on an occasion of contradiction ('gal ba), if one replies, "The pervasion is unestablished," a mistake will arise. For example, to [the proponent] who maintains that sound is produced, [there is the respondent's] consequence which indicates a contradiction: "Because it is made, it entails being permanent." If [the proponent] says to this, "So what if, even though made, it is impermanent? The pervasion is not established," he must accept implicitly that permanence is possible for something made. Just as when "[because it is] a knowable thing" is put forward as the reason [for the consequence, "it is permanent"].

Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 739.3, comments in this connection that if one replies to a contrary pervasion (khyab pa 'gal ba) with the answer "The pervasion is not established," one will mistake contradictory consequences ('gal ba'i thal 'gyur) as being actually uncertain consequences (ma nges pa'i thal 'gyur): khyab pa 'gal ba la/ khyab pa ma grub pa'i lan btab na/ 'gal ba'i thal 'gyur yang dngos kyis ma nges pa'i thal 'gyur du 'khrul ba'i phyir/. Cf. Go-rams-pa, Sde bdun mdo, p. 671.2 (kha 144a.2), who merely summarizes the Rigs gter rang 'grel. See also the discussion of Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 406.6 (203b.6) and Tshad ma rigs, p. 414, who quotes there at length from the autocommentary to KhJ III 67. None of these commentators elucidated in any detail Sa-paṇ's comments about the impropriety of the particle kyang.

The general meaning of the basic verse and autocommentary seems to require a negative sense for the phrases brjod dgos in both occurrences (text, p. 153, lines 8-9, 15). The point of this passage is that this sort of reply should not be made. He indicates that kyang is not admissable as a concessive particle, because he considers it to have conjunctive force. But brjod mi dgos is awkward, as is brjod ci dgos; moreover, neither is attested. Therefore the best way to explain brjod dgos is that Sa-paṇ is indicating here what the opponent must state.

[220] The same position is found in the RTRG, p. 264.1.1:

des na mkhas pas thal 'gyur lan//
rnam par thar pa'i sgo bzhis gdab//
thal ba'i lan la ni/ 'gal/ ma nges/ ma grub/ 'dod pa grub pa ste sgo bzhi'o//
lan gyis bzlog par mi nus na
sde yi rjes 'brang dam pa'i lugs//
thal 'gyur yang dag lan gyis bzlog ma nus na khro ba dang 'khon du 'dzin pa dang/ bdag la bstod cing gzhan la smod pa ni thabs sdugs pa yin pas bden pa'i rjes su 'brang ba dam pa'i rnam par thar pa yin no//.

In this connection T. Tillemans (1984), p. 66, note 13, observes the "He [i.e. Sa-paṇ] argues for four kinds of reply, dividing unestablished implications (khyab pa ma grub) into two sorts, contradictoriness ('gal ba) and uncertainty (ma nges pa), thus transferring to the theory of consequences some of the terms more usually associated with the classification of fallacious reasons (gtan tshigs ltar snang : hetvābhāsa)."

Sa-paṇ considered the principles behind the classification of fallacious reasons and fallacious consequences to be the same, namely: conflicting with the "three modes" (tshul gsum) of inferential relation. In his system there were thus four types of fallacious consequences:

(1) 'gal ba'i thal 'gyur
(2) ma nges pa'i thal 'gyur
(3) ma grub pa'i thal 'gyur
(4) bsal ba ye med kyi thal 'gyur

See Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...rnam bshad, p. 739.5. The irrefutable, unanswerable consequence is called 'khor gsum tshang ba'i thal 'gyur, according to Shākya-mchog-ldan.

In his Mkhas pa, p. 119f, Shākya-mchog-ldan identifies Sa-paṇ's treatment of how to reply to fallacious consequences as another of his "original" contributions in the KhJ.

[221] Here the proponent must also have maintained that sound is impermanent. Otherwise he would not be stymied. The ultimate goal of the "Prāsaṅgika" method of argumentation is just this: to leave the proponent stymied in the knowledge that any of the responses involves him in a contradiction. One should keep in mind, however, that all respondents phrased their replies through this type of argumentation, not only Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamikas.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 295b.1, comments that if the proponent finds himself in the position of being stymied, he should not resort to the ignoble responses that Sa-paṇ lists in KhJ III 13; RTRG, p. 252.1.5; and Nga brgyad ma'i,

p. 149.2.1. On these see above, notes 26 and 27.

[222]Note the difference between the basic verse and the autocommentary of KhJ III 69. Nothing in the autocommentary corresponds to the "bsngags pa'i phyir// mkhas pa'i skye bos" in the basic verse. But in Khenpo Appey's opinion, this does not impair the passage.

Cf. RTRG, p. 264.1.3:

de ltar bsgrub dang sun 'byin gyi//
rigs pa'i gzhung lugs gang gis shes//
mkhas pa de ni rdzogs pa yi//
sangs rgyas rnams kyi bstan pa 'dzin//

[223]On the duties of the witness, see Shākya-mchog-ldan, Tshad ma rigs...dgongs, vol. 9, p. 323.5. One of the basic duties of the arbitrating witness is to repeat accurately what each of the debators said. See also above, note 12.

[224]This verse is quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 284.1 (192b.1). Sa-paṇ in the RTRG, p. 251.4.6, adds that some great scholars say that in a great debate the arbitrating witness will not be able to deny or falsify what each opponent said if he correctly repeats both of their statements and then sets down in writing the main points of philosophical tenets that they contain.

[225]In this connection Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh, p. 287a.4, quotes a verse attributed to Ācārya Śūra:

'chi bdag bstan pa sa chen gyi//
khams gsum dag na spyod byed pa//
mi bzlog thogs pa ma mchis pa'ang//
khyod kyi bstan pas zil gyis mnan//

[226]According to the KhJNSh, p. 297a.5, this verse explains Sa-paṇ's motive for composing the treatise. On p. 297b.3, Glo-bo mkhan-chen expands this a little, saying that the first pair of hemistiches reveals the motive, while the second pair is his injunction (to the reader) to enter into these three "doors."

[227]According to the KhJNSh, p. 297b.3, this verse reveals one reason he has not expatiated at great length: it is difficult to get a chance to benefit others.

[228]According to the KhJNSh, ibid., this verse explains that the author did not elaborate in great detail because most people become satisfied with learning just a little, and there are very few who maintain the complete Buddhist doctrine through exposition, composition, and debate.

[229]bstan pa'i mjug 'dir. This verse reflects Sa-paṇ's opinion on the chronology of the Buddhist doctrine. He had calculated in 1216 that 3,350 years had already elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, and that the Buddha's Doctrine was thus nearing its final phases. He mentions this calculation near the end of his biography of Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan: Rje btsun, Lam 'bras slob bshad, vol. 1 (ka), p. 28a.2. This reckoning had the approval of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and went back to the calculations of Bsod-nams-rtse-mo in his Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo.

Sa-paṇ mentions that his teacher Śākyaśrībhadra upheld a different chronology (which is much closer to the datings of modern historians). The latter calculated in 1210 that 1,753 years had passed since the Nirvāṇa, thus putting its date in BCE 544 instead of BCE 2133. On these chronologies, see also 'Gos lo-tsāba, Deb ther (G. Roerich [1976], pp. 1063ff); Bu-ston (E. Obermiller tr. [1931], pp. 106ff); Ariene Macdonald (1963), pp. 64ff and 120f, notes 56 and 57; A. Vostrikov (1970), pp. 101ff; and D. Seyfort Ruegg (1966), p. 33, note 1.

[230]This verse, according to the KhJNSh, pp. 297a.6 and 298a.4, explains the special characteristics of the time of composition and the author.

[231]This same image is also used by Sa-paṇ in his Chag lo'i, p. 414.1.1:

deng sang thub pa dag gi bstan pa yang//
'bab chu skam pa'i mtsho bzhin rnam par bri//
chos spyod phal cher de yi srog chags bzhin
bshes gnyen ngan rnams chu skyar bzhin du rgyu//

The image of the receding pond filled with trapped fish was used by the Buddha himself. See Suttanipāta 936 (as translated by N. Aramaki [1983], p. 64): "When I contemplated that [all] living beings [in this Saṃsāric world] are thrashing about desperately hither and thither, like fish left in waters diminishing [rapidly] . . . ." Another similar passage from Sa-paṇ's works (not yet located) is quoted by Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, p. 409.3 (205a.3):

de ltar bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa yang//
ston ka'i chu bzhin myur du bri ba dang//

Cf. ThGS, p. 50.1.1:

deng sang shākya thub pa'i bstan pa 'di//

bud shing zad pa'i me bzhin nyam chung bas//

Cf. also his 'Jig rten dbang phyug, p. 397.1.4:

bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa yang//
mar me snum zad ji bzhin du//
ring por mi thog nub par 'gyur//.

And in Glo bo lo tsā ba'i, p. 415.1.6:

deng sang bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa ni//
ston ka'i [415.2] shing bzhin 'bras bu phal cher lhags//

[232] According to the KhJNSh, p. 297a.6, this verse explains how others need to exert themselves. For this he also quotes from the DS:

rin chen chos kyang dkon la ni//
rtag tu 'tshe ba mang zhes gsungs//
'di la bsam nas mkhas rnams kyis//
rtag tu bstan pa'i phyi dor bya//

He also quotes more extensively from the passage in Chag lo'i quoted in the previous note. The line rin chen chos kyang dkon la rtag tu 'tshe ba mang originates from the Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā.

[233] This verse, according to the KhJNSh, p. 297a.6, is the dedicatory transfer (bsngo ba) of the merit from composing this work.

[234] Cf. the similar closing lines of Sa-paṇ's LSh, p. 61.2.3-6; J. E. Bosson (1969), pp. 9f; and Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs, p. 141.3.4.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA Abhisamayālaṃkāra

AK Abhidharmakośa

AKBh Abhidharmakośabhāśya

AMZh A-mes-zhabs

AS Abhidharmasamuccaya

B Bhutanese manuscript of the KhJ

BCA Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra

BV Bodhicittavivaraṇa

C The KhJ passages quoted in the commentary by Glo-bo mkhan-chen (KhJNSh)

D Derge edition

DL Dalai Lama

DS Sa-paṇ, Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba

GK Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal

JSS Jñānasārasamuccaya

JSSN Jñānasārasamuccayanibandhana

KhJ Sa-paṇ, Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo

KhJNSh Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rigs gnas gsal byed

KLh Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub

LSh Sa-paṇ, Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter

MA Madhyamakālaṃkāra

MAl Madhyamakāloka

MHTL Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature. See A-khu-chin Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho

MMK Mūlamadhyamaka kārikās

MSA Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra

N Narthang edition

NB Nyāyabindu

NBh Nyāyabhāṣya

NgCh Ngor-chen

NMukh Nyāyamukha

NS Nyāya sūtras

P Peking edition

PP Prasannapadā

PS Pramāṇasamuccaya

PV Pramāṇavārttika

PVin Pramāṇaviniścaya

RA	Ratnāvalī
RGV	Ratnagotravibhāga
RP	Rin-spungs-pa
RT	Sa-paṇ, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*
RTRG	Sa-paṇ, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rang 'grel*
S	Sanskrit
Shak	Shākya-mchog-ldan
SKKB	Sa skya bka' 'bum
TB	Tōyō Bunko edition
TBh	Tarkabhāṣā
ThGS	Sa-paṇ, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*
TJ	Tarkajvālā
TS	Tattvasaṃgraha
TSP	Tattvasaṃgraha pañjikā
VN	Vādanyāya
VNV	Vādanyāyavṛtti
YS	Yuktiṣaṣṭikā

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Works of Modern Scholarship

Aramaki, Noritoshi (1983). "History and Buddhism in Creative Ages," Zen Buddhism Today. Vol. 1, pp. 56-70.

Bagchi, Y. (1953). "The Art of Philosophical Disputation," The Cultural Heritage of India. Calcutta. Vol. 3, pp. 562-580.

Barlingay, S. S. (1965). A Modern Introduction to Indian Logic. Delhi, National Publishing House.

Bernhard, Franz (1968-69). "Zur Interpretation der Pratītyasamutpāda-formel," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens. Vols. 12-13, pp. 53-63.

Bethlenfalvy, G. (1965). "Three Pañcatantra Tales in an Unedited Commentary to the Tibetan Subhāṣitaratnaniddhi," Acta Orientalia Hungarica. Vol. 18, pp. 317-338.

Bhattacharya, Gopikamohan (1961). Studies in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Theism. Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series. No. 14, Studies no. 5.

Bhattacharya, K. (1974). "A Note on the Interpretation of the Term Sādhyasama in Madhyamaka Texts," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 2, pp. 225-230.

-------- (1978). The Dialectical Method of Nāgārjuna. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Bira, Sh., [and] Sukhbaatar, O. (1979). "On the Tibetan and Mongolian Translations of Sanskrit Grammatical Works," Indologica Taurinensia. Vol. 7, pp. 127-137.

Bosson, James E. (1961). "A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment from the Mongolian 'Phags-pa Version of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi," Central Asiatic Journal. Vol. 6, pp. 85-102.

-------- (1969). A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels The Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa Skya Paṇḍita in Tibetan and Mongolian. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 92.

Broido, M. (1983). "Bshad thabs: Some Tibetan Methods of Explaining the Tantras," in E. Steinkellner and H. Tauscher, eds., Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Philosophy. Wien: Arbeitkreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien. Vol. 2, pp. 15-45.

Campbell, W. L. (1925). "Die Sprüche von Sakya," Ostasiatische Zeitschrift (Berlin). Neue Folge 2, pp. 31-65, 159-185.

Canzio, R. (1978). "The Place of Music and Chant in Tibetan Religious Culture," Tibetan Studies. Zurich. See also Tibetan Review. Vol. 13-6 (June 1978), pp. 14-17.

-------- (1978a). "Sakya Pandita's 'Treatise on Music' and its relevance to present-day Tibetan liturgy." PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

-------- (1980). "On the Way of Playing Drums and Cymbals Among the Sakyas," Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson. New Delhi, Vikas. pp. 67-72.

Chandra, Lokesh. See Lokesh Chandra.

Chatterjee, A. K. (1975). The Yogācāra Idealism. Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Chatterjee, S. C. and Datta, D. M. (1939). An Introduction to Indian Philosophy. Calcutta, University of Calcutta.

Chemparathy, G. (1968-69). "Two Early Buddhist Refutations of the Existence of Īśvara as the Creator of the Universe," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens. Vols. 12-13, pp. 85-100.

Conze, E. (1973). The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary. Bolinas.

-------- (1973a). Materials for a Dictionary of the Prajñāpāramitā Literature. Tokyo, Suzuki Research Foundation.

Csoma de Körös, Alexander (1855-56). "A Brief Notice of the Subhāṣita Ratna Nidhi of Saskya Paṇḍita, with Extracts and Translations," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. 24, pp. 141-165, and vol. 25, pp. 257-294. Reprinted in JASB (1911), pp. 93-172.

Das, S. C. (1881-82). "The Lives of the Pan-chen Rinpoches or Tasi Lamas," Contributions on Tibet. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. 50, pp. 187-251, and vol. 51, pp. 1-85, 87-128. Reprinted New Delhi, Mañjuśrī Publishing House, 1970.

-------- ed. (1888-1912). Kalpalatā. Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta.

-------- (1902). Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet. Edited by W. W. Rockhill. Reprinted Bibliotheca Himalayica, series 1, vol. 1. New Delhi, 1970.

Dasgupta, S. N. (1951). History of Indian Philosophies. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 5 vols.

Davidson, R. M. (1981). "The Ṅor-pa Tradition," Wind Horse. Vol. 1, pp. 79-98.

Dey, N. L. (1927). The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India. Reprinted: New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971.

Edgerton, F. (1977). Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. 2 vols. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Eimer, H. (1983). "Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research," Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung. Sankt Augustin, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag. Heft 1, pp. 3-21.

Elias, N. ed. and E. Denison Ross, trans. (1970). A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia. Reprinted: New York, Praeger Publishers.

Ellingson, Ter (1979). " 'Don rta dbyangs gsum: Tibetan Chant and Melodic Categories," Asian Music. Vol. 10-2, pp. 112-156.

-------- (1979a). "'On Music' --Sa skya Paṇḍita," Asian Music. Vol. 10-2, pp. 3-4.

-------- (1979b). "'Why Study Music?' --Sa skya Paṇḍita," Asian Music. Vol. 10-2, pp. 157-158.

Ferrari, A. [et. al] (1958). Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet. Serie Orientale Roma. Vol. 16. [Completed and edited by L. Petech, with the collaboration of H. Richardson]

Forster, E. M. (1976). Aspects of the Novel. Harmondsworth, Middlesex; Penguin Books.

Foucaux, Ph. E. (1858). Le Trésor des belles paroles; choix de sentences composées en tibêtain par le lama Saskya Paṇḍita. Paris, Benjamin Duprat.

Frauwallner, E. (1957). "Vasubandhu's Vādavidhi," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasians. Vol. 1, pp. 104-134.

-------- (1961). "Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasians. Vol. 5, pp. 125-148.

-------- (1973). History of Indian Philosophy. 2 vols. Delhi.

Fukuda Y. and Ishihama Y. (1986). A Study of the Grub mtha' of Tibetan Buddhism Vol. 4.--On the chapter on the history of Mongolian Buddhism of Thu bkwan's Grub mtha'. [In Japanese.] Studia Tibetica No. 11. Tokyo: The Tōyō Bunko.

Goldberg, M. (1985). "Entity and Antimony in Tibetan bsdus grwa Logic," part I and II, Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 13, pp. 153-199, 273-304.

Goodman, Steven D. (1981). "Mi-pham rgya-mtsho : An Account of His Life, the Printing of His Works, and the Structure of His Treatise Entitled mKhas pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo," Wind Horse. Vol. 1, pp. 58-78.

Hahn, M. (1974). Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache. Bonn, M. Hahn.

_______ (1982). Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī. Vol. 1. The basic texts (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese). Indica et Tibetica. Band 1. Bonn.

_______ (1984). "Zu den Quellen einiger Strophen aus Sa skya Paṇḍitas Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi," Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica. Vol. 29/1, pp. 251-266.

Hattori, M. (1968). Dignāga, On Perception, being the Pratyakṣapariccheda of Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya from the Sanskrit fragments and the Tibetan versions. Harvard Oriental Series. Vol. 47.

Hirano, T. (1966). An Index to the Bodhicaryāvatāra Pañjikā, Chapter IX. Tokyo, Suzuki Research Foundation.

Hoffmann, H. (1975). Tibet: A Handbook. Indiana University Oriental Series. Vol. 5.

Horner, I. B. transl. (1975). The Collection of the Middle Length Sayings, Vol. II The Middle Fifty Discourses. Pali Text Society Translation Series. No. 30.

Horváth, Z. (1984). "Structure and Content of the Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter, an Epistemological Treatise of Saskya Paṇḍita," Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica. Vol. 29/1, pp. 267-302.

Houston, G. W. (1980). Sources for a History of the bSam yas Debate. Monumenta Tibetica Historia. Abteilung I, Band 2.

Huparikar, G. S. (1948). The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching. Kolhapur, The Bharat Book Stall.

Huth, G. (1892-96). Geschichte des buddhismus in der Mongolei. Strassburg, K. J. Trübner.

Ichigo M. ed. and trans. (1985). Madhyamakālaṃkāra of Śāntarakṣita: With his own commentary or Vṛtti and with the Subcommentary or Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla. 2 vols. Kyoto, Buneido.

Ikeda R. (1980). "Tibetto ni okeru <Goi> setsu--Sa paṇ cho gŽuṅ lugs legs par bśad pa o tōshite--" ["'Five Categories' Theory in Tibet According to the Gžung lugs legs par bshad pa of Sa skya paṇḍita"], Komazawa Joshi Tanki Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō. Vol. 14, pp. 1-7.

Imaeda Y. (1975). "Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 263, pp. 125-146.

Inaba S. (1954). Tibettogo koten bunpōgaku. Kyoto, Hōzōkan.

-------- (1961). "Saskya paṇḍeita no gyōseki ni okeru bumpōgaku kenkyū no ichimen," Ōtani Shigaku. Vol. 8, pp. 1-14.

Iyengar, H. R. R. (1953). "The Vādavidhi and the Vādavidhāna of Vasubandhu," Adyar Library Bulletin. No. 17, pp. 9-20.

Jackson, David P. (1983). "Notes on Two Early Printed Editions of Sa-skya-pa Works," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 8-2, pp. 3-24.

-------- (1983a). "Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita: A Bibliographical Sketch," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 8-3, pp. 3-23.

-------- (1984). The Mollas of Mustang : Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese- Tibetan Borderland. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

-------- (1984a). Tibetan Thangka Painting Methods and Materials. Written in collaboration with Janice A. Jackson. London, Serindia Publications.

-------- (1985). "Two Grub mtha' Treatises of Sa-skya Paṇḍita--One Lost and One Forged," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 10-1, pp. 3-13.

-------- (1985a). "Madhyamaka Studies Among the Early Sa-skya-pas," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 10-2, pp. 20-34.

Jackson, Roger (1982). "Sa skya paṇḍita's Account of the bSam yas Debate : History as Polemic," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies. Vol. 5-1, pp. 89-99.

Jha, Ganganatha tr. (1916). "Praśastapāda's Pādārthadharmasaṃgraha translated with Śrīdhara's Nyāyakandalī, Pundit. Vols. 25 (1903)-37 (1915). Reprinted Banaras, 1916.

-------- (1939). Nyāyasūtras, with Vātsyāyana's Bhāṣya, Poona Orientalist. Vols. 1 (1936)- 10 (1945). Translation reprinted as Poona Oriental Series, Vol. 59 (1939).

-------- (1983). Nyāyasūtras, with Vātsāyana's Bhāṣya. The reprint of Jha's NS translation as it originally appeared in the Indian Thought Series, vols. 7 (1915), 9 (1917), 12 and 13 (1919), republished in the Rinsen Sanskrit Series, II, nos. 1-4. See also Jha (1939).

Jhalakikar, Bhimacarya (1978). Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of Technical Terms of Indian Philosophy. Revised and re-edited by Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar. 2nd edition, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, no. 49 (1893). 3rd edition, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1928. Reprint: Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

de Jong, J. W. (1984). "Recent Buddhist Studies in Europe and America, 1973-1983," The Eastern Buddhist. New Series, vol. 17-1, pp. 79-107.

Kajiyama Y. (1963). "Trikapañcakacintā, Development of the Buddhist Theory on the Determination of Causality," Miscellanea Indologica Kiotiensia [Kyoto University]. No. 4-5, pp. 1-15.

-------- (1966). An Introduction to Buddhist Philosophy--An Annotated Translation of the Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta. Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University. No. 10.

-------- (1973). "Three Kinds of Affirmation and Two Kinds of Negation in Buddhist Philosophy," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens. Vol. 17, pp. 159-175.

-------- (1976). "Later Mādhyamikas on Epistemology and Meditation," Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation: Theory and Practice. Honolulu, University Press of Hawaii.

Karmay, Samten G. (1975). "A Discussion of the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 263, pp. 147-156.

Kawamura, Leslie S. (1975). Golden Zephyr : Instructions from a Spiritual Friend. [Translation of Nāgārjuna's Suhṛllekha, with a bsdus don ascribed to Sa-skya Paṇḍita] Emeryville.

-------- (1981). "An Analysis of Mi-pham's mKhas-'jug," Wind Horse. Vol. 1, pp. 112-126.

-------- (1982). "An Analysis of Yāna-kauśalya in Mi-pham's mKhas 'jug," Bulletin of the Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies, Ryukoku University. No. 20, pp. (1)-(19).

-------- (1983). "The Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra and Mi pham's Mkhas 'jug," Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy. Wien.

Kitagawa H. (1965). Indo Koten Ronrigaku no Kenkyū [Research on Indian Classical Logic]. Tokyo.

Kolmaš, J. (1968). A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge. Prague, Oriental Institute in Academia.

-------- (1971). Prague Collection of Tibetan Prints from Derge. Asiatische Forschungen. Band 36, part 1. Weisbaden.

-------- (1978). "The Aphorisms (legs-bshad) of Sa-skya paṇḍita," Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica. Vol. 23, pp. 189-203.

Kosambi, D. D. and Gokhale, V. V. eds. (1957). Subhāṣitaratnakośa. Harvard Oriental Series. No. 42.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J. (1978). "Phya-pa Chos-kyi seng-ge's Impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 5, pp. 355-369. [An article with the same title appeared in Tibetan Studies (Zurich, 1978), pp. 163-177.]

-------- (1979). "Tibetan Contributions to the 'Apoha' Theory : the Fourth Chapter of the Tshad-ma rigs-pa'i gter," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 99, pp. 408-422.

-------- (1979a). "Introductory Notes to the Pramāṇavārttika Based on Tibetan Sources," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 4-2, pp. 6-28.

-------- (1983). Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien. No. 26. Weisbaden : Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH.

-------- (1984). "Marginalia to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Oeuvre," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies. Vol. 7-1, pp. 37-55.

-------- (1985). "Miscellanea Apropos of the Philosophy of Mind in Tibet: Mind in Tibetan Buddhism," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 10-1, pp. 32-43.

-------- (1985a). "On the Authorship of the Gzhung-lugs legs-par bshad-pa attributed to Sa-skya Paṇḍita," Journal of the Nepal Research Centre. Vol. 7 pp. 75-86.

-------- (1985b). "Some Recently Recovered Sa-skya-pa Texts, A Preliminary Report," Journal of the Nepal Research Centre. Vol. 7, pp. 87ff.

-------- (1985c). "Apropos of a Recent Contribution to the History of Central Way Philosophy in Tibet: Tsong Khapa's Speech of Gold," BIS. Vol. 1, pp. 47ff.

Kunst, A. (1957). "The Concept of the Principle of Excluded Middle in Buddhism," Rocznik Orientalistyczny. Vol. 21, pp. 141-147.

Lalou, M. (1953). "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 241, pp. 313-353.

Lamotte, E. (1935). Samdhinirmocana Sūtra. Louvain-Paris.

-------- (1949-80). Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra). Five volumes (1 and 2 [1949], 3 [1970], 4 [1976], and 5 [1980]). Louvain.

-------- (1962). L'enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa). Louvain. [English translation by Sara Boin: The Teaching of Vimalakīrti, London, 1976.]

Lati Rinbochay and E. Napper (1980). Mind in Tibetan Buddhism. London, Rider and Co.

La Vallée Poussin, L. de (1903-1913). Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Madhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna, avec la Prasannapadā commentaire de Candrakīrti. Bibliotheca Buddhica. No. 4. St. Petersburg.

-------- (1971). L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu. 6 vols. Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques. No. 16. Bruxelles. Reprint edition.

Levi, S. (1907-11). Asaṅga, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra, exposé de la doctrine du Grand Vehicule selon le systeme Yogācāra. Tome I (1907): texte. Tome II (1911): traduction, introduction, index. Paris.

Lindtner, Chr. (1981). "Atiśa's Introduction to the Two Truths," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 9, pp. 161-214.

-------- (1982). Nāgārjuniana Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna. Indiske Studier 4. Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag.

-------- (1982a). "Adversaria Buddhica," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens. Vol. 26, pp. 167-194.

-------- (1982b). Nāgārjunas Filosofiske Vaerker, Indiske Studier. København. Vol. 2.

Lobsang Tharchin, Geshe (1979). The Logic and Debate Tradition of India, Tibet and Mongolia --History, Reader, Resources--. Howell, N. J., Rashi Gempil Ling.

Lokesh Chandra (1961). "Les imprimeries tibétains de Drepung, Derge et Pepung," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 249, pp. 503-517

-------- (1976). Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary. Kyoto, Rinsen Book Co. Reprinted from the first edition, New Delhi, 1961.

Macdonald, Ariane (1963). "Préambule à la lecture d'un rGya-Bod yig-chaṅ," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 251, pp. 53-159.

Makdisi, G. (1981). The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Malalasekera, G. P. (1960). Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names. London, Luzac and Co.

Mani, Vettam (1975). Puranic Encyclopaedia. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Martin, Dan (1980). "Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Advice for Tibetan Contemplatives," Tibet Society Bulletin. No. 15, pp. 33-44.

Matilal, B. K. (1970). "Reference and Existence in Nyāya and Buddhist Logic," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 1, pp. 83-110.

-------- (1971). Epistemology, Logic, and Grammar in Indian Philosophical Analysis. The Hague, Paris, Mouton.

-------- (1974). "A Note on the Nyāya Fallacy Sādhyasama and Petitio Principii," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 2, p. 211-224.

Matsumoto S. (1978). "Sa skya Paṇḍita no Kyōgaku ni kansuru Ichikōsatsu,"[A Remark upon the Doctrine of Sa skya paṇḍita"], Nihon Tibetto Gakkai Kaihō, or Report of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies. Vol. 24, pp. 7-9.

-------- (1980). "Sahôpalambha-niyama," Sōtōshū Kenkyūin Kenkyūsei Kenkyū Kiyō. Vol. 12, pp. 1-34. [In English].

McDermott, A. C. S. (1970). "Empty Subject Terms in Late Buddhist Logic," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 1, pp. 22-29.

Miller, R. A. (1964). "A Twelfth Century Tibetan Grammatical Fragment," T'oung Pao. Vol. 51, pp. 72-84.

-------- (1965). "Some Minor Tibetan Grammatical Fragments," ZDMG. Vol. 115, pp. 327-340.

-------- (1976). Studies in the Grammatical Tradition in Tibet. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series III, vol. 6.

Mimaki K. (1976). La réfutation Bouddhique de la permanence des choses (sthirasiddhidūṣaṇa) et la preuve de la momentanéité des choses (kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi). Publications de l'institut de civilisation Indienne. Série in-8, fasc. 41. Paris.

-------- (1979). "Le chapitre du Blo gsal grub mtha' sur les Sautrāntika, Présentation et édition," Zinbun. Vol. 15, pp. 175-210.

-------- (1980). "Sur le role de l'antaraśloka ou du saṃgrahaśloka," Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte. Louvain-la-Neuve. pp. 233-244.

-------- (1980a). "Le chapitre du Blo gsal grub mtha' sur les Sautrāntika, Un essai de traduction," Zinbun. Vol. 16, pp. 143-172.

-------- (1982). Blo gsal grub mtha'. Chapitres IX (Vaibhāṣika) et XI (Yogācāra) édité, et Chapitre XII (Mādhyamika) édité et traduit. Kyoto, Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, Université de Kyoto.

-------- (1982a). "Le commentaire de Mi pham sur le Jñānasārasamuccaya," Indian Studies in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday. Canberra. pp. 353-376.

-------- (1983). "The Blo gsal grub mtha', and the Mādhyamika Classification in Tibetan Grub mtha' Literature," Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September, 1981. Vol. 2, pp. 161-167. [English summary of the introduction in Mimaki (1982).]

Mimaki K. and Akamatsu A. (1984). "La philosophie des Śaiva vue par une auteur Tibétain du 14e siecle," Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques, volume d'hommage offert au Prof. R. A. Stein. Bruxelles. pp. 742-768. [Edited Tibetan text and French translation of the 5th (Dbang-phyug-pa) chapter of the Blo gsal grub mtha]

Mishra, Umesha (1957-66). History of Indian Philosophy. Allahabad. 2 vols.

Miyasaka Y. (1971-72). Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā (Sanskrit and Tibetan). Acta Indologica. Vol. 2, pp. 1-206.

Mookerjee, Satkari (1935). The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux, an Exposition of the Philosophy of Critical Realism as Expounded by the School of Dignaga. Calcutta, University of Calcutta. Reprinted: Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1980.

Mookerji, Radha Kumud (1969). Ancient Indian Education. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Moriyama S. (1984). "The Yogācāra-mādhyamika Refutation of the Position of the Satyākāra and Alikākāra-vādins of the Yogācāra School. Part 1: A Translation of the Portions of Haribhadra's Abhisamayālaṃkāraloka Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā," Memoirs of the Postgraduate Research Institute of Bukkyo University (Bukkyō Daigaku Daigakuin Kenkyū Kiyō). No. 12, pp. 1-38.

Much, M. T. (1983). "Dharmakīrtis Vādanyāyaḥ (siddhāntaḥ) Sanskrit-Text, Übersetzing und Anmerkung," Dissertation, Universität Wien.

Nagao G. M. (1955). "The Silence of the Buddha and Its Madhyamic Interpretation," Studies in Indology and Buddhology. Kyoto, Hozokan.

Nakamura H. (1980). Indian Buddhism A Survey with Bibliographical Notes. Osaka, Kansai University of Foreign Studies.

Naudou, Jean (1980). Buddhists of Kashmir. Delhi, Agam Kala Prakashan.

Nawang Tsering (1979). "Ascending the Ladder of Highest Realization in the Life : Instruction for Retreat," The Tibet Journal. Vol. 4-1.

Nishioka S. (1980-81-83). "Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's 'History of Buddhism,'" Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, University of Tokyo. (I) = No. 4 (1980), pp. 61-92; (II) = No. 5 (1981), pp. 43-94; (III) = No. 6 (1983), pp. 47-201.

Oberhammer, G. (1963). "Ein Beitrag zu den Vāda-traditionen Indiens," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens. Vol. 7, pp. 63-103.

-------- (1964). "Pakṣilasvāmin's Introduction to his Nyāyabhāṣya," Asian Studies [Philippines]. Vol. 2-3, pp. 302-322.

Obermiller, E. transl. (1931). History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston I. Part: The Jewel of Scripture. Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 18 Heft. Heidelberg.

-------- (1932). "The Doctrine of Prajñāpāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya," Acta Orientalia. Vol. 11, pp. 1-133, 334-354.

-------- (1934). "Nirvāṇa according to the Tibetan Tradition," The Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 211-257.

-------- (1960). Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā, Sanskrit and Tibetan text, edited by E. Obermiller with a Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Index by E. Conze. Indo-Iranian Reprints V. The Hague. Originally published as Bibliotheca Buddhica, no. 29 (1937), Leningrad.

Onoda S. (1981). The Yoṅs 'dzin rtags rigs -- A Manual for Tibetan Logic --, Studia Asiatica. No. 5. The Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies, Nagoya University.

Organ, Troy R. (1954-55). "The Silence of the Buddha," Philosophy East and West. Vol. 4, pp. 125-140.

Perdue, Daniel (1976). Introductory Debate in Tibetan Buddhism. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Piltz, A. (1981). The World of Medieval Learning. D. Jones, transl. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

Potter, K. H. (1963). Presuppositions of India's Philosophies. Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice Hall.

-------- (1970). Bibliography of Indian Philosophies. The Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies. Vol. 1. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

-------- (1970a). "Realism, Speech-acts, and Truth-gaps in Indian and Western Philosophy," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 1, pp. 13-21.

-------- (1977). Indian Metaphysics and Epistemology : The tradition of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika up to Gaṅgeśa. Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

-------- (1981). Advaita Vedānta up to Śaṃkara and His Pupils. Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Pradhan, Pralhad (1950). Abhidharmasamuccaya of Asaṅga. Viśva-Bharati Studies. No. 12. Shantiniketan.

-------- (1975). Abhidharmakosabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series. No. 2. Patna, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Prasadika, Bhiksu, and Joshi, Lal Mani (1981). Vimalakīrtinirdeśa. Tibetan Version, Sanskrit Restoration, and Hindi Translation. Sarnath.

Rahula, Walpola (1971). Le Compendium de la super-doctrine (philosophie) (Abhidharmasamuccaya) d'Asaṅga. Publications de l'école française d'extrême-orient. Vol. 78.

Randle, H. N. (1930). Indian Logic in the Early Schools, a study of the Nyāyadarśana in its relation to the early logic of other schools. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Rato Kyongla Nawang Losang (1977). My Life and Lives. New York, E. P. Hutton.

Renou, L. (1964). Indian Literature. New York, Walker.

Rhodes, N. (1980). "The Development of Currency in Tibet," Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson. New Delhi, Vikas. pp. 261-268.

Richardson, H. E. (1983). "Text and Translations of Selected Inscriptions on Tibetan Works in the Museum's Collection," Appendix (pp. 258-263) in P. Pal, Art of Tibet, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Roerich, G. transl. (1976). The Blue Annals. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Runes, Dagobert D. ed. (1981). Dictionary of Philosophy. Totowa, N. J.; Littlefield, Adams & Co.

Salomon, R. (1985). The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Sanghvi, Sukhlalji (1961). Advanced Studies in Indian Logic and Metaphysics. Calcutta, Indian Studies Past and Present.

Schoening, J. (1983). "The Sa-skya Throne Holder Lineage," M. A. Thesis, University of Washington.

Schuh, D. (1977). Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. St. Augustin, VGR-Wissenschaftsverlag.

Seyfort Ruegg, D. (1962). "A Propos of a Recent Contribution to Tibetan and Buddhist Studies," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 82, pp. 320-331.

-------- (1966). The Life of Bu.ston Rin.po.che. With the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rnam thar. Serie Orientale Roma. Vol. 34.

-------- (1969). La théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra, études sur la sotériologie et la gnoséologie du Boudhisme. Publications de l'école Française d'extrême-orient. Vol. 70.

-------- (1970). "On Ratnakīrti," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 1, pp. 300-309.

-------- (1971). "On the Knowability and Expressibility of Absolute Reality in Buddhism," Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies. Vol. 20, pp. 489-495.

-------- (1973). Le Traité du Tathāgatagarbha de Bu ston Rin chen grub. Publications de l'école Française d'extrême-orient. Vol. 88.

-------- (1977). "The Uses of the Four Positions of the Catuṣkoṭi and the Problem of the Description of Reality in Mahāyāna Buddhism," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 5, pp. 1-71.

-------- (1980). "Ahiṃsa and Vegetarianism in the History of Buddhism," Buddhist Studies in Honour of Walpola Rahula. London, Gordon Fraser. pp. 234-241.

-------- (1981). The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India. A History of Indian Literature. Vol. 7, fasc. 1. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.

-------- (1981a). "Autour du lTa ba'i khyad par de Ye śes sde (version de Touen-houang, Pelliot Tibétain 814)," Journal Asiatique. Vol. 269, pp. 207-229.

-------- (1982). "Towards a Chronology of the Madhyamaka School," Indian Studies in Honour of Professor J. W. de Jong on his Sixtieth Birthday. Canberra.

-------- (1983). "On the Thesis and Assertion in the Madhyamaka/Dbu ma," Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September, 1981. Vol. 2, pp. 205-242.

Shakabpa, T. W. D. (1967). Tibet : A Political History. T. V. Wylie, ed. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Shastri, D. (1972). Vādanyāyaprakaraṇa of Āchārya Dharmakīrti, with the commentary Vipañchitārthā of Āchārya Śāntarakṣita. Bauddha Bharati Series. No. 8.

Shastri, H. ed. (1910). Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts in Sanskrit. Bibliotheca Indica. New Series, no. 185.

Shaw, J. L. (1974). "Empty Terms : The Nyāya and the Buddhists," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 2, pp. 332-343.

Sierksma, F. (1964). "Rtsod-pa : The Monachal Disputations in Tibet," Indo-Iranian Journal. Vol. 8, pp. 130-152.

Singh, Madan Mohan (1971). Sulekha of Sakya Paṇḍita. Patna, Bihar Research Society.

Sinha, Jadunatha (1938). Indian Realism. London, Kegan Paul.

Smalley, Beryl (1978). The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press.

Smith, E. Gene (1969). Introduction to: Don-dam-smra-ba'i-seng-ge, Bshad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu ("A 15th-Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge").

Śata-piṭaka Series. Vol. 78. New Delhi.

-------- (1969a). Tibetan Catalogue. Seattle, University of Washington. 2 parts.

-------- (1969b). [Addenda to the Tibetan Catalogue.] Seattle, University of Washington.

-------- (1970). Introduction to: Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture. Śatapiṭaka Series. Vol. 80. New Delhi.

-------- (1970a). Preface to: Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus la 'jug pa'i sgo. Gangtok, S. T. Kazi.

-------- (1970b). Introduction to: Encyclopedia Tibetica [Bo-dong Paṇ-chen's De nyid 'dus pa], vol. 6. New Delhi, Tibet House.

Snellgrove, D. L. (1959). The Hevajra Tantra, a Critical Study. London, Oxford University Press. 2 parts.

Solomon, Esther A. (1976-78). Indian Dialectics Methods of Philosophical Discussion. Sheth Bholabhai Jeshingbhai Institute of Learning and Research. Research Series, nos. 70 and 74. Ahmedabad, Gujarat Vidya Sabha.

Sopa, Lhundrub and Hopkins, J. (1976). Practice and Theory of Tibetan Buddhism. New York, Grove Press. [Includes a translation of Dkon-mchog-'jigs-med-dbang-po (1728-1791), Grub pa'i mtha'i rnam gzhag rin po che'i phreng ba.]

Staal, J. F. (1961). "The Theory of Definition in Indian Logic," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 81, pp. 122-126.

-------- (1962). "Negation and the Law of Contradiction in Indian Thought : A Comparative Study," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Vol. 25, pp. 52-71.

-------- (1973). "The Concept of pakṣa in Indian Logic", Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 2, pp. 156-166.

-------- (1975). Exploring Mysticism. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books

Stcherbatsky, Th. (1919). The Soul Theory of the Buddhists. Bulletin de l'Academie des Sciences de Russie. pp. 823-957. Reprinted Varanasi, Bharatiya Vidya Prakasana, 1970.

-------- (1927). The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa. Leningrad, Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

-------- (1930-32). Buddhist Logic. Bibliotheca Buddhica. Vol. 26, parts I (1932) and II (1930). Leningrad, Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Reprinted New York, Dover, 1962.

Stein, R. A. (1961). Sba-bzhed: Une Chronique Ancienne de Bsam-yas. Paris.

Steinkellner, E. (1971). "Wirklichkeit und Begriff bei Dharmakīrti," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens. Band 15, pp. 179-210.

-------- (1973). Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ. Zweites Kapitel: Svārthānumānam. Teil I Tibetischer Text und Sanskrittexte. Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

-------- (1974). "On the Interpretation of the Svabhāvahetuḥ," Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens. Band 18, pp. 117-129.

-------- (1977). Verse-Index of Dharmakīrti's Works (Tibetan Versions). Wiener Studien zür Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Heft 1.

-------- (1978). "Remarks on Tantristic Hermeneutics," in E. Ligeti, ed., Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium. Budapest. pp. 445-458.

Sternbach, L. (1969). The Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India." Calcutta.

-------- (1973). "Subhāṣita-saṃgrahas, a Forgotten Chapter in the Histories of Sanskrit Literature," Indologica Taurinensia. Vol. 1, pp. 169-255.

-------- (1974). Subhāṣita, Gnomic and Didactic Literature. A History of Indian Literature. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz.

-------- (1980). "Note on the 'Identification' of Some Sayings in Sa skya Paṇḍita's Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi," Acta Orientalia Hungarica. Vol. 34, pp. 249-262.

-------- (1981). "Indian Wisdom and Its Spread Beyond India," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 101, pp. 97-131.

Szerb, J. (1980). "Glosses on the Oeuvre of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa: I. On the Activities of Sa-skya Paṇḍita," Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson. Warminster, Aris and Phillips. pp. 290-300.

-------- (1980a). "Glosses on the Oeuvre of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa: II. Some Notes on the Events of the Years 1251-1254," Acta Orientalia Hungarica. Vol. 34, pp. 263-285.

Tatia, Nathmal (1976). Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣyam. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series. No. 17. Patna, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

Tatz, M. and Kent, J. (1977). The Tibetan Game of Liberation: Rebirth. New York, Doubleday.

Tatz, M. transl. (1982). Candragomin's Twenty Verses on the Bodhisattva Vow and Its Commentary by Sakya Dragpa Gyaltsen. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.

Thakur, A. (1957). Ratnakīrtibandhāvalī. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series. Vol. 3.

Thurman, R. A. F. (1976). The Holy Teaching of Vimalakīrti. A Mahāyāna Scripture. Pennsylvania State University Press.

-------- (1979). Maitreyanātha's Ornament for the Scriptures of the Universal Vehicle, recorded by Āryāsaṅga, explained by Vasubandhu. English translation by Losang Jamspal, M. Sweet, R. A. F. Thurman, J. Williams, & L. Zwilling, with assistance of R. Clark and L. Zahler. Edited by R. A. F. Thurman. American Institute of Buddhist Studies, Amherst? [Xerographic reproduction]

Thutop Tulku and Ngawang Sonam Tenzin (1968). The Mañjuśrī Tradition and the Ženpa Židel. Dehra Dun, Sakya Centre.

Tillemans, Tom J. F. (1982). "The 'Neither One Nor Many' Argument for Śūnyatā, and Its Tibetan Interpretations: Background Information and Source Materials," Études de Lettres. Laussanne. pp. 103-128.

-------- (1983). "The 'Neither One Nor Many' Argument for Śūnyatā, and Its Tibetan Interpretations," Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy. Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Symposium Held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 Septeber 1981. pp. 305-320.

-------- (1984). "On a Recent Work on Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology," Asiatische Studien. Vol. 38, pp. 59-66. [Review of L. van der Kuijp (1983).]

-------- (1984a). "Two Tibetan texts on the 'Neither One Nor Many' Argument for Śūnyatā," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 12, pp. 357-388.

Tucci, G. (1929). "Buddhist Logic Before Dinnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarkaśāstras)," Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. 1929, pp. 451-488.

-------- (1932-41). Indo-Tibetica. Rome, Reale Accademia d'Italia. 4 vols.

-------- (1949). Tibetan Painted Scrolls. Roma. 3 vols. Reprinted Kyoto, Rinsen Book Co., 1980, 2 vols.

-------- (1956). Minor Buddhist Texts I. Serie Orientale Roma. Vol. 9.

-------- (1971). Deb t'er dmar po gsar ma, Tibetan Chronicles. Serie Orientale Roma. Vol. 24.

Vaidya, P. L. (1959). Avadāna-Kalpalatā of Kṣemendra. Buddhist Sanskrit Texts. No. 22. 2 vols.

Vetter, T. (1963). Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti. Österreischische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

-------- (1966). Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ 1. Kapitel: Pratyakṣam. Einleitung, Text der tibetischen Übersetzung, Sanskritfragmente, deutche Übersetzung. Wien, Hermann Bohlaus Nachf., Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Vidyabhusana, S. C. (1920). A History of Indian Logic. Calcutta. Reprinted Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.

Vostrikov, A. (1935). "The Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti," Indian Historical Quarterly. Vol. 11, pp. 1-31.

-------- (1935-37). "Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan Manen's Contributions to the Bibliography of Tibet," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Vol. 8, pp. 51-76.

-------- (1970). Tibetan Historical Literature. Indian Studies Past and Present. Calcutta.

Warder, A. K. (1971). Outline of Indian Philosophy. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.

Warren, H. C. (1973). Buddhism in Translations. New York, Atheneum. Previously published as Harvard Oriental Series, no. 3.

Watanabe F. (1972). "Logical Arguments in the Dialogues suttas)," Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies. Vol. 20-2, pp. 988-976 (43)-(55).

Wayman, A. (1958). "The Rules of Debate According to Asaṅga," Journal of the Americal Oriental Society. Vol. 78, pp. 29-40.

-------- (1978). Calming the Mind and Discerning the Real, Buddhist Meditation and the Middle View, from the Lam rim chen mo of Tsoṅ kha pa. New York. Reprinted Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1978.

Williams, P. (1985). "Rma bya ba Byang chub brtson 'grus on Madhyamaka Method," Journal of Indian Philosophy. Vol. 13, pp. 205-225.

Willis, Janice Dean (1972). The Diamond Light of the Eastern Dawn. New York, Simon and Schuster.

Yamaguchi S. (1929). "Dignāga, Examen de l'objet de la connaissance (Ālambanaparīkṣā), textes tibétain et chinois et traduction des stances et du commentaire, éclaircissements et notes d'après le commentaire tibétain de Vinītadeva, en collaboration avec H. Meyer," Journal Asiatiques. Vol. 214, pp. 1-65.

Yuyama A. (1976). *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (Sanskrit Recension A). Cambridge University Press.

Zwilling, Leonard (1981). "Sa skya Paṇḍita's Version of Pramāṇavārttikam II.3 -- A Case Study on the Influence of Exegesis upon Translation in Tibet," *Studies in Indian Philosophy, Memorial Volume in Honour of Pandit Sukhlalji*. L. D. Series. Vol. 84. Ahmedabad.

B. Works in Tibetan Language

A-khu-chin Shes-rab-rgya-mtsho. *Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' zhig gi tho yig*, Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature. Part 3. Śata-Piṭaka Series. Vol. 30, pp. 503-601.

A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-bstan-dar (b. 1759). *'Chad rtsod rtsom gsum gyi rnam gzhag legs bshad nyin byed snang ba*, Collected Works, Vol. 2 (*kha*), pp. 115-154 (*zha* 1a-20b).

A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, 'Jam-mgon. *Chos 'khor gyi rnam bshad blo gsal padmo kha 'byed*. Dalhousie, H. P., Damchoewe Sangpo, 1982.

--------. *Dpal ldan sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi snying khu 'khor lo sdom pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bde mchog chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed*. In A-mes-zhabs, *Lam 'bras*, pp. 315-595.

--------. *Dpal rdo rje nag po chen po'i zab mo'i chos skor rnams byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bstan srung chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed*. 2 vols. New Delhi, T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, 1979.

--------. *'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. Delhi, Tashi Dorje, 1975.

--------. *Lam 'bras khog phub* [and] *Bde mchog chos 'byung*. New Delhi, Ngawang Topgay, 1974.

--------. Srid pa gsum gyi bla ma dpal sa skya pa chen po sngags 'chang ngag gi dbang po kun dga' rin chen gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho. Rajpur, T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, 1980.

--------. Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che'i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung ngag rin po che'i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho. In A-mes-zhabs, Lam 'bras, pp. 1-313.

A-mi-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan. See Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, A-mi-pa.

Bco-brgyad khri-chen Rin-po-che. See Chogay Trichen Rinpoche.

Bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo. Biographies of Eminent Gurus in the Transmission Lineage of Teachings of the 'Ba'-ra Dkar-brgyud-pa Sect. Dehra Dun, Ngawang Gyaltsen and Ngawang Lungtok, 1970.

Bkra-shis-lhun-grub, Ngor mkhan-po. Dpal sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab . . . . See: [Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen], Dpal sa skya'i . . . .

Bkra-shis-rdo-rje, Ko-btso. Sde dge'i par khang rig gnas kun 'dus gzhal med khang chos mdzod chen mo bkra shis sgo mang gi dkar chag rdo rje'i chos bdun ldan pa'i lde'u mig. [Composed in 1979.] Si-khron, Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1983 (no. M 7140.17). [This is a much revised and enlarged version (395 pages instead of 41 pages) of a book with the same title and identity number which the same publisher published in 1981.]

Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i 'phreng mdzes. MS, tshugs thung script, 64 ff.

Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal. Gsang 'dus lung rigs man ngag ston par byed pa'i bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica. New Delhi, Tibet House, 1973. Vol. 64, pp. 383-577.

[Bo-dong Paṇ-chen?]. Lam 'bras bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, Encyclopedia Tibetica. Vol. 106, pp. 411-573.

Bod gangs can gyi grub mtha' ris med kyi mkhas dbang brgya dang brgyad cu lhag gi gsung 'bum so so'i dkar chag phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa shes bya'i gter mdzod. Vol. 1 (stod cha), to be completed in 3 vols. Chendu, Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-

skrun-khang, 1984.

'Bri-gung-pa Ratna. Spyan snga 'bri gung gling pa'i rnam thar snyan pa'i 'brug sgra. Bir, D. Tsondu Senghe, 1975.

Bsod-nams-dpal-bzang-po. Sa'i steng na 'gran zla dang bral ba kha che paṇḍita shākyashrī bhadra'i rnam thar. Xylograph, 66 ff. Bihar Research Society, provisional catalogue no. 591. [This is the Gra-phyi tshong-'dus grwa-tshang edition. See Gangs can gyi . . ., p. 212.1.]

Bsod-nams-grags-pa, Paṇ-chen. Rgyal rabs 'phrul gyi lde mig gam deb ther dmar po'am deb gsar ma [Deb ther dmar po gsar ma]. Text and partial translation published in G. Tucci (1971).

Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma-dam-pa. Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar snang ba, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Rajpur, 1983), Pod nag. Vol. 16, pp. 1-121 (ma 1a-61a).

Bsod-nams-rtse-mo, Slob-dpon. Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa'i 'grel pa, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, 1968. Vol. 2, pp. 457.4.1-515.2.6 (ca 220a-335a).

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub. Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod, Collected Works. New Delhi, 1971. Vol. 24, pp. 633-1057 (ya 1-212).

--------. Bla ma dam pa rnams kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul bka' drin rjes su dran par byed pa, Collected Works. Vol. 26, pp. 1-142.

--------. Chos mngon pa kun las btus kyi ṭīk rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer, Collected Works. Vol. 20, pp. 79-748.

Chogay Trichen Rinpoche, Thubten Legshay Gyatsho. Gateway to the Temple: Manual of Tibetan Monastic Customs, Art, Building and Celebrations. Bibliotheca Himalayica. Series III, Volume 12. Kathmandu, Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979.

Chos rje sa skya paṇḍitas mdzad pa'i chos 'byung chen mo. Incomplete MS, originally 40 ff. Bihar Research Society, Patna. Provisional catalogue no. 1477.

Chos-rnam-rgyal, Rta-nag mkhan-po. *Bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin gyi lo rgyus yongs 'du'i me tog gsar pa'i do shal*. dbu-med MS seen in Tibet. 96 ff.

Dalai bla-ma V, Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho. *Gangs can yul gyi sa la spyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther rdzogs ldan gzhon nu'i dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*. Dharamsala, Shes-rig-par-khang, 1981.

--------. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang ga'i chu rgyun*. 4 vols. Delhi, 1971.

Dbang-'dus. *Bod gangs can pa'i gso ba rig pa'i dpal ldan rgyud bzhi sogs kyi brda dang dka' gnad 'ga' zhig bkrol ba sngon byon mkhas pa'i gsung rgyun g.yu thog dgongs rgyan*. Pe-cing, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982.

Dbus-pa Blo-gsal. *Grub pa'i mtha' rnam par bshad pa'i mdzod*. Xylograph (Derge ed.?), 127 ff. Reproduced in K. Mimaki (1982), pp. 331ff.

Dgon-gsar-ba Bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rdo rje 'chang chen po ngag dbang chos kyi grags pa'i rnam thar byin rlabs gyi char rgyun dad pa'i dbyar mtsho rgyas byed*, Lam 'bras slob bshad. Dehra Dun, Sakya Centre, 1983. Vol. 4, pp. 337-387 (*nga* 169a-194a).

Dhongthog Rinpoche, T. G. *Byang phyogs thub pa'i rgyal tshab dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byung ba'i lo rgyus rab 'byams zhing du snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs*. New Delhi, T. G. Dhongthog, 1977.

Dkon-mchog-bstan-pa-rab-rgyas, Brag-dgon zhabs-drung. *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*. [=A mdo chos 'byung]. Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 226-228. New Delhi, 1975-1978. See also the edition of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, Delhi, A-lags 'Jam-dbyangs and Wa-śul Skal bzang Bstan-pa, 1974.

Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i tshul gsal bar bshad pa'i yi ge thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed*. dbu-med MS seen in Tibet. 159 ff.

Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub and Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs. *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung tshul bstan pa'i rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen*. [=Ngor chos 'byung.] New Delhi,

Ngawang Topgay, 1973 [The work was left uncompleted by the first author, and finished by the second.]

Dkon-mchog-yon-tan-rgyal-mtshan, Ri-khrod-pa. Dgos 'dod kun 'byung yid bzhin gyi nor bu. Dolanji, Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltsen, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community, 1984.

Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-'phreng-ba. Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston. 4 parts. Śata-Piṭaka Series. Vol. 9 (1)-(4).

Dpal-ldan-tshul-khrims. Ri khrod pa chen po blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 187b.5-193b.4.

Dpal sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar gsung sgros ma, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 57a.1-67a.6. See also the edition in the Derge edition of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's collected works. [The name of the author or compiler is not specified.]

Dung-dkar Blo-bzang-'phrin-las. Deb ther dmar po'i nang gi gal che'i tshig 'grel gnad bsdus. In: Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Deb ther dmar po rnams kyi dang po hu lan deb ther. Pe-cing, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981. Pp. 152-462.

'Dzam-thang bla-ma Ngag-dbang-blo-gros-grags-pa. Dpal ldan jo nang pa'i chos 'byung rgyal ba'i chos tshul gsal byed zla ba'i sgron me. Bir, Bir Tibetan Society, 1983.

Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnams nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed. In: Three Karchacks, Gedan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series. Vol. 13. New Delhi, Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1970. Pp. 169-243.

Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams-lhun-grub. Bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen phreng ba [Biography of Rgyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug]. MS, Tōyō Bunko [MS no. 44]. Vol. ka, pp. 146b.1-178a.1.

--------. Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rig gnas gsal byed. New Delhi, N. Topgye, 1979.

-------. Rab 'byams blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan. MS, Tōyō Bunko [MS no. 42]. Vol. cha, pp. 197a.5-213a.5.

--------. Rje btsun bsod nams lhun grub legs pa'i 'byung gnas rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa. MS, Tōyō Bunko. Vol. ca, 37 ff.

--------. Sa skyar bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa. MS, Tōyō Bunko. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sa skya bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa "Collected Works" (New Delhi: N. Topgay, 1977), vol. 3 [actually only vol. 3 ever appeared], pp. 85-93.

--------. Sde bdun mdo. See Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma.

--------. Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter gyi phyogs snga rnam par bshad pa rigs lam gsal byed. 29 ff. Reprint of the Derge edition. Manduwalla, Dehra Dun, Pal Ewam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985.

--------. Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal byed. 4 ff. Reprint of the Derge edition. Manduwalla, Dehra Dun, Pal Ewam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985.

--------. Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma. Reprint of the Derge edition. Manduwalla, Dehra Dun, Pal Ewam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Tshad ma rigs.

--------. Skyes rtsa bla mas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed, "Collected Works." New Delhi, Ngawang Topgay, 1977. Vol. 3, pp. 301-311.

--------. Slob dpon bsod nams rtse mos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi yi rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer. Xylograph (Derge ed.). Microfiche edition, IASWR, Stonybrook, N. Y. [See also J. Kolmaš (1971), no. 11.074 (1450).]

--------. Spyi rnam brgal lan 'og min gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan. Xylograph (Derge ed.). Microfiche edition from IASWR. [See also J. Kolmaš (1971), no. 11.073 (1449).]

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo. Gangtok, S. T. Kazi, 1970. The reproduction of a Glo-bo MS. See also Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Sde bdun mdo...rnam bshad, the same work in the Derge edition

Go-rams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge. Lta ba'i shan 'byed theg mchog gnad kyi zla zer, Collected Works. Dehra Dun, Sakya College, 1979. [reprint of Derge ed.] Vol. 5, pp. 417-510 (ca 209a-255b).

--------. Phar phyin dang tshad ma brgyud pa'i bla ma la mchod bstod rin po che'i phreng ba, Collected Works. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 11, pp. 20.2.1-23.3.6 (ka 39a-46a).

--------. Rgyal ba thams cad kyi thugs kyi dgongs pa zab mo dbu ma'i de kho na nyid spyi'i gnag gis ston pa nges don rab gsal. Collected Works. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 12, pp. 348.1.1-451.3.1 (ca 1a-208a).

--------. Rgyas pa'i bstan bcos tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rnam par bshad pa kun tu bzang po'i 'od zer, Collected Works. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 11, pp. 27.2.1-195.4.4 (ka 54a-392a).

--------. Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs pa phyin ci ma log par 'grel pa tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi don gsal bar byed pa, Collected Works. Vol. 2, pp. 385-672 (ka 1a-144b). Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum, Vol. 11, pp. 291.4.1-365.2.2.

--------. Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad rgyal ba'i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 14, pp. 119.1.1-199.3.6 (ta 1a-161a).

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa sde bdun rab gsal, Collected Works. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 12, pp. 1.1.1-167.3.3 (ga 1a-334a).

--------. Tshad ma'i brgyud 'debs, Collected Works. Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 11, pp. 17.2.6-18.1.3 (ka 27b [32b]-29a [34a]).

[Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal?]. Thob yig bum pa bzang po. Dbu-med MS seen in Tibet. 244 ff.

'Gos lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal. Deb ther dngon po. The Blue Annals. New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974. Śata-piṭaka Series. Vol. 212

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Rje-btsun. Rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1968. Vol. 3, pp. 1-70 (cha 1a-139a).

--------. Rtags pa gnyis pa'i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnams 'joms par byed pa'i rnam 'grel dag ldan, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 3, pp. 96.3.1-162.3.6 (cha 194a-326a).

Gzhan-dga' Gzhan-phan-chos-kyi-snang-ba. Chos mngon pa kun las btus pa zhes bya ba'i mchan 'grel. New Delhi, 'Dan-ma sprul-sku, 1976.

Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos. In: Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 5, pp. 61.3.1-77.1.6 (tha 123a-154b). [A forgery ascribed to Sa-paṇ.]

'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje. Bsdus sbyor gyi snying po kun bsdus rig pa'i mdzod. Collected Works. New Delhi, 1973. Vol. 15.

--------. Grub mtha'i rnam bshad rang bzhan grub mtha' kun dang zab don mchog tu gsal ba kun bzang zhing gi nyi ma lung rigs rgya mtsho skye dgu'i re ba kun bkongs, Collected Works (Bla-brang Bkra-shis-dkyil ed.). New Delhi, 1973. Vol. 17, pp. 33-1091.

'Jam-dbyangs Dpal-ldan-rgya-mtsho, Gtsang mkhan-chen. Rdo rje phur pa'i chos 'byung bsdus pa. Published with the same author's Rdo rje phur pa'i chos 'byung rgyud sde mang po'i gleng gzhi dang sbyar ba. Darjeeling, Taklung Tsetrul Pema Wangyal, 1979.

'Jam-dbyangs Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po. Gangs can bod kyi yul du byon pa'i gsang sngags gsar rnying gi gdan rabs mdor bsdud ngo mtshar padmo'i tshal. Smanrtsis Sherig Spendzod. Vol. 29. Leh, S. W. Tashigangpa, 1972. pp. 1-207 (da 1a-104a).

'Jam-dpal-'phrin-las-yon-tan. Bsdus gra'i don kun bsdus pa legs bshad mkhas pa'i dga' ston. Gangtok, Govt. of India Printing Press, n. d.

Khetsun Sangpo. Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973-. To be complete in 12 vols.

Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba Byams-pa-dpal. Paṇ chen shākya shrī'i rnam thar khro phu lo tsā bas mdzad pa. Xylograph (Grwa-phyi ed.), 8 ff. [5 lines per page]. Bihar Research Society, provisional catalogue no. 1511 (B.N. 591).

--------. Shākya shrī bhadra'i rnam thar. MS, dbu med, 21ff. Bihar Research Society, provisional catalogue no. 981. [See also the following.]

Klong-rdol bla-ma. Collected Works, Śata-piṭaka Series. Vol. 100. New Delhi, 1973. Another edition: Mussoorie, Dalama, 1963.

Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho, Mang-thos. Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed lhag bsam rab dkar. Dbu-med MS, 136 ff.

Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas. Theg pa'i sgo kun las btus pa gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod bslab pa gsum legs par ston pa'i bstan bcos shes bya kun khyab. Śata-piṭaka Series. Vol. 80. New Delhi, 1970.

Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, Jo-nang. Dpal ldan bla ma 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyis [sic] rnam par thar pa legs bshad khyad par gsum ldan. MS, cursive script, 125ff.

--------. Paṇḍita chen po shākya mchog ldan gyi rnam par thar pa zhib mo rnam par 'byed pa. In: Shākya-mchog-ldan, Collected Works, Thimphu, 1975. Vol. 16, pp. 1-234.

--------. Rnam thar zur 'debs mdzes rgyan rin po che'i lung yig. In: The Autobiographies of Jo-naṅ Kun-dga'-grol-mchog and His Previous Embodiments, New Delhi, Tibet House, 1982. Vol. 2, pp. 535-584 (ca 1a-25a).

--------. Zhen pa rang grol gyi lhug par brjod pa'i gtam skal bzang dad pa'i shing rta 'dren byed. In: The Autobiographies of Jo-naṅ Kun-dga'-grol-mchog, New Delhi, 1982. Vol. 2, pp. 285-534 (nga 1a-125b).

Lam rim chen mo'i mchan bu mchod brjod bstod phyag mtha' gcod mchan rtags gsar bcos kyi lo rgyus bcas. New Delhi, Chos 'phel legs ldan, 1972. 2 vols.

Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal. Dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar kun mkhyen rin chen dpal gyis mdzad pa, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 38b.1-57a.1.

Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho. See Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho.

Mchan bzhi sbrags ma. See Lam rim chen mo'i mchan bu.

Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho. Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi dgongs don rnam par bshad pa theg mchog bdud rtsi'i dga' ston, Collected Works. Delhi, S. T. Kazi, 1975. Vol. 2, pp. 1-760 (a 1a-380b).

--------. Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i mchan 'grel rig lam rab gsal de nyid snang ba, Collected Works. Vol. 7, pp. 473-619 (hum 1a-74a).

Mkhas-btsun-bzang-po. See Khetsun Sangpo.

Mkhas-grub Dge-legs-dpal-bzang-po. Mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pa dge legs dpal bzang po'i gsan yig, Collected Works. n.p., n. d. Vol. 1, pp. 33-119 (ka 1-86).

--------. Tshad ma sde bdun gyi rgyan yid kyi mun sel. Xylograph, Tibet House Library. Vol. nya, pp. 1a-192a.

Ngag-dbang-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, Khang-gsar mkhan-po. Sdom pa gsum gyi nyams len gtan la 'bebs pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i dgongs rgyan gyi rnam 'grel skal bzang mig 'byed kyi ger thur. New Delhi, Ngawang Tobgyal, 1984.

Ngag-dbang-chos-grags. Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes dpyod ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshom bkod pa. Thim-phu, Kunsang Topgyal and Mani Dorje, 1979.

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs pa don gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad ngag gi dpal ster. New Delhi, Ngawang Tobgya[l], 1983.

Ngag-dbang-legs-grub, Ngor-dpon-slob. Phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig las 'phros pa'i dris lan. Published at the end of: Ngag-dbang-legs-grub, Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i nyams len sdom pa gsum gtan la 'bebs pa 'jam dbyangs bla ma'i

dgongs rgyan, New Delhi, T. G. Dhongthog, 1979.

[Ngor-chen?]. Dpal sa skya paṇḍita'i rnam thar gsung sgros ma. See Dpal sa skya.... [This work was published with the Derge edition of Ngor-chen's works and also in the Lam 'bras slob bshad, but the colophon does not establish his authorship.]

Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. Rje btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Toyo Bunko, 1968. Vol. 10, pp. 366.4.4-369.2.6 (a 304a-309a).

--------. Thob yig rgya mtsho, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 9, pp. 44.4.1-108.2.6 (ka 90a-217a).

'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. Chos rje pa bde bar gshegs dus dbus gtsang gi dge ba'i bshes gnyen rnams la spring ba, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1968. Vol. 7, pp. 266.4.4-267.2.6 (ba 320b.4-321b.6).

--------. Chos rje pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 6, pp. 31.3.3-32.1.2 (pa 62b.3-63b.2).

Rgyal-sras Thogs-med-bzang-po. Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa rin po che'i phreng ba. Delhi, 1979.

Rin-spungs-pa Ngag-dbang-'jigs-med-grags-pa. 'Jam pa'i dbyangs dngos smra ba'i mgon po sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa bskal pa bzang po'i legs lam, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 67b-145a.

Rta-mgrin-rgyal. "Bod du tshad ma'i gzhung lugs dar tshul dang 'bsdus grwa'i' go don che long tsam brjod pa," Bod ljong zhib 'jug. No. 13 (1983, no. 2), pp. 61-79.

Rtse bdun ma. In: A-mes-zhabs, Chos 'khor, pp. 36.7-37.6 (18b.7-19a.6).

Sangs-rgyas-bstan-'dzin, Mkhan-po. Legs bshad 'dod dgu 'byung ba'i gter mdzod. Kalimpong, Sakya Khenpo Sangey Tenzin, 1974.

Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs. Rtsom 'phro kha skong. See: Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub and

Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs. Dam pa'i chos . . .

Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1968. Vol. 5, pp. 403.1.6-404.2.2 (na 217b.6-220a.2).

--------. Bshes pa'i spring yig gi bsdus don, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 446.4.1-447.3.6 (na 306a.1-308a.6). [Probably aprocryphal.]

--------. Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad byis pa la phan pa, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 117.1.5-122.4.5 (tha 235b-247a).

--------. Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 409.1.1-414.2.1 (na 229b.1-240a.1).

--------. Dri ma med pa zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 379.4.1-393.2.6 (na 170a-197a.6).

--------. Glo bo lo tsā ba'i zhus lan, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 414.2.2-415.2.3 (na 240a-242a).

--------. 'Jig rten dbang phyug thugs rje chen po la bstod pa tshigs bcad bcu gcig, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 396.4.4-397.2.1 (na 204b.4-205b.1).

--------. Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 339.3.1-343.4.1 (na 88a-96b).

--------. Lung rigs rnam dag dang mthun par 'chad dgos tshul, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 333.4.2-334.2.2 (na 76a.2-77a.2).

--------. Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 81.1.1-111.3.6 (tha 163a-224a).

--------. Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 148.3.4-154.4.6 (tha 299b.4-312a.6).

--------. Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 323.3.1-330.3.6 (da 55a-69a).

--------. Rang gi rang la gros 'debs pa, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 427.1.1-428.2.3 (na 266a.1-268b.3). [Probably apocryphal]

--------. Rje btsun rin po che'i rnam thar, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 18a.4-29a.4. The identical work is also found under the title Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Vol. 5, pp. 143.1.1-148.3.4 (tha 288b.1-299b.4).

--------. Rol mo'i bstan bcos, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 77.2.1-80.2.6 (tha 155a-161a).

--------. Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 131.4.6-141.3.6 (tha 265b.6-295a.6).

--------. Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 297.1.1-320.4.5 (na 1a-48b.5).

--------. Skyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 330.4.1-333.4.2 (na 79b.1-76a.2).

--------. Smra sgo'i sa bcad, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 116.2.1-117.1.5 (tha 234a.1-235b.5).

--------. Snyi mo sgom chen gyi dris lan, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 417.2.3-419.1.2 (na 246a-249b).

--------. Ston pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 416.3.4-417.2.3 (na 244b-246a).

--------. Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 1.1.1-50.1.6 (tha 1a-99a).

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 155.1.1-167.1.6 (da 1a-25a.6).

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rang 'grel, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 167.2.1-264.2.6 (da 26a.1-220a.6).

--------. Tshig gi gter, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 125.3.1-131.4.5 (253a-265b).

--------. Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul [= tshal?] la bstod pa, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 404.3.3-404.4.6 (na 220b.3-221a.6).

--------. Zung 'jug gsal ba'i sa bcad, SKKB. Vol. 5, pp. 393.3.1-394.4.2 (na 198a.1-200b.2).

Sba Gsal-snang. Sba bzhed. Beijing, Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1982.

Sde-gzhung sprul-sku Kun-dga'-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma. Bod ljongs mdo khams sga ldan skyur gsum gyi byung tshul nyung bsdus gtam gyi sa bon. Xerographic copy of manuscript in the author's own hand. 54 pp.

Sgra-tshad-pa Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal. Chos rje thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston lo tsā ba'i rnam par thar pa snyim pa'i me tog. In: Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, Collected Works. New Delhi, 1971. Vol. 27 (sha), pp. 1-84 (1a-42a).

--------. De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po gsal zhing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan gyi rgyan mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog. In: Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, Collected Works, New Delhi, 1971. Vol. 28, pp. 161-284 (sa, Yang rgyan, 1a-62b).

Shākya-mchog-ldan. Chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i rnam gzhag ji ltar grub pa'i yi ge gzu bor gnas pa'i mdzangs pa dga' byed, Collected Works. Thimphu, Kunzang Topgey, 1975. Vol. 16, pp. 457-482.

--------. Dam pa'i chos mngon pa kun las btus pa'i rnam par bshad pa rnal 'byor spyod gzhung rgya mtsho'i rlabs kyi phreng ba, Collected Works. Vol. 14, pp. 1-340.

--------. Dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i chos kyi bang mdzod lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho, Collected Works. Vol. 14, pp. 341-647; Vol. 15, pp. 1-695. This work is also sometimes cited by the title Theg pa chen po dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i bang mdzod lung rigs rgya mtsho. An early printed edition of the 8th chapter (Chos kyi bdag med sgrub pa'i rigs pa'i gnas la mkhas par bya ba'i le'u) is preserved in the Bihar Research Society. It is provisional catalogue no. 272.

--------. Dbu ma'i 'byung tshul rnam par bshad pa'i gtam yid bzhin lhun po, Collected Works. Vol. 4, pp. 209-248.

--------. Dka' 'grel rigs pa'i snang ba, Collected Works. Vol. 19, pp. 169-445.

--------. Kha che paṇ chen shākya shrī'i bstod pa lha'i rnga dbyangs, Collected Works. Vol. 16, pp. 556.3-557.6.

--------. [Mkhas 'jug dris lan], Collected Works. Vol. 24, pp. 113-149.

--------. Mkhas pa la 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam bshad, Collected Works. Vol. 24, pp. 67-102.7.

--------. Rang lugs kyi dgag gzhi ma'i rnam gzhag, Collected Works. Vol. 19, pp. 155.2-167.4.

--------. Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bshes gnyen shākya rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i rol mtsho, Collected Works. Vol. 16, pp. 299-377.

--------. Rngog lo tstsha ba chen pos bstan pa ji ltar bskyangs pa'i tshul mdo tsam du bya ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mo, Collected Works. Vol. 16, pp. 443-456.

--------. Sa skya paṇ chen la bstod pa, Collected Works. Vol. 17, pp. 21-22.

--------. Sa skya'i rje btsun sku mched kyi lta ba'i bzhed tshul, Collected Works. Vol. 23, pp. 71-104.

--------. Spring yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa'i rnam bshad dpag bsam yongs 'du'i ljon phreng, Collected Works. Vol. 24, pp. 320-348.

--------. Theg pa chen po dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i . . . See Shakya-mchog-ldan, Dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i....

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs rgyan, Collected Works. Vol. 9, pp. 1-717; Vol. 10, pp. 1-588.

--------. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa sde bdun ngag gi rol mtsho, Collected Works. Vol. 19, pp. 447-749.

--------. Tshad ma rnam 'grel nges kyi brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs, Collected Works. Vol. 17, pp. 79-80.

--------. Tshad ma'i mdo dang bstan bcos kyi shing rta'i srol rnams ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gtam du bya ba nyin mor byed pa'i snang bas dpyod ldan mtha' dag dga' bar byed pa, Collected Works. Vol. 19, pp. 1-137.

Shākya-rin-chen, Rje mkhan-po IX (1710-1759). 'Chad nyan la mkho ba'i legs bshad phyin ci ma log pa'i gtam chos tshul rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngog, Collected Works. Thimbu, 1976. Vol. 8, pp. 303-450.

Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, A-mi-pa. Rgyal bstan spyi dang bye brag rje btsun sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin dang bcas pa byon tshul gyi rnam par thar pa shin tu mdor bsdus ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i chu thig. Rikon/Zurich, 1970.

Shrī-bhūti-bhadra. See Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa Dpal-'byor-bzang-po.

Snyin ngag rang gzhung padma dkar po'i phreng ba [or: Dam pa'i chos la bskul ba'i gtam padma dkar po'i phreng ba]. Literary Arts in Ladakh. Vol. 1, pp. 1-39.

Spos-khang-pa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan. Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa. Thimbu, K. Tobgyel and Mani Dorje, 1979. 3 vols.

Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa Dpal-'byor-bzang-po. Rgya bod yig tshang chen mo. MS, University of Washington, East Asia Library. See also the new typeset edition: Chengdu, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985.

Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpal-'byor. Dpag bsam ljon bzang. Kyoto, Rinsen, 1984. Reprint of edition by S. C. Das, Calcutta, Presidency Jail Press, 1908.

Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma. Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long, Collected Works. New Delhi, 1969. Vol. 2, pp. 5-519.

Tsarang Molla. In D. P. Jackson (1984), pp. 157-170.

Tshal-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje. Deb ther dmar po rnams kyi dang po hu lan deb ther. Pe-cin, Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981. Another edition: 'Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rjes mdzad pa'i hu lan deb ther. Gangtok, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1961.

Tshul-khrims-bskal-bzang. "Tshad ma'i lo rgyus," ("A History of Logical Studies in Tibet" [in Tibetan]). Saṃbhāṣā, vol. 7 (1986), pp. 55-96. Nagoya, Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies at Nagoya University.

Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa. Byang chub lam rim che ba, Collected Works. New Delhi, Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1977. Vols. 19 and 20 (pa 1a-491a).

--------. Dbu ma rgyan gyi zin bris rje rang gis gnang ba, Collected Works. Vol. 22, pp. 412-445 (ba 17 ff.).

--------. Lam rim chen mo. See: Byang chub lam rim che ba.

--------. Rje rin po che blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyi gsan yig, Collected Works. Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 233-293.

'U-yug-pa Rigs-pa'i-seng-ge. Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa rigs pa'i mdzod. 2 vols. Delhi, Patshang Lama Sonam Gyaltsen, 1982.

Yar-klungs-pa [Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan?]. Bla ma chos kyi rje dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus pa, Sa skya chos spyod, n.p., n.d., pp. 19b-24a.

Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa 'bring po, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 32b.1-38b.1.

Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan. Bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rin po che'i phreng ba, Lam 'bras slob bshad (Derge ed.). Vol. 1 (ka), pp. 145b.1-169b.5.

Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal, Gung-thang-gi-btsun-pa. Dpal sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i rnam par thar pa, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1968. Vol. 5, pp. 433.2.1-438.4.6 (na 279a-290a).

Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen. Chos sde'i gtsug lag khang bzhan 'phrul mngon par dga' ba zhes bya ba bskrun pa las 'phros pa'i gleng ba kun dga'i 'dzum zer 'dzag pa'i zla gzhon, Colected Works. Vol. 7, pp. 197-303 (a 99a-152a).

--------. Chos smra ba'i bande tshul khrims rin chen du bod pa'i skye ba phal pa'i rkang 'thung dge sdig 'dres ma'i las kyi yal ga phan tshun du 'dzings par bde sdug gi lo 'dab dus kyi rgyal mos re mos su bsgyur pa. The Autobiography of Tshul-khrims-rin-chen of Sde-dge [sic] and Other of His Selected Writings, pp. 278-638. Delhi, N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971.

--------. Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i yi ge don gnyer gdengs can rol pa'i chu gter. Dehra Dun, D. Gyaltsan, 1970. 2 vols.

[Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen]. Dpal sa skya'i rje btsun gong ma lnga'i gsung rab rin po che'i par gyi sgo 'phar 'byed pa'i dkar chag 'phrul gyi lde mig, Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum. Tokyo, Tōyō Bunko, 1969. Vol. 7, pp. 310.3.1-343.1.6. [Falsely ascribed to Bkra-shis-lhun-grub.]

APPENDIXES

Appendix A

The Writings of Sa-paṇ
Listed in Ngor-chen's Thob yig rgya mtsho

Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, Thob yig rgya mtsho, Ngor chen bka' 'bum, SKKB, vol. 9, p. 62.1.1-62.3.4 (ka 124b.1-125b.4).

ka pa la/

(1) Legs bshad

(2) Rol mo'i bstan bcos

(3) Blo gsal zhing don du gnyer ba'i skye bo rnams la ji ltar dri ba'i tshul rtsom 'phro la bzhag pa

(4) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo

(5) Sgra la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i rnam par bshad pa

(6) Smra sgo'i gnad kyi gnas bsdus pa

(7) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad byis pa la phan pa

(8) Yi ge'i sbyor ba

(9) Sgra nye bar bsdu ba'i tshigs su bcad pa

(10) Tshig gi gter

(11) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs kyi me tog gi chun po

(12) Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba

(13) Rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar thun mong du grags pa

(14) Nga brgyad ma rtsa 'grel

kha pa la/

(15) Rigs gter rtsa [ba]

(16) [Rigs gter] 'grel [pa]

(17) Rje btsun chen po la bstod pa

ga pa la/

(18) Dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga

(19) de'i Lung sbyor

(20) Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos

(21) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba

(22) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i phrin yig

(23) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la 'phrin du spring ba'i phrin yig

(24) Lung rigs rnam dag dang mthun par 'chad dgos tshul gyi tshigs su bcad pa
(25) Rtogs ldan gcig gis dris pa'i lan
(26) Zhang lo tstsha ba la gdams pa'i tshigs su bcad pa bcu gsum pa
(27) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la springs yig
(28) Yang tshigs su bcad pa thor bu pa gong 'og gnyis
(29) Mi nyag gi rgyal khams dpal bde ba chen po lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag [125a] khang chen por gnyug mar bzhugs pa'i mkhan slob dge 'dun rnams la phul ba'i yi ge
(30) Nyi ma la springs pa

nga pa la/
(31) Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor
(32) Sgrub pa'i lung sbyin
(33) Yang gcig
(34) Rten 'brel lnga'i yi ge
(35) Lam sbas bshad kyi 'grel pa
(36) Aṣṭa'i bzhi bshad snying po don gsal
(37) Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i cho ga
(38) De la dgos pa'i rdo rje gur gyi lung sbyor
(39) Rdo rje rnam 'jom kyi rgyud kyi bshad pa bdud rtsi spel ba zhes bya ba
(40) A ra pa tsa na dang
(41) Rje btsun ma sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs bsdus pa
(42) Gza' yum gyi mchod chog
(43) Dri ma med pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa
(44) Bla ma la thun mong ma yin pa'i sgo nas gsol ba gdab pa'i tshul
(45) Bla ma dam pa la gsol ba gdab pa'i rab tu byed pa
(46) Bde mchog gi bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba gdab pa
(47) Mthu stobs dbang phyug la gsol ba gdab pa
(48) Bod yul la bsngags pa
(49) Shākya'i rgyal po la gsol ba gdab pa'i tshigs su bcad pa bco lnga pa
(50) Bde bar gshegs pa khams gsum gyi mgon po la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa dgu pa
(51) 'Jig rten dbang phyug la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa bcu gcig pa
(52) Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa thams cad la rab tu bsngags pa
(53) Rje btsun chen pos mdzad pa'i 'jam dbyangs kyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad yi ge nyung ngu zhes bya ba
(54) Bsam yas su 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi phyag mtshan ri mor bris pa'i yi ge
(55) Mu stegs kyi ston pa 'phrog byed dga' bo la sogs [125b] pa drug btul ba'i tshe sbyar ba'i tshigs su bcad pa

(56) Pa gor zhes bya ba'i sgra las drangs pa'i bstod pa
(57) Rta nag ri khud kyi rnga bo che la bstod pa
(58) Gdong bzhi pa la bstod pa
(59) Theg pa chen po'i lam gyi rnam gzhag mdor bsdus pa
(60) Snang ba mtha' yas kyi bsgom don mdor bsdus
(61) Spyod pa rnam par dag pa'i chos tshigs su bcad pa bcu gnyis pa
(62) Sems kyi gnas lugs rnal du mtshon par byed pa'i man ngag tshigs su bcad pa brgyad pa
(63) 'Chi kha'i gdams ngag ngo mtshar can
(64) Chag lo'i dris lan
(65) Glo bo lo tstsha ba la springs yig
(66) Dge ba'i bshes gnyen sgrub pa rtse gcig tu mdzad pa'i dris lan
(67) Yang dris lan mdor bsdus pa gcig
(68) Snye mo sgom chen la springs yig
(69) Phyag rgya chen po yan lag bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba
(70) Bsngo ba'i yon bshad

Appendix B

The Collected Works of Sa-paṇ as Listed in the Thob yig of the 5th Dalai Lama

Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa, vol. 2, pp. 126.2-134.1 (kha 63b.2-67b.1):

(1) Legs bshad rin po che'i gter (=TB 2)

(2) [Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po] [lung ma byung]

(3) Rol mo'i sbyor ba (=TB 4)

(4) Blo gsal zhing don du gnyer ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams la ji ltar dri ba'i tshul bstan pa (=TB 5)

(5) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (TB 6)

(6) Sgra la 'jug pa (TB 7)

(7) Smra sgo'i gnad bsdus pa (TB 8)

(8) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam bshad byis pa la phan pa (TB 9)

(9a) Yi ge'i sbyor ba (TB 10)

(9b) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs bcad (TB 13) [This and the preceding are identified as a single work.]

(10) Tshig gi gter (TB 14)

(11) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs kyi me tog chun po [sic] (TB 15)

(12) Bcom ldan 'das mgon po 'jam dpal rdo rje la mchod par brjod pa dpal ldan blo gros ma (TB 25)

(13) Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba (TB 16)

(14) [Khyad par 'phags bstod kyi rgya cher bshad pa] [lung ma byung]

(15) Rje btsun chen po grags pa'i rnam thar thun mong du grags pa shakya grags kyis gsol ba btab pa la brten nas mdzad [64a] pa (TB 17)

(16) Nga brgyad ma rtsa 'grel (TB 18)

(17) Rje btsun chen po grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi bstod pa srid pa'i 'khri shing ma (TB 26)

(18-19) Tshad ma rig pa'i gter rtsa 'grel gnyis (TB 19 and 20)

(20) Theg pa chen po dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga blo gsal rnams kyis gsol ba btan nas bsgrigs pa (TB 21)

(21) De'i lung sbyor sems bskyed cho ga rab gsal (TB 22)

(22) Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos (TB 1)

(23) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba (TB 24)

(24) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig (TB 29)

(25) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la 'phrin du bsrings pa (TB 30)

(26) Lung rig rnam dag dang mthun par 'chad dgos tshul gzu bo'i blos dpyad par zhu'i mtha can (TB 31)

(26a) Rtogs ldan zhig gi dris lan zhes gsan yig na 'dug kyang dkar chag nas ma rnyed

(27) Zhang lo tsā ba la gdams pa (TB 34)

(28) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la springs pa (TB 35)

(29a) 'Gor yang smras pa/ cung zad dben na rgyan po du ma 'gyed ces sogs kyi tshigs bcad yod ri skan gyi mtha' can/ (TB 36)

(29b) 'Gor yang smras pa Brgya tshar nyan pas tshig tsam shes pa can zhes yod pa'i tshigs bcad rlom pa mi bya ba'i mtha' can (TB 36)

(30) Me nyag gi rgyal khams bde chen lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang gi gnyug mar gnas pa'i mkhar slob dge 'dun rnams la gnang ba'i yi ge (TB 37)

(31) Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor ling chu rtser khabs ma (TB 41)

(32) Bla ma'i rnal 'byor gu ri dza 'bum la bsrings pa nad gdon mar grags pa (TB 42) ['di nas phyag rgya chen po rab dbye'i bar dkar chag tu gsal ba las gsan yig tshor mi snang]

(33) Skyu ra'i dbon po dpon g.yog gi don du gnang ba'i Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi mandal (TB 49)

(34) Brda don [64b] gsal ba rtsa 'grel rdo rje 'dzin thob shog gi mtha' can

(35) Phyag rgya chen po rab tu dbye ba

(36) Mnal lam du byung ba'i tshig bcad [dang bcas pa] (TB 103)

(37) Rten 'brel lngas lam yongs su rdzogs par gsungs pa'i dgongs pa phyogs tsam bstan pa (TB 45)

(38) Sa bdun pa yan chad 'khor bzhi'i rgya zhes pa'i dgongs pa ston pa

(39) Lam bsdus te sgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa (TB 43-44?)

(40) Lam sbas bshad zin bris la mi mthun pa 'ga' zhig 'dug par brten mdo smad du mdzad pa (TB 46)

(41) Aṣṭa'i rnam par gzhag pa snying po don gsal (TB 50)

(42) Brtag pa gnyis kyi bdag nyid can gyi rgyud kyi rgyal po'i bsdus don (TB 112)

(43) Rje btsun chen po grags pas mdzad pa'i bdag med ma'i bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa TB 65)

(44) Rigs kyi rab tu dbye ba'i bshad sbyar 'gor sangs rgyas thams cad gcig bsdus pa zhes yod pa (TB 62)

(45) Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i cho ga rtsod spong ma (TB 51) [mdzad byang na ling chu rtse khab tu mdzad zer ba dang med pa sna tshogs 'dug]

(46) De la dgos pa'i lung sbyor 'gor 'phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi rgyud las zhes gsung ngo'i mtha' can (TB 52)

(47) Rdo rje rnam 'joms rgyud kyi bshad pa bdud rtsi spel ba (TB 53)

(48) 'Phags pa 'jam dpal a ra pa tsa na'i sgrub thabs kyi gsal byed (TB 55)

(49) Rje btsun sgrol ma ljang gu'i sgrub thabs (TB 56).

(50) Gza' rnams kyi yum gyi mchod pa'i man ngag gi rim pa (TB 60)

(51) Slob dpon sgra gcan 'dzin gyis mdzad pa'i zung 'jug gsal ba'i sa gcad bdag nyid chen po grags pa dpal bzang gi ngor mdzad pa (TB 66)

(52) Rdo rje theg pa'i rtsa ltung bcu bzhi'i bshad [65a] pa nyung ngur byas pa (TB 64)

(53) Bla ma dam pa la thun mong ma yin pa'i sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa (TB 68)

(54) Bla ma la gsol ba gdab pa'i rab tu byed pa sku'i spyod par grags pa (TB 67) [gsan yig mtshor thun mong ma yin pa zhes 'dug pa'i 'di thun mong ba yin nam snyam]

(55) Bde mchog bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs mdo khams kyi sa cha 'bri klung gi yul nas bskul ba la brten nas mdzad pa (TB 28)

(56) Birwa pa'i bstod pa dang chu ma (TB 27)

(57) Bod kyi yul la bsngags pa lha mchog gtsug tor ma (TB 69)

(58) Bcom ldan 'das shākya'i rgyal po la gsol ba 'debs pa tshigs su bcad pa bco lnga pa (TB 70) [gsan yig tshor bstod pa tshig lhug gcig yod zer ba ma rnyed]

(59) Bde bar gshegs pa khams gsum gyi mgon po la bstod pa (TB 71)

(60) 'Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug thugs rje chen po la gsol ba gdab pa (TB 72)

(61) Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa thams cad la rab tu bsngags pa'i tshigs bcad (TB 73)

(62) Rje btsun grags pas mdzad pa'i 'jam dbyangs kyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad yi ge nyung ngu (TB 74)

(63) Bsam yas su 'jam dbyangs kyi phyag mtshan ri mor bris pa'i yi ge zhar byung de'i rgyu mtshan 'phags pas mdzad pa dang bcas pa (TB 75) [Sdom brtson dam pa ma zhes grags che zhing gang du bzhugs par byin che bar bshad]

(64) Mu stegs kyi ston pa 'phrog byed dpa' [read: dga'] bo dpon slob drug 'pham par byas nas rab tu byung ba'i dus sbyar ba'i tshigs bcad (TB 80)

(65) Yon tan sgrog pa'i 'tshal la bstod pa ba gor zhes bya ba'i sgra las drangs pa (TB 81)

(66) Rta nag ri khud du rnga bo che la bstod pa (TB 82)

(67) Gdong bzhi pa'i bstod pa dpal ldan dbang ldan ma (TB 84)

(68) Theg pa chen po'i lam gyi rnam gzhag mdor [65b] bsdus pa

(69) Snang ba mtha' yas kyi sgom don (TB 87)

(70) Spyod pa rnam par dag pa'i tshigs su bcad pa bcu gnyis pa (TB 91)

(71) Rang gi sems ngos gzung ba de kho na nyid kyi don dam pa bstan pa'i bstan bcos tshigs su bcad pa brgyad pa (TB 92)

(72) 'Chi kha'i gdams ngag ngo mtshar can yi ge nyung ngur bkod pa (TB 88) [gong dkar ba lugs la snang ba mtha' yas kyi sgom don gyi rtsa tshig tu ngos 'dzin]

(73) Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi man ngag phyin ci ma log pa (TB 86) ['di dang 'og ma gsum po gsan yig tshor mi gsal]

(74) 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa 'don thabs gsum rim gtsang ma dag pa ste zhes pa'i mtha' can

(75) 'Phags pa sdud pa sogs shes rab gyi pha rol tu phyin pa gdon pa'i man ngag (TB 89)

(76) Phung po gsum pa gdon pa'i man ngag (TB 90) ['di gnyis po bsdoms nas mdzad byang 'dug]

(77) Chag lo chos rje dpal ba'i dri ba bco lnga pa'i . . . (TB 93)

(78) . . . lan sdom dang bcas pa (TB 94)

(79) Glo bo lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen la springs pa (TB 95)

(80) Dge ba'i bshes gnyen sgrub pa rtse gcig tu mdzad pa bka' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi dri las (TB 96)

(81) 'gor so so thar pa 'dul ba bzhin zhes yod pa'i Bka' gdams do skor ba'i dri lan (TB 79) [gsan yig tshor dri lan bsdus pa zer ba las gsal kha mi 'dug]

(82) Snye mo sgom chen gyi zhu lan rin cen 'phreng ba (TB 98)

(83) 'gor chos kun nye bar zhi ba can yod pa'i Phyag rgya chen po yan lag bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba go bde bar sbyar ba (TB 113)

(84) Gangs can khrod kyi sgom chen rnams la gdams pa kha bcig ces pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (TB 76)

(85) Bsngo ba yon bshad dang bcas pa rang gi slob mas gsol ba btab pa'i ngor tshig gi sdeb sbyor spangs nas sbyar ba rnams [66a] (TB 100)

Appendix C

Index to One Volume of an Old Manuscript of Sa-paṇ's Works

Title of index: Dkar chag bzhugs so. Margin notations: p. 1a: them; p. 2a: nya (originally, ca was written in red ink at margin). Location: library of Taruk Trulku, Bodhnath.

oṃ swasti/
ji snyed lta'i don kun ji bzhin legs gzigs kyang//
ji srid srid pa gnas pa de srid phrin las kyi//
cho 'phrul rnam par 'phrul mdzad rdzu 'phrul zhabs brtan pa//
skyabs med 'gro ba'i skyabs gyur skyabs mchog de la 'dud//

dpal ldan sa skya paṇḍi ta'i gsung rab/ [erasure] po ti 'di'i nang na bzhugs pa la/

(1) Bla ma'i rnal 'byor
(2) Yang bla ma'i rnal 'byor cig
(3) Bsgrub pa lung sbyin
(4) Lam bsdus te bsgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa
(5) Rten 'brel lngas lam yongs rdzogs
(6) Lus kyi rten 'brel
(7) 'Khor bzhi'i rgya
(8) Rigs kyi rab tu dbye ba'i bshad sbyar
(9) Rtsa ba'i sngags kyi bshad pa snying po'i don gsal
(10) Tshogs kyi 'khor lo
(11) Lha mo bco lnga'i bstod pa
(12) Bdag med ma'i [b]stod 'grel
(13) Gleng gzhi'i sgra bshad
(14) Zung 'jug gsal ba'i sa gcod
(15) Thun mong ma yin pa'i gsol 'debs
(16) Sku'i spyod pa rnam dag ma
(17) Rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
(18) Bde mchog brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs
(19) Bde bar gshegs pa sras dang bcas pa la bstod pa
(20) 'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs la gsol ba gdab pa [2a]
(21) Lha sa la rab tu bsngags pa

(22) 'Jam pa'i rdo rje la bstod pa
(23) 'Jam dbyangs kyi phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig
(24) 'Jam dbyangs la bstod pa'i rnam bshad yi ge nyung ngu
(25) Shākya'i rgyal po dang 'jam dbyangs la gsol ba gdab pa
(26) 'Bir ba pa la gsol ba gdab pa
(27) Mu stegs pham mdzad
(28) Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul la bstod pa
(29) Gdong bzhi pa'i bstod pa
(30) Spyod pa rnam par dag ma
(31) Rang gi sems ngos gzung ba
(32) Zhen pa bzhi bral
(33) Gus pas gsol ba 'debs pa'i ngor sbyar ba [sic]
(34) Theg pa chen po'i so'i [=sa'i] lam gyi rnam bzhag mdor bsdus
(35) 'Chi kha ma'i gdam ngag
(36) Snang ba mtha' yas kyi sgom don
(37) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la spring ba
(38) Mkhas pa la spring ba
(39) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba
(40) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la spring ba
(41) Me nyag bde chen du spring ba
(42) Tshigs bcad tho[r] bu ba
(43) Nyi ma la spring ba
(44) Chag lo tsha ba'i zhus lan
(45) Blo bo lo tsā ba'i zhus lan
(46) Do kor ba'i zhus lan
(47) Snyi mo sgom chen gyi zhus lan
(48) [added in a different hand:] Bka' gdams nam mkha' 'bum gyi [sic]
(49) Jog po pa'i zhus lan
(50) Zhang lo tsha [2b] ba la gdams pa
(51) Bsngo ba yon bshad

de ltar na dpe sna lnga bcu nga gcig bzhugs//

Appendix D

Fragments of a Golden Manuscript of Sa-paṇ's Works from Lo Mustang (Glo-bo Smon-thang)

These texts were filmed on June 7, 1983, by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (Running numbers D-1784-1794, reel numbers D 110/18-D 111/2).

(1) Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB 4). Vol. ma, fols. 36-45. Size 8.7 x 36 cm.

(2) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (TB 6). Vol. ma, fols. 46-140. Size 8.7 x 35.9 cm.

(3) Sgra la 'jug pa (TB 7). Vol. ma, fols. 141-154.

(4) Thub pa dgongs gsal (TB 1). Vol. tsha, fols. 42-209. Size 8.6 x 35.9 cm. Fols. 87 and 88 are one folio, marked with both numbers in the margin. Fols. 98 and 99 are actually two folios each.

(5) Glo bo lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen la spring yig (TB 95). Vol. dza, fols 266-269b. In D the title is given as: Glo bo lo tsa ba'i zhus lan.

(6) Zhang lo tsā ba la spring yig (TB 34). Vol. dza, fols. 269b-271a. In D the title is: Zhang lo tsa ba la gdams pa.

(7) Bka' gdams do bskor ba'i zhus lan. Vol. dza, fols. 271a-275a. This is not the same as the work bearing this title in D. It is instead TB 96 (Bka' gdams nam mkha' 'bum gyi zhus lan).

(8) Thos bsam sgom gsum gyi bris [sic] lan. Vol. dza, fols. 275a-278a. This is the Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan of D (TB 79).

(9) Snye mo sgom chen gyi bris [sic] lan (TB 98). Vol. dza, fols. 278a-283a.

(10) Blo gsal zhing don du gnyer ba'i skyes bu rnams kyi bris [sic] lan (TB 5). Vol. dza, fols. 283a-284b. In D the title appears as Dri ba'i tshul 'ga' zhig.

(11) Rta nag ri khud kyi rnga bo che la bstod pa (TB 82). Vol. dza, fols. 284b-285b. The title in D is: Rnga'i bstod pa sgra las drangs pa.

(12) Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug tshar gcad dus sbyar ba'i snyan ngag (TB 80). Vol. dza, fols. 285b-286b. In D the title is: Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad.

(13) Ba gor zhes bya'i sgra la[s] grangs [sic] pa'i bstod pa. Vol. dza, fols. 286b-287a. In D this work (TB 81) is entitled Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshul la bstod pa.

(14) Chos spyod bcu pa. Vol. dza, fols. 288a-289a.

(15) Smra ba gnyis pa. Vol. dza, fol. 289a. In D these verses (TB 36) are given the one title Tshigs su bcad pa gong 'og gnyis.

(16) Yum rgyas 'bring sdus gsum gyi don. Vol. dza, fols. 289b-290a.

Three other fragments of the same Glo-bo manuscript survive in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo (MS vol. no. 42):

(17) Bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan (incomplete) (TB no. 109). Vol. ma, fols 263a-266a. (missing one folio?)
(18) Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba (TB no. 24). Vol. tsha, fols. 210b-278b. (missing one folio at the end?)
(19) Bsngo ba yon bshad dang bcas pa (TB no. 100). Vol. dza, fols. 314a-323b. (missing one or more folios at end.)

The last was probably the final work in this manuscript set of Sa-paṇ's writings.

(20) Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter [gyi 'grel pa] (TB no. 20). A 301-page manuscript of this work, forming vol. tsa of this set, is preserved in the library of H. H. the Sakya Trizin. A negative reproduction (black ink on white paper) has recently been brought out by the Sakya Centre (Dehra Dun: 1985) under the title: Tshad ma rigs gter rtsa ba dang rang 'grel.

Thus well over half of this four-volume set (consisting of vols. ma to dza) is known to survive--scattered in Nepal, India and Japan--including most of his major works. Rearranged in their original order, they are:

vol. ma, ff. 36-154 = nos. (1) to (3)
ff. 263-266 = no. (17)
vol. tsa, ff. 1-301 = no. (20)
vol. tsha, ff. 42-278 = nos. (4) and (18)
vol. dza, ff. 266-290 = nos. (5) to (16)
ff. 314-323 = no. (19)

Appendix E

The Works of Sa-paṇ Listed by Rin-spungs-pa in His Biography of Sa-paṇ

Rin-spungs-pa Ngag-dbang-'jigs-med-grags-pa, 'Jam pa'i dbyangs dngos, pp. 109b-112b:

(1) Bzo rig bstan bcos
(2) Rtsis kyi gtsug lag gi bstan bcos
(3) Yan lag brgyad (pa'i) bsdus don
(4) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo
(5) Sgra shes rab la 'jug pa (=Ṣhes rab 'phro ba?)
(6) Sgra la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad
(7) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs bcad
(8) Yi ge'i sbyor ba
(9) Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i sgo
(10) Smra sgo mtshon cha'i gnad du bsdus pa
(11) Snyan ngag mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
(12) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po
(13) Tshig gi gter
(14) Rol mo'i bstan bcos
(15) Rigs pa'i gter
(16) de'i Rang 'grel
(17) Sdom pa gsum rab tu dbye ba
(18) Bla ma dam pa la thun mong min pa'i gsol 'debs (2)
(19) Grags pa rgyal mtshan (gyi) rnam thar
(20) Mthu stobs dbang phyug bi ru pa la gsol ba gdab
(21) 'Khor lo sdom pa'i rtsa brgyud bla ma ma gsol ba gdab
(22) Bde mchog lha lnga sgrub pa'i thabs
(23) Bla ma'i rnal 'byor
(24) (Bla ma'i rnal 'byor) go shri 'bum ma
(25) Phyi nang gsang ba'i mandal 'bul tshul bshad pa
(26) Bde bar gshegs pa la bstod tshig
(27) Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje nye bar bskul ba
(28) Lha sa'i rgyal bar bsngags pa
(29) 'Jig rten dbang phyug la gsol ba btab
(30) 'Jam pa'i dbyangs rkyang pa mchod par brjod pa'i bstod pa (2)

(31) 'Jam pa'i dbangs gtso 'khor lnga la mchod par brjod pa'i bstod pa
(32) A ra pa tsa na'i mngon rtogs
(33) 'Jam dpal lha lnga'i bskyed rim mngon rtogs
(34) 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod 'don pa'i thabs
(35) Rta nag ri bo'i khud du rnga bo che la bstod pa
(36) Rgyal po lo pan rnams la bstod pa (=Phyag mtshan ri mo?)
(37) Gdong bzhi pa la bstod pa
(38) Phyag rgya chen por dbye ba
(39) Phyag rgya chen po bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba
(40) Sgrub pa lung 'byin
(41) Rten 'brel lam rdzogs pa
(42a) Rdo rje lus kyi 'khrul 'khor dang (42b) Brda don gsal
(43) Rigs kyi dbye ba de bshad sbyar ye shes bsre pa'i bshad pa
(44) Brtag gnyis kyi bsdus don
(45) Aṣṭa'i gzhi'i bshad pa
(46) Lam sbas bshad
(47) Tho yig rin chen sgron ma dang
(48) Gsung ngag zin par bris yig mdor bstan zung ste gnyis
(49) Khrid kyi lung sbyor
(50) Khrid kyi dkar chag
(51) Rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig rnam par bshad pa
(52) Zung 'jug gsal ba'i bsdus don
(53) Tshul bzhi'i bsdus pa'i don
(54) Bdag med bstod 'grel dri ma med pa'i rgyan
(55) Tshogs kyi 'khor lo
(56) Thod pa brtag pa'i thabs
(57) Rgyud sde spyi yi man ngag gces pa bsdus pa
(58) Khro bo sme ba brtsegs pa sgrub pa'i thabs
(59) Rdo rje rnam 'jom bir lugs kyi mngon par rtogs pa
(60) Spyod pa rnam dag
(61) Rang sems ngos gzung ba
(62) Theg pa chen po'i rnam gzhag
(63) Sems bskyed cho ga
(64) de nyid Lung dang sbyar ba
(65) Gza' yum mchod chog
(66) Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa
(67) Sher phyin mdo sdud pa 'don pa'i man ngag
(68) Phung po gsum pa 'don pa'i thabs
(69) Gzhan las khyad par du 'phags par bstod pa'i rgya cher rol pa'i kha bskong

(70) Sher phyin rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum nyams su len thabs
(71) Chos spyod bcu pa
(72) Smras pa rnam pa gnyis
(73) Dam pa'i chos la 'jug tshul go bder sbyar
(74) Zhen pa bzhi bral
(75) 'Da' kha'i gdams ngag
(76) Dri ma med pa'i rgyan gyi rgya cher 'grel pa
(77) Rnam bshad bdud rtsi spel ba (Rnam 'jom)
(78) Dug sel ba'i thabs
(79) Thub pa'i dgongs gsal
(80) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la zhu ba'i 'phrin
(81) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la spring yig
(82) Skyes bu dam pa spyi la spring yig
(83) 'Bri khung 'jig rten gyi mgon po la spring yig
(84) Spyan snga grags 'byung bar bstod pa spring yig dang bcas
(85) Glo bo lo tsā ba (la spring yig)
(86) Chag lo'i dris lan
(87) Gur ston gyi dris lan
(88) Zhang lo tsā ba'i dris lan
(89) Do gor ba'i dris lan
(90) Snye mo sgom chen gyi dris lan
(91) Nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan
(92) Rtogs ldan rgyan (po'i) dris lan
(93) Blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan
(94) Mu stegs ston pa drug btul skabs tshigs su bcad pa
(95) Ba gor zhes pa'i sgra las drangs pa'i bstod pa
(96) Bsam yas kyi gtsug lag khang la bsngags pa
(97) Phyag mtshan ri mor bris pa'i tshul
(98) Chos gsungs pa'i tshul
(99) Lugs kyi bstan bcos legs par bshad pa
(100) Skyes bu'i rnam 'byed gzhon nu'i mgul rgyan
(101) Legs bshad nyi ma'i snying po
(102) Bsngo ba'i yon bshad

Appendix F

The Works of Sa-paṇ Listed by A-mes-zhabs in His Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo

A-mes-zhabs, 'Dzam gling (Derge ed., pp. 60a-61a):

(1) (Sgra) Shes rab 'phro ba
(2) Sgra la 'jug pa
(3) Smra sgo'i bsdus don
(4) Byis pa bde 'jug gi 'grel pa
(5) Yi ge'i sbyor ba
(6) Sgra nye bar bsdus pa
(7) Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter rtsa ba
(8) (Rigs gter rang) 'grel
(9) Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
(10) Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba
(11) Sdeb sbyor me tog gi chun po
(12) Tshig gi gter
(13) Rab dga'i 'jug pa
(14) Rol mo'i bstan bcos
(15) Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos
(16) Sa brtag pa'i rab 'byed
(17) Yan lag brgyad pa'i don bsdus
(18) Sangs rgyas kyi bstod pa
(19) Thub pa'i bstod pa
(20) Spyan ras gzigs kyi bstod pa (2)
(21) 'Jam dbyangs kyi phyag mtshan gyi ri mo la bstod pa
(22) Bsam yas lhun gyis grub pa'i gnas chen la bstod pa
(23) 'Jam dbyangs kyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad
(24) Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed
(25) Thub pa dgongs gsal
(26) Sdom gsum rab dbye
(27) Sems bskyed chen mo
(28) (de'i) Lung sbyor
(29) Chos nyams su blang ba'i rim pa
(30) Chos spyod bcu pa
(31) Zhen ba bzhi bral

(32) Theg pa chen po'i lam gyi rnam gzhag mdor bsdus pa
(33) Bsngo ba'i yon bshad
(34) Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo
(35) Gzhung lugs legs dpyad
(36) Legs bshad
(37) 'Phrog byed dga' bo pham par byas pa'i tshigs bcad
(38) Ba gor zhes bya ba'i sgra las drangs pa'i tshigs bcad
(39) Blo gsal ba'i skyes bu rnams la ji ltar dri ba'i tshigs bcad
(40) Nga brgyad ma rtsa 'grel
(41) Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig
(42) Skyes bu dam pa rnams la springs yig
(43) Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la springs yig
(44) Shing kun na bzhugs pa'i dge 'dun rnams la springs yig
(45) Nyi ma la springs yig
(46) Glo bo lo tsā ba la springs yig
(47) Zhang lo tsā ba la gdams pa
(48) 'Od jo ba'i dge bshes la springs yig
(49) Snye mo sgom chen la springs yig
(50) Do gor ba'i zhus lan
(51) Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan
(52) 'Jam dpal gyi sgrub thabs kyi gsal byed
(53) Sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs
(54) Gza' yum gyi mchod pa'i cho ga
(55) Gza' yum gyi sgrub thabs
(56) Zung 'jug gsal ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga
(57) Snang ba mtha' yas kyi bsgom don
(58) 'Chi kha ma'i gdams ngag
(59) Bla ma'i bstod pa (2)
(60) Rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi bstod pa
(61) Bde mchog brgyud pa'i bstod pa
(62) Bla ma'i rnal 'byor chen mo
(63) Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi mandal
(64) Lam 'bras kyi khrid kyi dkar chag
(65) Sgrub pa lung sbyin
(66) Rten 'brel lngas lam yongs su rdzogs pa
(67) Lam sbas bshad rtsa ba yan lag dang bcas pa
(68) Grub chen bcu phra mo brgyad dang bcas pa
(69) Aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad
(70) Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i yi ge

(71) Bdag med ma'i bstod pa'i 'grel pa

(72) Rigs drug gi mtshan don dang ye shes bsre ba'i bshad pa

(73) Bde mchog lhan skyes kyi byin brlabs

(74) Rnam 'joms bir lugs kyi bshad pa

(75) Sampuṭa la mchan

(76) Rdo rje rnam 'jom gyi rgyud la mchan

(77) Sdom gsum rab dbye la mchan

Appendix G

The Works of Sa-paṇ Listed or Quoted in His Biographies by Lho-pa Kun-mkhyen and Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal

I. Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal, Dpal ldan (Lam 'bras slob bshad ka 55b.5-56a.5).

A. Works cited by Lho-pa

(1) sgra'i bstan bcos Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba chen po dang/
(2) phal che ba la mkho ba Shes rab 'phro ba
(3) de bas kyang rtogs sla ba Sgra la 'jug pa
(4) Rigs pa'i gter
(5) Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed
(6) Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po
(7) Snyan ngag gi bstan bcos Mkhas pa'i kha rgyan
(8) Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba
(9) zlos gar gyi bstan bcos Rab dga' la 'jug pa
(10) Rol mo'i bstan bcos
(11) Tshig gi gter
(12) Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos
(13) Sa brtag pa'i rab tu byed pa
(14) Yan lag brgyad pa'i don bsdus
(15) Commentaries on other works (rtsa ba gzhan gyi don gsal bar mdzad pa)
(16) Praises (bstod pa'i tshogs)
(17) Biography of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (p. 41a.1)

B. Works Quoted by Lho-pa

(1) p. 41b.5: Rje btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi bstod pa (TB no. 26), p. 322.1.4.
(2) p. 53b.5: Mu stegs kyi ston pa drug btul ba'i tshigs bcad (TB no. 80), p. 404.2.3.
(3) p. 54a.5: Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4), p. 78.4.1.
(4) p. 55a.6: Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po (TB no. 15), p. 141.1.5.

II. Sa-paṇ's Works Cited or Quoted in Zhang Rgyal-ba-dpal's Biography of Sa-paṇ, Dpal sa.

A. Works Cited by Zhang

(1) Legs par bshad pa'i gter (pp. 434.2.3, 438.1.1)
(2) [Zlos gar gyi] bstan bcos (p. 434.2.4)
(3) Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstod pa (p. 438.1.1)
(4) Thugs rje la bskul ba (p. 438.1.1)

B. Works quoted by Zhang:

(1) p. 435.1.1: Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po, p. 141.1.5.
(2) p. 435.1.1: Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa, p. 148.3.3 (=Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa rnams la bstod pa, p. 397.3.5)
(3) p. 435.1.1: Phyag mtshan ri mo'i bstod tshig, p. 400.3.3.
(4) p. 435.1.2: RTRG, p. 264.1.4.

Appendix H

Works on the Lam 'bras Attributed to Sa-paṇ Which are Listed in the Gsan yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama

Dalai bla-ma V, Zab pa (vol. 1, pp. 457.1-458.5 [ka 229a-b]):

bzhi pa sa paṇ gyis mdzad pa la/ 'khrid/ bshad pa/ lam zab/ bir bsrung dang bzhi/

[I] dang po la/

(1) lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i 'khrid kyi dkar chag/ 'di gsung yin min la rtsod pa byung na'ang bka' bsgrub bstan pa'i skabs bsgrubs zin zhes pa dkar chag tu 'dug go/

(2) lam sbas [na] [pod dmar na'ang yod] bshad/ 'di la 'dra min 'ga' zhig byung bar brten/ ji skad du/

bdag ni gsang sngags zab mo'i don//
yi ger byed la cung zad skrag//
'on kyang gzhan gyis sbyar ba la//
bla ma'i gsung dang 'gal bar mthong//
des na gsung dang mthun par bkod//

ces ched du gnyer nas mdzad pa yin no//

(3) de'i yan lag rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi zhal gyi gdams pa thun mong gi dngos grub chen po bcu zhes pa/ tshe sgrub/ rdo rje chu 'thung/ thig le 'dzag med/ lte bsgyur/ rlung gi bcud len/ 'chi blu/ dbang sdud/ gdon 'grol/ nor sgrub/ skye ba brtag pa dang/

(4) phra mo brgyad ces pa gza' bsrung/ bgegs bsrung/ rkyal pa kha bcu/ mig gi rab rib/ lce dig/ snying rlung rnams sel ba/ drod skye ba/ rten 'brel brtag pa'i gdams pa rtsa 'grel/ [pod dmar na'ang yod]

(5) rje btsun chen po dgung lo lnga bcu rtsa drug bzhes dus brtse ba chen pos gnang ba'i brda don gsal ba'i rtsa 'grel rdo rje 'dzin thob shog gi mtha' can/ [pod dmar na'ang yod]

(6) de'i yan lag 'khrid kyi lung sbyor rgyas bsdus rnams la blta bar bya'o'i mtha [229b] can/

(7) lam bsdus te sgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa'i yi ge rnams [pod dmar na'ang yod]

[II] gnyis pa bshad pa la/

(8) rtsa sngags kyi rnam par bshad pa snying po'i don gsal/ [pod dmar na'ang yod]

(9) phyag rgya chen po'i rab tu dbye ba/ [pod dmar na mjug tu skye ba skye ba med pa sogs kyi shlo ka gcig thol du yod pa zhig snang/]

(10) rdo rje'i tshig rkang las rten 'brel lngas lam yongs su rdzogs par gsungs pa'i dgongs pa phyogs tsam bstan pa/ [pod dmar na'ang yod]

(11) rlung ltas rten 'brel brtag pa/

(12) sa bdun pa yan chad 'khor bzhi'i rgya zhes pa'i dgongs pa ston pa/ [pod dmar na'ang yod] 'gor bla ma'i zhal nas zhes pa dang dbu ma la dbang phyug gi ming btags pa ni dbu ma'i yon tan brgyad do'i mtha' can rnams/ [dkar chag nas sa paṇ zin bris zer/]

[III] gsum pa lam zab ni/

(13) bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa'i ling chu rtse khab ma/ [pod dmar na'ang yod/]

(14) bla ma'i rnal 'byor gu shri jo 'bum la bsrings pa nad 'don mar grags pa/

[IV] bzhi pa bir bsrung la/

(15) bir bsrung thun mong ma yin pa chu la brten pa'i rgyun bsrung dang mi bskyod pa la brten nas nam dgos su bsrung ba/

(16) sngags byang zhu dag ma/

(17) rdo rje bsrung ba'i phyag rgya/

(18) tsakra'i bsrung ba/

(19) thabs shes kyi bsrung ba ste bsrung ba gsum/

(20) ril bu bcud len sgrub pa rnams/

Appendix I

Outline of Glo-bo mkhan-chen's Commentary on the KhJ
Extracted from the subject headings in
Glo-bo mkhan-chen, KhJNSh

(Pagination is based on the Tōyō Bunko manuscript.)

[I. 'grel bshad kyi mchod brjod]

[II. 'grel bshad dngos]

A. bstan bcos rtsom pa po'i yon tan brjod pa (2b.2)
  1. gang du skye ba brnyes pa'i tshul (2b.4)
  2. brnyes nas thos bsam gyis rgyud sbyangs pa'i tshul (4a.2)
    a. rgyu dus su shes bya la bslabs pa'i tshul (4a.3)
    b. 'bras dus su rig pa'i gnas lnga mkhyen pa'i rnam par thar pa (5a.6)
      i. shes bya ji snyed pa mkhyen pa'i rnam thar (5b.1)
        (A) sgra (6a.6)
        (B) gtan tshigs (6b.2)
        (C) bzo (7a.2)
        (D) gso ba (8a.4)
        (E) nang rig pa (8b.3)
      ii. shes bya ji lta ba mkhyen pa'i tshul (14a.3)
  3. bstan pa dang sems can gyi don ji ltar mdzad pa'i tshul (17a.1)
    a. gangs can gyi khrod 'dir bstan pa'i bya ba ji ltar mdzad pa'i tshul
      i. mkhas pa'i bya ba gsum gyis bstan pa rgyas par mdzad pa'i tshul
        (A) 'chad pa'i nyi mo'i 'od zer gyis phan bde'i pad tshal rgyas par mdzad pa'i tshul (17a.4)
        (B) rtsom pa rin po che'i 'phreng bas mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog par mdzad pa'i tshul (20a.1)
        (C) rtsod pa rdo rje'i shags kyis lta ngan gyi brag ri bshig pa'i tshul (22a.3)
      ii. phrin las sna tshogs pas gzhan gyi don mdzad pa'i tshul (24a.5)
    b. byang phyogs hor gyi yul du bstan pa'i bya ba ji ltar mdzad pa'i tshul (29a.3)

B. des mdzad pa'i bstan bcos nyid bshad pa (44a.4)
  1. klad kyi don
    a. mtshan smos nas mchod par brjod pa (44a.5)
      i. dngos

ii. phyag 'tshal ba (44a.6)

iii. mchod par brjod pa (44b.2)

(A) dngos

(B) de'i don bshad pa (44b.4)

(1) dgos don

(2) bsdus don

(3) tshig don

b. bshad par dam bca' ba (46a.1)

i. dgos pa gang gi phyir 'chad pa (46a.1)

ii. 'chad pa gang gi tshul ji ltar 'chad pa (46a.2)

iii. mkhas pa'i sgra don bshad pa (46a.6)

(A) spyi don

(1) mkhas par bya ba'i yul spyir bstan pa dang (46b.5)

(2) rig pa'i gnas lnga la sogs pa bye brag tu bstan pa (47a.2?)

(a) sgra (47b.2)

(b) rtog ge (47b.4)

(c) bzo (47b.5)

(d) gso ba (48a.4)

(e) nang rig pa (48b.3)

(B) gzhung gi don (52b.1)

2. gzhung don dngos (52b.1)

a. rtsom pa

i. rtsom pa la 'jug pa'i thog ma'i ngag rnams bshad pa (52b.2)

(A) mchod brjod kyi tshul

(1) mtshams sbyor ba (52b.5)

(2) rtsa ba (52b.5)

(3) 'grel pa (52b.6)

(4) phyogs gcig tu nges pa'i dgos pa bsal ba

(a) 'tshams sbyar (53a.1)

(b) rtsa ba

(c) 'grel pa (53a.2)

(B) bshad par dam bca' ba (54b.5)

(1) rtsa ba'i gzhung dgod pa

(2) de dag gi don bshad pa (55b.1)

(C) khengs skyung ba'i tshul (56b.3)

(D) lus rnam gzhag gi tshul (57a.5)

(E) dgos 'grel gyi tshul (57b.6)

(1) dgos don (58a.3)

(2) bsdus pa'i don (58b.6)

[(3) tshig gi don?]

ii. bstan bcos kyi lus rtsom pa'i tshul (60b.3)

(A) sgra'i rgyu yi ge dang ming dang tshig gi tshogs gsum bshad pa

(1) tshogs gsum spyir bshad pa

(a) yi ge

(i) bshad gzhi'i gzhung

(ii) ji ltar 'chad pa'i tshul (61a.1)

A. mtshan nyid

B. nges tshig (62a.6)

C. rgyu (62b.4)

D. ldang tshad (62b.5)

1. dbyangs gcig gis bcings pa (62b.5)

2. ming gi mtha'i yi ge (62b.6)

E. dbye ba (62b.6)

1. rtsa ba dang yan lag du dbye ba

2. dbyangs dang gsal byed du dbye ba (63a.2)

a. tha snyad rig pa las bshad tshul

b. mdo rgyud las gsungs tshul (63a.5)

c. bod la grags pa ji ltar yin pa (63b.1)

3. gnas kyi sgo nas dbye ba (64a.3)

4. 'dren pas dbye ba (64a.4)

(b) ming gi tshogs (65a.5)

(i) gzhung dgod pa

(ii) don bshad pa (65a.6)

A. mtshan nyid

B. rgyu (65b.3)

C. ldang tshad (65b.3)

1. yi ges ming ldang ba'i tshad

a. yi ge rkyang pas 'grub pa (65b.4)

b. des tshogs pas 'grub pa (65b.5)

2. de la rtsod pa spong ba (65b.6)

D. dbye ba (66a.3)

1. 'dod rgyal gyi ming

2. rjes su grub pa'i ming

(c) tshig gi tshogs (66a.4)

(i) bshad pa'i gzhi dgod pa

(ii) don bshad pa (66a.6)

A. mtshan nyid (66a.6)

B. rgyu (67a.1)

C. ldang tshad (67a.1)

1. ming gnyis 'tshogs pas 'grub pa

2. du ma 'tshogs pas 'grub pa

D. dbye ba (67a.3)

(2) ming tshig bye brag du bshad pa (67a.3)

(a) brda dang tha snyad kyi rnam gzhag

(b) 'dod rgyal dang rjes bsgrub kyi khyad par

(c) grags pa'i brda bye brag du bshad pa (68a.3)

(i) sngon grags pa'i brda bshad pa

A. 'jig rten la grags pa

B. bstan bcos la grags pa (68a.6)

C. de bzhin gshegs pa'i brda (68b.1)

(ii) phyis grags pa der bsdu ba (69a.1)

(d) rjes bsgrub kyi rnam dbye zhib tu bstan pa

(i) rjes bsgrub mtshungs pa dang/ bzlog pa mi mtshungs pa gnyis su dbye ba (69a.6)

(ii) grags 'jug 'gal mi 'gal mu bzhir dbye ba (69b.6)

(iii) log pa kho nar 'gyur ba'i rjes bsgrub kyi dpe bstan pa (70a.6)

(iv) don dngos su gsal bar mi ston pa'i sgra la rjes su byed pa'i sgra dang/ nye bar sbyor ba'i sgra gnyis su ji ltar dbye ba'i tshul

A. rjes su byed pa'i sgra (70b.3)

B. ?

(e) rigs kyi sgra dang ming gi sgra gnyis su ji ltar dbye ba'i tshul (71a.1)

(i) gang las bshad pa'i khungs

(ii) de ltar bshad pa'i sgra'i mtshan nyid (71a.3)

(f) dgag sgrub kyi yul ngos bzung ba (73a.1)

(i) don dam spros bral la dgag sgrub med par bstan pa

(ii) 'jig rten tha snyad pa'i shes bya la dgag sgrub ji ltar byed pa'i tshul

A. spyir bstan (72b.2)

B. so sor bshad pa (73b.3?) dgag sgrub kyi sgo nas yul rtogs tshul

1. don gyi sgo nas rtogs tshul

2. sgra'i sgo nas rtogs tshul [med dgag, ma yin dgag]

(g) tshig ji ltar 'chad pa'i tshul (77a.4)

(i) ming sgrub pa

A. legs par sbyar ba'i skad la sbyor ba'i tshul mdo tsam smos te bzhag pa
B. bod la mkho ba'i rnam par dbye ba cung zad tsam (78b.3)
C. legs sbyar gyi skad la dbyangs yig so so'i mtha' can la rtags 'du so sor sbyar nas bsgrub pa'i tshul (79a.5)
D. de bod kyi sgra sbyor la mi dgos pa'i tshul (79b.4)
E. bod nyid la yang brjod 'dod dang/ gnas skabs dang/ tshig shugs kyis sgra tha dad du 'gyur tshul (80a.3)
(ii) khams bsgrub pa (81b.5)
A. gzhung las bshad pa'i tshig bkod pa
B. der mi gsal ba'i don cung zad bshad pa (82b.2)
(B) snyan ngag rtsom pa la 'jug pa'i tshul (83b.3)
(1) spyi'i don
(a) snyan tshig brtsams pa'i dgos pa
(i) sde bzhi'i tha snyad la 'jug pa'i dgos pa (83b.6)
(ii) grags pa yun ring du gnas pa'i dgos pa (84a.3)
(iii) yon tan dang skyon 'byed pa'i dgos pa (84a.5)
(iv) dgos pa dang ldan pa'i phyir snyan ngag brtsams pa'i tshul (84b.3)
(b) snyan tshig dngos (84b.6)
(i) sgra'i don (84b.6)
(ii) sgra de dang ldan pa'i don (85a.2)
A. snyan ngag gi mtshan nyid ston par byed pa'i rgyan gyi bstan bcos [where is B?]
1. snyan ngag gi lus (85b.2)
a. gzhung gi dbye bas gsum du bshad pa (85b.2)
[i. mdor bstan?]
(A) tshigs su bcad pa
(B) rkyang pa
(C) rgyud chags
(1) rgyud chags bcad pa (85b.5)
(2) rgyud chags ma bcad pa
[ii. rgyas bshad? 87b.2]
(A) tshigs bcad bshad pa (87b.3)
(1) mtshan nyid
(2) dbye ba (87b.5)
(a) sdeb sbyor gyi sgo nas gnyis su dbye ba (87b.5)
(i) vṛtti

(ii) jāti

(b) sbyor tshul gyi sgo nas bzhir dbye ba (89a.1)

(i) grol ba

A. mtshan nyid (89a.3)

B. dpe (89a.4)

C. nges tshig (89a.6)

(ii) rigs

A. mtshan nyid (89b.2)

B. dpe (89b.4)

C. nges tshig (90a.1)

(iii) mdzod (90a.3)

A. mtshan nyid

B. dpe (90a.5)

[C. nges tshig?]

(iv) 'dus pa'am tshogs pa (90b.1)

A. mtshan nyid

B. dpe (90b.3)

C. nges tshig (90b.4)

(3) snyan ngag chen po ngos bzung ba (91a.6)

(a) mtshan nyid kyi spyir bstan

(i) khyab mnyam gyi mtshan nyid (91b.1)

(ii) rang bzhin gyi mtshan nyid (91b.4)

A. dang por rtsom pa'i thabs sogs spyir bstan (91b.4)

B. lus sogs rtsom pa'i thabs so sor bstan pa (93b.1)

C. de dag bsdus te sarga'i bya ba bstan pa (95b.4)

(B) lhug pa (96b.5)

(1) mtshan nyid

(2) dbye ba (97a.1)

(C) spel ma (97b.4)

b. skad kyi dbye bas lus bzhir bshad pa (98a.3)

i. mdo tsam

ii. rgyas bshad (98a.6)

(A) legs sbyar (98a.6)

(B) rang bzhin gyi skad (98b.3)

(C) zur chag (99b.3)

(D) 'byung po'i skad (?)

iii. de dag gis brtsams pa? (99b.5)

c. sbyor tshul gyi sgo nas lus gnyis su bstan pa (100a.5)

i. lta ba mig gi don gtso bor ston pa'i snyan ngag gi bstan bcos (100b.2)

ii. rnar snyan pa'i ro nyams gtso bor ston pa (100b.3)

2. snyan ngag gi rgyan (100b.4)

a. thun mong ma yin pa'i rgyan

b. thun mong gi rgyan (100b)

i. don rgyan

ii. sgra rgyan

iii. gab tshig gi rgyan

(2) gzhung gi don (101a.2)

(a) rgyan gyi sbyor tshul spyir bstan pa

(i) nyams dgu dang sbyar te mdor bstan pa

A. nyams dgu spyir bstan pa

1. sbyar ba'i gzhi (101b.1)

2. brjod pa'i tshul

B. nyams dgu so sor rgyas par bshad pa (102a.3)

1. rtsa ba

2. 'grel pa? (103b.2?)

a. so so'i mtshan nyid dang rab tu dbye ba (103b.2)

b. de dag gi dpe (105b.5)

C. phan tshun 'gal ba mi sbyor zhing/ mi 'gal ba sbyor ba'i tshul (108a.2)

1. gzhung dgod (108a.2)

2. de'i nang tshan gyi don la dpyod pa (112a.4)

D. 'gal ba sbyar na smad pa'i gnas su bstan pa (113a.3)

1. spyi'i don (113a.3)

2. gzhung gi don (114b.4)

E. tshig sbyor legs pa'i dpe brjod (115b.5)

1. gzhung (115b.5)

2. dpe nyid ji ltar yin pa (116a.4)

F. tshig skyon can mi sbyor ba'i tshul (117a.1)

1. gzhung dgod

2. nang tshan gyi dpe brjod so sor bshad pa (118a.2)

a. tshig gi gcod 'tshams du sbyar bas skyon zhugs pa'i grong pa (118a.4)

b. brjod bya'i don skabs su bab ma bab kyi tshig gi lhag chad kyi nyes pas skyon du 'gro ba

(b) bstan bcos la 'jug pa'i lam rnam par dbye ba (119b.1)

(i) tshigs bcad dang rkyang pa dang spel ma'i sbyor tshul gsum spyir bstan pa (119b.3)

(ii) tshigs bcad kyi sbyor tshul bye brag tu bshad pa (119b.6)

A. tshigs bcad gnyis kyi dbye ba bstan pa (120a.1)

1. gzhung

2. dpe brjod (120b.1)

B. sdeb sbyor la grags pa'i tshigs bcad khyad par du bshad pa (121a.2)

1. rab tu dbye ba spyir bstan pa (121a.2)

a. yi ge bgrang ba dang phyi mo bgrang ba'i sgo nas gnyis su dbye ba (121a.4)

i. gzhung

ii. don rgyas par (bshad pa) (121b.1)

b. lus dang rgyan gyi sgo nas gnyis su dbye ba (124b.3)

c. brjod tshul gyi sgo nas bzhir dbye ba (124b.6)

i. grol ba

ii. rigs 'brel

iii. mdzod

iv. tshogs pa

2. sbyor tshul so sor smos pa (125a.5)

a. rgyan 'ga' zhig ma tshang bas skyon du mi 'gyur ba spyi la grags pa'i tshul (125b.1)

b. gtso bo'i yon tan sngon la brjod nas de'i 'gran zla zil gyis gnon pa'i tshul la grags che ba dang/ dgra'i yon tan sngon la brjod nas . . . (125b.5)

(iii) shar phyogs dang lho phyogs pa'i sbyor tshul bsdus te bstan pa (126a.3)

A. gzhung dgod (126b.1)

B. don bshad pa

1. 'brel pa (126b.4)

2. rab tu dang ba'am gsal ba (127a.3)

16

3. mnyam pa nyid kyi yon tan (127b.6)
4. snyan pa'i yon tan (128a.6)
5. shin tu gzhon pa (128b.4)
6. don gsal ba (128b.6)
7. rgya che ba (go che ba) (129a.3)
8. brjod pa (129a.2)
9. mdzes pa (130a.5)
10. ting nge 'dzin (130b.5)

(c) rgyan gyi dper brjod lung dang sbyar te legs par bshad pa (131b.3)

(i) rang bzhin brjod pa'i dpe (132b.3)

A. rigs tsam brjod pa

B. bya ba tsam ston pa

C. yon tan brjod pa

D. rdzas brjod pa (133a.1)

(ii) dpe'i rgyan (133b.5)

A. mdor bstan nas rgyas bshad (134b.2)

1. chos kyi dpe (135a.1)
2. dngos po brjod pa'i- (135a.2)
3. bzlog pa'i- (135a.3)
4. phan tshun gyi- (135a.5)
5. nges pa- (135a.6)
6. nges med kyi- (135b.1)
7. bsdus pa'i- (135b.3)
8. phul byung gi- (135b.6)
9. rab rtog gi- (136a.2)
10. rmad byung gi- (136a.4)
11. rmongs pa'i- (136a.5)
12. the tshom gyi- (136b.2)
13. gtan la 'bebs pa'i- (136b.4)
14. sbyar ba'i- (137a.3)
15. mnyam pa'i- (137b.2)
16. smad pa'i- (138a.1)
17. bsngags pa'i- (138a.3)
18. brjod 'dod (138b.1)
19. 'gal ba'i- (138b.5)
20. dgag pa'i- (139a.2)
21. ngo bstod kyi- (139a.5)
22. de nyid brjod pa'i-

23. thun mong ma yin pa'i-
24. byung min gyi-
25. srid pa ma yin pa'i-
26. mang ba'i-
27. rnam 'gyur ba'i-
28. 'phreng ba'i-
29. ngag don gyi-
30. bzla bo'i dngos po'i-
31. mtshungs par sbyor ba'i-
32. rgyu'i dpe-

B. skyon med pa dmigs gsal gyi dpe (143a.2)

C. mtshungs pa gsal byed kyi rnam grangs drug cu rtsa gsum bsdus te bstan pa (143a.6)

(iii) gzugs can

A. ngo bo

B. don

C. dbye ba

1. bsdus pa'i gzugs can (144a.5)
2. ma bsdus pa'i- (144b.4)
3. bsdus shing ma bsdus pa'i- (145a.3)
4. mtha' dag gi- (145a.5)
5. cha shas kyi- (145b.6)
6. cha shas can- (146b.1)
7. yan lag gcig gi- (147a.2)
8. ldan pa- (147b.3)
9. ldan min- (148a.2)
10. mi nyam- (148b.1)
11. khyad par can gyi- (149a.5)
12. 'gal ba- (153a.1)
13. rgyu'i- (153b.5)
14. sbyar ba'i- (154a.3)
15. dpe- (154b.3)
16. ldog pa can- (155b.1)
17. 'gog pa'i- (156a.5)
18. mnyam 'jog- (156b.1)
19. gzugs can gyi- (156b.5)
20. mnyon dor gyi- (157a.4)

(iv) gsal byed kyi rgyan (158a.2)

A. mtshan nyid kyis mdor bstan

B. dpe brjod kyi(s) rgyas par bshad
  1. gnas gsum gyi gsal byed
    a. thog
      i. rigs brjod pa'i-
      ii. bya ba- (159a.4)
      iii. yon tan- (160a.2)
      iv. rdzas- (160b.1)
    b. bar
      i. rigs brjod pa'i dpe (161a.4)
      ii. bya ba- (161b.3)
    c. mtha'i gsal byed- (162b.2)
      i. rigs brjod pa'i- (162b.3)
      ii. bya ba brjod pa'i- (163a.3)
  2. 'phreng ba'i- (163b.1)
  3. 'gal don (164a.3)
  4. don gcig gi- (164b.3)
  5. sbyar don- (165a.3)
C. ma bshad pa slob pa'i tshul (165a.5)
(v) bskor ba'i rgyan (165b.5)
  A. don bskor gyi dpe (166a.3)
  B. tshig bskor (166b.2)
  C. gnyis ka bskor ba (167a.3)
(vi) 'gog pa'i rgyan (167b.4)
  A. dbye ba mdor bstan (167b.5)
    1. 'das pa (168a.2)
    2. da lta (168b.5)
    3. ma 'ongs
  B. de nyid cung zad rgyas par bshad pa (170a.1)
    1. chos- (170a.1)
    2. chos can- (170a.5)
    3. rgyu 'gog pa- (170b.2)
    4. 'bras bu- (171a.1)
    5. rjes gnang gi- (171b.2)
    6. dbang ches- (172a.2)
    7. ma gus- (173a.3)
    8. shis brjod- (174a.1)
    9. tshig rtsub- (174a.5)
    10. grogs kyi- (174b.4)
    11. rtsol bas- (175a.5)

12. gzhan dbang- (176a.3)
13. thabs kyis- (177a.2)
14. khro bas- (177b.2)
15. rnying rje- (178a.3)
16. phyis smon (179a.3)
17. the tshom (179b.5)
18. sbyar ba (180b.4)
19. don gzhan (181b.2)
20. rgyu mtshan (182a.1)

(vii) don gzhan bkod (182b.4)

A. mtshan nyid (182b.5)
B. dbye ba (183a.5)
C. dpe dngos (183b.4)
   1. kun khyab (183b)
   2. khyad par can (184b.2)
   3. sbyar ba can (185b.3)
   4. 'gal ba can (186a.4)
   5. mi 'os pa byed pa (186a.4)
   6. 'os pa'i don (187a.1)
   7. 'os pa dang mi 'os pa'i don (187b.3)
   8. bzlog pa?

(viii) ldog pa can gyi dpe (188a.4)

[A. sgras zin mtshungs pa'i ldog pa can -- Bod-mkhas-pa]
   1. gcig la gnas pa'i- (188a.4)
   2. gnyis ka'i- (189a.1)
   3. sbyar ba can gyi- (189b.3)
   4. 'gog pa can [dang] gtan tshigs kyi-
      a. dam bca'
      b. dpe brjod (191a.1)
         i. 'gog pa can (191a.1)
         ii. gtan tshigs (191b.2)

[B.] rtogs pa mtshungs pa'i ldog pa can
   1. dam bca' (193a.5) [=192a.5]
   2. dbye ba
      a. don gyi go ba'i ldog pa can
         i. dpe dang dpe can gyi dbye ba tsam gyi (193b.1) [=192b.1]
         ii. dpe bas dpe can lhag pa'i- (193b.6)

[=192b.1]

iii. de gnyis kyi don bsdu ba (192b.1)
[=193b.1]

b. 'byed byed mtshungs pa'i ldog pa can (192b.4)
[=193b.4]

i. dam bca'

ii. dpe bstan

(A) mtshungs chos dang 'byed byed gnyis ka sgras zin pa (194a.2)

(B) mtshungs chos sgras dngos su ma zin (194b.1)

iii. de dag gi gnas lugs bshad pa (195a.5)

C. rigs mthun 'byed pa'i- (195b.5)

(ix) srid pa can (196b.2)

A. mtshan nyid (196b.2)

B. dpe brjod (196b.4)

iii. snyan tshig brtsam pa'i dge ba bsngo ba (198a.4)

b. bshad pa la 'jug pa (198b.1)

i. mdor bstan (198b.2)

ii. rgyas par bshad pa (207a.5)

(A) rnam bshad rigs pa las gsungs pa ltar 'chad thabs lngas bshad pa (108a.4)

(1) dgos don dgos 'grel gyi ngag (208a.6)

(2) bsdus don (208b.6)

(a) ngag don bsdus te bstan pa (209a.1)

(b) gzhung lugs so so'i bsdus don (209a.6)

(3) tshig don bshad pa (211b.4)

(a) tshig gi sbyor ba

(b) tshig gi rnam par bshad pa'i tshul (211b.6)

(i) legs sbyar gyi lugs dpyis phyin par bshad pa (212a.1)

(ii) bod la nye bar mkho ba'i bshad tshul cung zad brjod pa (212a.5)

(iii) de lta bu'i gzhung 'chad tshul (216a.3)

A. sgra la mkhas pas tshig don phye ste bshad pa (216a.4)

1. spyir bstan

2. so sor bshad pa (216a.6)

a. sgra drang por bshad pa (216b.1)

b. sgra drangs nas bshad pa (216b.6)

c. phan tshun bsgyur te bshad pa (217b.6)
i. rnam grangs bsgyur ba (217b.6)
ii. yi ge bsgyur ba (220a.1)
(A) dgag pa'i sgra phyir bton pa
(B) dgag pa'i sgra phyir ma bton pa
B. don la mkhas pas lhag chad dang 'khrul ba med par bshad pa (223a.5)
1. 'chad nyan bya ba'i tshul spyir bstan (223a.6)
a. rtsa ba
b. 'grel pa (223b.1)
i. skyon bcwo brgyad dang bral pa'i 'chad tshul
ii. [skyon gtso che ba] 'dor dgos tshul (223b.1)
iii. gnyan pa po'i skyon gtso che bar spong dgos tshul (223b.5)
2. rtogs par dka' ba'i don bye brag bshad pa (224a.5)
(4) mtshams sbyar (232a.2)
(a) rtsa ba
(b) 'grel pa (232a.3)
(i) [sgra] (232a.4)
(ii) don (232b.1)
(5) brgal lan (233a.1)
(a) rtsa ba
(b) 'grel pa (233a.2)
(B) mtha' drug gi bshad pa (235b.5)
iii. 'jug bsdus te legs par bshad pa'i dge ba bsngo ba (237a.5)
c. rtsod pa la 'jug pa'i le'u bshad pa (237b.4)
i. rtsod pa'i tshul ston pa'i gzhi byed pa'i gzhung lugs ji ltar byung ba'i lo rgyus
(A) mu stegs kyi rtog ge'i gzhung byung tshul (238a.1)
[(1) rig byed kyi 'byung tshul (238a.1)]
[(2) rtog ge'i bstan bcos nyid 'byung tshul (238a.3)]
(a) chad par smra ba (238a.3)
(b) rtag par smra ba
(i) ser skya (238a.6)
(ii) gzegs zan (238b.2)
(iii) rkang mig (238b.4)
(iv) rig byed kyi mtha' dang bhadrahari (238b.5)
(v) gcer bu pa
(B) sangs rgyas pa'i rtog ge'i bstan bcos 'byung ba'i tshul (239a.4)

(1) dang po ji ltar byung ba'i tshul (239a.4)
(a) sangs rgyas 'od srungs kyi bstan pa'i dus su ('dul ba'i lung las gsungs) (239a.5)
(b) ston pa thub dbang nyid bzhugs pa'i dus su byung ba'i rtog ge'i bstan bcos (242a.4)
(i) dgra bcom chos skyobs (242a.4)
(ii) dbyig gnyen (242a.5)
(2) bar du byung ba phyi rabs pa'i lugs (242b.6)
(a) phyogs glang gi rnam thar (242b.6)
(b) chos kyi grags pa (247a.3)
(3) tha mar ji ltar byung ba'i tshul
(a) lha'i dbang po'i blo gros (249b.4)
(b) shes rab 'byung gnas blo gros (250b.1)
(c) bde byed dga' ba'i lugs (253a.2)
[(i) bde byed dga' ba'i lo rgyus]
[(II) de'i brgyud pa (253b.5)]
ii. gzhung gi don (254a.4)
(A) bshad par dam bca' ba (254a.4)
(B) 'jug tshul dngos (254a.5)
(1) sbyor ba rtsod pa'i lam sbyang ba
(a) mdor bstan (254a.6)
(b) rgyas bshad (254b.1)
(2) dngos gzhi (254b.3)
(a) byis pa'i skye bo nyams sad pa'i rtsod pa (254b.4)
(b) mkhas pa'i skye bo grub mtha' 'dzin pa'i rtsod pa (255a.4)
(i) rgol ba gnyis kas rang rang gi grub mtha' 'dzin pa spyir bstan pa (255a.6)
(ii) phyir rgol gyis grub mtha' mi 'dzin pa dmigs gsal du bstan pa (255b.1)
(iii) gnyis kas grub mtha' khas len pa'i tshul phye ste bstan pa (255b.2)
A. rtsod gzhi nges par bya ba (255b.3)
B. nges nas rtsod pa la 'jug pa (255b.5)
1. lung rigs kyi rtsod pa gnyis thun mong ba mtshungs pa'i tshul (255b.6)
2. mi 'dra ba bye brag tu bshad pa (256a.1)
a. lung gi rtsod pa (256a.3)
i. phyi rol pa dang sangs rgyas pa gnyis lung mi 'thun pa la rtsod pa'i tshul (256a.5)

ii. sangs rgyas pa nyid la yang phan tshun 'gal bar rtsod pa'i tshul (257a.2)

(A) lung las grags pa'i rtsod pa dang/ de'i lan spyir bstan (257a.2)

(B) bye brag tu mdo nyid nas gsungs pa'i lan (257a.3)

(C) lan 'debs tshul gyi khyad par gzhan (257a.4)

b. rigs pa'i rtsod pa'i tshul (258a.3)

.

.

.

.

.

b. rigs pa'i rtsod pa'i tshul (258a.3)

i. grub mtha' rjes su 'brang mi 'brang rnam par dbye ba rtsod pa'i skabs su khas mi len pa gnyis (258a.4)

(A) mu stegs byed khas len yod bzhin du g.yo sgyu'i khas mi len pa rkun ma khas mi len pa lta bu (258a.6)

(B) dbu ma pa khas mi len pa ma rkus pa khas mi len pa lta bu

ii. grub mtha' thun chags sdebs nas tha snyad mi mthun par 'dogs pa la rnam par dpyad pa (258b.3)

iii. khas len pa'i grub mtha' rgyas par bshad pa (259b.3)

(A) grub mtha'i dbye ba (259b.3)

(1) rnam bshad spyir bstan (259b.4)

(2) de dag so sor phye ste bshad (260b.2)

(a) phyi rol pa'i grub mtha'i rnam par gzhag pa (261a.3)

(b) de dag gi don so sor bzhag pa (263a.5)

(c) sangs rgyas pa'i grub mtha' bzhir dbye ba (266b.6)

(i) bye brag tu smra ba (268b.2)

(ii) mdo sde pa (269a.2)

(iii) rnal 'byor spyod pa (270a.5)

(iv) dbu ma pa (277a.3)

(d) de dag rtsod pa'i tshul bstan pa (283a.2)

(i) chos kyi grags pa'i dgongs pa dngos bzung ba (283a.3)

A. rtsa tshig gis mdor bstan (283a.4)

B. 'grel pas rgyas par bshad pa (283a.5)

1. phyi rol gyi don dgos pa'i dbang gi khas len pa'i tshul (283a.6)
2. rigs pas dpyad nas de nyid 'gog pa'i tshul (285a.5)
3. kun tu tha snyad pa'i gzhi rnam rig bsgrub pa (285b.4)
4. tha snyad las 'das pa don dam pa la 'jug pa'i tshul (286a.5)

(ii) dngos po stobs zhugs kyi rigs pa'i rnam bzhag rgyas par bshad pa (287a.6)

A. phyi rol gyi don khas len pa na mdo sde pa'i grub mtha' dngos po stobs zhugs su bstan pa (287b.2)
B. phyi rol gyi don 'gog pa na rnam rig dngos po stobs zhugs su bstan pa (287b.6)
C. chos nyid gtan la 'bebs pa na dbu ma'i gtan tshigs dngos po stobs zhugs su bstan pa (288a.1)

(iii) de la rtsod pa spong ba (288a.3)

A. phyogs snga brjod pa (288a.3)
B. de dgag pa (288a.6)
C. nyes spong gi lan gdab pa (288b.4)

(B) [phan tshun rtsod pa'i tshul?] rigs pa'i rtsod pa (sic) (289b.4)

(1) phyi rol pa dang nang pa sangs rgyas pa'i lugs gnyis su dbye ba spyir bstan pa (289b.5)

(2) rang sde bye brag tu bshad pa (289b.6)

(a) rtog ge snga phyi gnyis kyi dbye bsdu'i khyad par sogs so sor bshad pa (290a.3)

(b) gsar bu rnams kyis go sla ba'i phyir dri ba dang lan 'debs pa'i tshul (292a.3)

(i) phyogs snga['i mang nyung]
(ii) bsgrub bya la sgrub byed kyi rtags 'god pa'i tshul (293a.6)
(iii) lan 'debs pa'i skabs su chos can mi srid pa sogs byung na (293b.4)
(iv) grub mtha'i mchog ngo bo nyid med par smra ba rnams kyis rtsod pa'i skabs su (294a.5)
(v) rigs pas rtsod pa'i skabs su lan 'debs tshul (295a.2)

A. gzhan gyi lugs dgag pa (295a.2)

B. rang gi lugs gzhag pa (295a.5)

(c) rtsod pa rnam par dag pa'i phan yon (296a.4)

.

.

.

.

.

(c) rtsod pa rnam par dag pa'i phan yon (296a.4)

(3) mjug tshogs pas bzung bde ba'i phyi ngag bsdus te brda sprad pa (296a.6)

(C) brtsad pa las byung ba'i dge ba bsngo ba (297a.2)

3. mjug gi don (297a.5)

a. bstan bcos brtsams pa'i dgos pa (297a.6)

b. rgyas par ma spros pa'i tshul (297b.3)

i. gzhan la phan pa'i go skabs dka' bar bstan pa (297b.4)

ii. rgyas par bshad pa'i byed pa chung bar bstan pa (297b.6)

c. dus dang rtsom pa po'i khyad chos bstan pa (298a.2)

d. gzhan gyis kyang 'bad dgos par bstan pa (298b.1)

e. brtsams pa'i dge ba sangs rgyas dges pa'i sar bsngo ba (299b.6)

[f. mdzad byang (300a.4)]

[III. 'grel bshad kyi mdzad byang (300b.3)]

[A. tshigs bcad du gsungs pa (300b.3)]

[B. lhug par gsungs pa (301b.1)]

Appendix J

Index of the Collected Works of Glo-bo Mkhan-chen, Gelung Manuscript

(Based on a manuscript copied from the original by order of the Venerable Chogay Trichen Rinpoche.)

[1a] po ti bzhi po 'di'i nang du bzhugs pa'i go rims dang bstun pa'i dkar chag bzhugs so/

[1b] // na ma gu ru bhat ya/
rgyal ba'i yab cig rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs//
sa skya paṇ chen zhes byar sku sprul nas//
deng 'dir bsod nams lhun grub mtshan bzung ba'i//
thub bstan nyin mor mdzad pa gang de yi//
bka' 'bum pot bzhi mar bzhugs pa'i dkar chag gi tho la/

ka pa la/

1. rje nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma
2. mkhyen [b]rtse ma
3. lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa bsgrub mtha' shan 'byed cung cad dang bcas pa dge legs rol pa'i chu gter
4. rje btsun sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po la bstod pa yon tan gyi khyad par bco lnga'i sgo nas bsngags pa
5. rje btsun bsod nams rtse mo la thun mong ba'i yon tan 'ga' zhig mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa
6. yang rje btsun sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa mtshan gyi phreng ba rnam par spel ba
7. yang rje btsun rtse mo la thun mong ma yin pa'i bstod pa
8. rje btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rin po che'i phreng ba
9. chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa dam pa bzhi ldan
10. chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita bstod pa phan mdzad ma
11. chos [2a] kyi rgyal po 'phags pa la bstod pa
12. rgyal ba kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa rin po che'i sgron ma
13. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dus gsum ma
14. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la gcig las 'phros pa'i bstod pa

15. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa gsang ba'i sgo 'byed
16. yang rab mdzes gser ri ma
17. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dpag yas ma
18. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug bstod pa dge tshogs ma
19. 'jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho la bstod pa
20. go rams pa la bstod pa dad ldan ma
21. chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel ba la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rigs bdag ma
22. chos kyi rje dkon mchog 'phel gyi rnam thar ngo mtshar 'phreng ba
23. chos kyi rje paṇḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa dge legs rgya mtsho ma
24. chos kyi rje paṇ chen la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma
25. chos kyi rje paṇḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
26. rdo rje phur pa'i bdud rtsi mchod pa'i bla ma brgyud rim
27. byang chub sems dpa' yon tan chos rgyal la bstod pa
28. rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma
29. chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang la gsol 'debs
30. chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rab dkar ma
31. yang chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa
32. yang chos rje tshul khrims rgytal mtshan bstod pa bkra shis kyi grangs spel ma
33. rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dge legs rgyal [2b] mtshan la bstod pa
34. bla ma rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa mkhyen rab ma
35. mus pa chos rje thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa
36. bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa
37. 'jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa
38. chos rje dbang phyug grub pa la bstod pa
39. chos rje lha mchog seng ge la bstod pa
40. dbu mdzad ngag dbang bzang po la bstod pa
41. bdag chen kun dga' rnam rgyal sde'i sku bstod
42. bla ma kun dga' chos legs la bstod pa
43. bla ma tshul khrims dpal la bstod pa
44. mkhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs kyi bstod pa
45. chos rje mgon po pa'i bstod pa
46. rab 'byams pa rgyal mtshan rin chen la bstod pa
47. bla ma tshul rgyal bstod pa
48. 'khor lo bde mchog gi lha tshogs la bstod pa nges don bcud kyi snying po
49. sgrub thabs brgya rtsa'i lha tshogs rnams kyi bstod pa rin po che'i tshom
50. thub pa'i dbang po skyes pa'i rabs kyi phreng ba'i tshigs su bcad pa me tog gi phur ma

51. shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma dkar mo la bstod pa rgyan gyi phreng ba
52. dpon btsun dkon mchog grags pa la bstod pa
53. skyid grong jo bo'i bstod pa
54. srid mtsho ma
55. lus can ma
56. dga' ba gdong gi rab 'byams pa la bstod pa
57. khro phu'i byams pa la bstod pa
58. 'phags ma sgrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya
59. rje btsun sgrol ma la bstod pa bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun [3a]
60. 'phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa 'dod pa'i 'bras bu rtsol ba
61. 'phags ma yid bzhin 'khorl lo la bstod pa thugs rje rgyun ldan ma
62. 'phags ma sgrol ma la bstod pa dus gsum rgyal ba ma
63. 'phags ma sgrol ma'i bstod pa dus gsum sangs rgyas ma
64. 'o mtsho ma
65. sgrol ma'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa'i don mthun bstod pa
66. 'dod don ma
67. bstod pa [sgrol ma'i bstod pa]
68. rgyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog 'phreng ba
69. kye rdo rje mtshan cha can gtso 'khor rnams kyi bstod pa rgyud nas phyung ba mdzad pa
70. kye rdo rje bcu bdun ma'i sngags 'phreng bu krig las mchan bur btab pa
71. gaṇḍi'i bstod pa slob dpon rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa las tshig gi sdebs su legs su mdzad pa
72. gzhan gyi snyan ngag gi dpal rnam par 'phrog pa'i tshig don rnam par bkra ba
73. e waṃ gyi bkod pa la bstod pa theg chen sgra dbyangs
74. chos zom gyi gtsug lag khang gi logs ris kyi gtso bo rnams bstod pa mdzad pa
75. dpal nag po chen po la bstod pa mdzad pa
76. bsam 'grub gling 'du khang rab ngas dus mdzad pa
77. dpal gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa mdzad pa
78. dpal gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa rnam dag ma
79. dpal ldan lha mo la bstod pa
80. rnam sras kyi bstod pa
81. lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa'i 'bri yig
82. bla ma rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug pa'i thugs [3b] dam thang ka mgon po'i bri yig
83. rje btsun sa skya pa'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul
84. bla ma'i rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba
85. rje btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams sengge'i rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer

86. chos kyi rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung
87. bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam par thar pa
88. grub thob yon tan dpal dang la tu ba bsod nams sengge'i rnam par thar pa
89. skyid grong jo bo'i rnam thar dri med snang ba
90. chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rim pa ji ltar byon pa'i tshul
91. lam 'bras kyi gsung rgyun zin bris
92. yan lag lnga sbyong
93. lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor
94. kye rdor dpa' gcig gi mngon rtogs las dang po pa'i don du mdzad pa
95. dpal kye rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag drug pa'i dka' ba'i gnas mdor bsdus pa
96. rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed zab don nyin mor byed pa'i snang ba
97. mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing gi gsal byed zab don bcud kyi snying po
98. 'og min sdug po bkod pa'i rgyan
99. mngon par rtogs pa'i tho yig bdud rtsi'i thig pa
100. dag ldan gling bzhi'i gnod sbyin kha pa ra'i lam dus kyi gsal byed
101. rgyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsungs rgyun
102. rgyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me
103. rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor [4a] ma'i bkra shis rnams bzhugs so/

kha pa la/

104. sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par 'byed pa zhib mor rnam 'thag
105. sgrub thabs padma'i snying po zhes bya ba ku ru ku lli'o
106. dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rin po che padma rā ga'i gter
107. rdo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs
108. nā ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi phyag len
109. drag po sgrol dbang gi tho
110. rnal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs
111. dpal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcad
112. ma hā ma ya'i bsdus don
113. rtog pa bdun pa'i bsdus don nyung ngu rab gsal
114. lwa wa pa'i bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho
115. bong bu'i zhal gyi dbang gi skabs su gsung ba'i tho
116. dgra gdong gi tho yig
117. dpal phyag na rdo rje 'khor lo chen po'i dbang gi tho

118. gshin rje dgra nag gi dbang tho
119. bstan bcos sdom pa gsum gyi gnas gsum gsal bar byed pa nor bu chu shel
120. 'jigs byed bcu bdun ma'i dbang gi tho
121. 'jam dpal gyi sngags mchan bu dang bcas pa
122. gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bo bcu'i gtor 'bul 'khor lo'i bsgrubs tshul dang bcas pa
123. mchod rten bsgrub pa'i tho
124. kye rdo rje nag po lugs kyi dbang gi tho
125. gnyan sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon par rtogs pa
126. rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg
127. rta mgrin gyi gtor ma
128. ri ma ti'i mchod gtor
129. gshin rje'i gshed dgra nag po dpa' gcig mngon rtogs
130. phag mo zhal gnyis ma'i [4b] bsrung 'khor shin tu zab pa
131. pu ṭa ming sring gsum gyi rjes gnang gi tho yig rje'i zhal mnga' nas mdzad pa
132. 'phags pa mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang gi tshul
132. sha ba ri'i rjes gnang byed tshul
134. tshe dbang dang bza' mchog gi tho yig
135. 'dod rgyal gyi'o
136. 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung ba dang bzlog pa'i 'khor lo
137. 'phags pa za ma tog bkod pa'i snying po las btus pa cheg chen lam gyi snying po
138. dpal gur gyi mgon po'i mngon rtogs
139. gtor 'bul brgya rtsa 'bul tshul
140. dpon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gnang ba
141. 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs
142. khro bo'i rgyal po 'byung po 'dul byed kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
143. phyag rdor 'khor chen gyi sgrub thabs 'bring po
144. don zhags dpa' gcig gi rjes gnang byed tshul
145. phyag rdor gyi rjes gnang dang sgom don
146. shin tu spros med kyi khrid kyi tho yig mthong ba don ldan
147. 'jam dpal smra ba'i sengge'i rjes gnang gi tho dang sgrub thabs
148. rnam sras kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
149. rnam 'joms kyi gtor mchog ma ni badzra
150. tshar gsum khug pa'i byin brlabs mdzad tshul
151. rnam 'joms kyi khrus chog
152. sangs rgyas klu dbang gi sgrub thabs
153. bcom ldan 'das kun rig gi bsnyen pa bya tshul
154. phyag na rdo rje 'gro bzang gi bsgrub thabs

155. phyag rdor gtum chung go mngon rtogs
156. 'phags ma sgrol ma gser mdog [5a] can gyi sgrub thabs zab mo
157. sgrol ma dug sel ma'i sgrub thabs
158. sgrol ma nyin mtshan zhi khro'i 'don thabs
159. rnal 'byor dbang phyug la rnam 'gyur drug gi sgo nas bstod pa
160. bsam 'grub gling gi gzim khang gi logs ris kyi lha tshogs rnams la bstod pa mdzad pa
161. 'phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bdag mdun bskyed pa'i mngon rtogs
162. dpal phyag na rdo rje u tstsha'i mngon rtogs
163. sdom chen gyi tho
164. gdong drug gi dbang gi tho
165. bsrung ba lnga'i tho
166. bcom ldan 'das gdug dkar mo can gyi dbang gi tho
167. gdugs dkar can gyi gtor chog bdud rtsi snying po
168. gdugs dkar can gyi phyir bzlog
169. ma mo sha gos kyi gtor chog
170. 'od zer can gyi dbang gi tho
171. yul chen po bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul med gsal ba
172. sdom gsum sgrag bzung gi thad kyi gsung rgyun
173. rma bya chen mo nas gsungs pa'i ri'i sdom
174. dpyal ba'i phag mo skor gsum gyi byin brlabs bya tshul
175. tsa ri dang de wi kong di'i yul gyi 'gag bsgrub
176. shrī e waṃ chos ldan nas chos rje lha mchog seng ge phebs dus kyi 'bul ba'i mchod brjod
177. rdo rje 'dzin dbyangs las btus pa [?]
178. yas gtam rin po che rnam par spel ba dngos 'grub kyi gter
179. 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung bzlog bsdus pa
180. sdom pa gsum gyi skabs kyi nyer mkho bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
181. thob yig rin po che'i phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan
182. sems [5b] bskyed kyi cho ga
183. rnam bshad don dam snying po rnams bzhugs so/

ga pa la/

184. tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus la 'jug pa'i sgo
185. tshad ma rigs pa'i gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba
186. blo'i rnam par gzhag pa sde bdun snying po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos
187. chos rje rnam rgyal bas rtsa rgyud kyi dga' ba'i gnas la dri ba zhus pa'i zhus lan

188. chos rje rnam rgyal dpal bzang po'i dris lan zab don nor bu'i gter
189. slob dpon yon 'byung gis gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
190. dris lan don gsum gsal byed
191. mi'i dbang po mgon po rgyal mtshan gyi dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog
192. dpon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gdams pa
193. zha lu lo tsā ba la dri ba mdzad pa
194. byang pa mchod gnas pa'i dris lan nges don snying po
195. zhang po rgyal ba'i dbang po'i dris lan
196. sa skyar bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan mdzad pa
197. rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris pa'i lan
198. bka' bcu pa dpal 'byor gyi zhus lan
199. theg mchog gnad kyi snying po bla ma dpal skyabs la gdams pa
200. rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod 'byung gnas
201. bslab bsdus kyi le 'grel bslab pa'i rgyan
202. bsgom rim bar ma'i sa bcad 'phags lam snying po
203. yum gyi 'dres rkang
204. mdo kun las btus pa'i sa bcad kun btus sgron me
205. rje btsun sa skya paṇḍita la phrin du gsol ba padmo'i phreng ba [6a]
206. rje btsun mi la ras pa'i mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed pa'i lugs su bkod pa 'khrul med snang ba.
207. rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa
208. bdag chen chos rgyal nor bu la thog mar gnang ba'i gsung 'phrin
209. bla ma'i rnam thar chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa
210. yang chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa
211. mi dbang bkra shis dgon la phul ba
212. a seng rdo rje brtan pa la gdams pa
213-218. yang a seng la gdams pa drug
219. mnga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba
220. sne shangs lo tsā ba la springs pa
221. dge slong dpal ldan grags pa la gnang ba
222. bdag chen chos rje la phul ba
223. bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba
224. lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud thor pa la phul ba
225. chos rje shi'u ri pa la gnang ba
226. rdzong kha bdag chen la phul ba
227. yang rdzong kha bdag chen la phul ba
228-231. yang thar po la phul ba bzhi
232. ra nag pa
233. dbon po rma bya ba la gnang ba

234. dge slong dar bzang ba gnyis la gnang ba
235. bla ma sho ma phug pa la gdams pa
236. bla ma blo pa la gdams pa
237. yang drung blo pa la gdams pa
238-239. yang drung blo pa la gdams pa gnyis
240. bla ma bzang po la gdams pa mdzad pa
241. dbang phyug rgyal mtshan la gdams pa
242. rje btsun rdo rje 'chang kun dga' dbang phyug gi dgongs rdzogs kyi mdzad phrin mdzad pa'i mchod brjod mdzad pa
243. yang dgongs pa rdzogs thabs bar ma'i dus kyi 'jug gi shis brjod
244. rjes kyi dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod
245. chos rgyal chen po bkra shis dgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchod brjod
246. chos rje nor bu [6b] la phul ba
247. khrigs rtse mkhan po rab brtan bzang po la gnang ba
248. gzhi khar gnang ba'i phyag gdams zhal bshu
249. bdag chen kun dga' bsod nams la phul ba'i gsung phrin
250. khams yul zil gnon pa'i dge 'dun bzhi la gdams pa thor bu ba 'dra
251. chos rje lha dbang la skyid tshal du springs pa
252. 'tsho byed rgyal rdor la gdams pa
253. yid 'byung ba'i tshigs bcad
254. yang tshigs bcad bcu bdun pa
255. stod phyogs su gsung shog tshigs bcad ma phul ba
256. mdo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed
257. snyan tshig mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta
258. rin po che bde legs rgya mtsho'i brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag
259. lo gsar dus kyi shis brjod mdzad pa
260. bdag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed
261. thub chen gyi 'phan la btab pa'i tshig bcad
262. bde gshegs gling pa'i gtsug lag khang bzhegs pa'i mtshon byed
263. ngam rings kyi byams pa'i 'phan gyi tshigs bcad
264. bsam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras pa'i bla ma rnams la phul ba'i gos phan gyi tshigs su bcad pa
265. bdag mo thugs rje sri gnon gyis ngam rings su phul ba'i 'phan gyi dkar chag
266. khro phu byams pa'i 'phan gyi shlo ka
267. bsam 'grub gling gi gser khang gi bkod pa
268. phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
269. dkar chag rin po che'i sgron ma
270. dpon sri btsan gyis bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa'i sum 'big
271. 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mtshon byed

272. drung rgyal gyis yab gyi phyir bzhengs pa'i brgyad stong pa
273. bdag chen gur gum rgyal mo'i rin chen gser gyi [7a] glegs bam bzhengs pa'i dkar chag gi snyan ngag
274. dpon po tshe dbang bzang po'i shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
275. skyes rtsa bla ma bas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
276. slob dpon kun bzang chos dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa
277. 'tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mang gi dkar chag
278. bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me
279. lo gsar dus kyi bkra shis kyi tshigs bcad rnams bzhugs/

nga pa la/
280. thub pa'i dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs lam bzang snang ba
281. rgyal sras lam bzang gi skabs kyi gtam brgyud nyer mkho
282. thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i gzhung gi bshad thabs rgyal sras lam bzang gi mdzes rgyan
283. snying po'i don gsal bar byed pa lung gi phreng ba
284. sdom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan 'dung gi tshad ma
285. tshig don mun sel
286. pha rol tu phyin pa'i sa lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa
287. mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam par bshad pa rigs gnas gsal byed rnams bzhugs so//

mdo rgyud bstan bcos kun gyi snying po'i don// [7b]
sa skya'i 'jam dbyangs rim par bzhed pa'i tshul//
grub mtha' rnam bzhi'i legs bshad gsal mdzad pa//
bstan pa'i nyi ma bsod nams lhun grub rgyal//

phyogs bcu'i rgyal ba kun gyis phyag mdzad cing//
gdan gsum tshangs pa lha yi ngo no nyid//
rgyal ba'i rigs bdag bsod nams lhun grub kyi//
bstan pa yun ring gnas pa'i bkra shis shog//

dge'o//

Appendix K

Index to the Collected Works of Glo-bo mkhan-chen, Tōyō Bunko Manuscript

Dbu-chen manuscript of 5 folios, found in the Tōyō Bunko Tibetan collection, manuscript no. 44, vol. <u>ka</u>, between folios 94 and 95.

/swasti pradzābhyaḥ

rmad byung thugs bskyed bsod nams dang//
ye shes lhun grub legs pa'i dpal//
'byung gnas grags pa'i rgyal mtshan 'dzin//
dpal yon bzang po rgyal gyur cig//

gang gi gsung rab yid bzhin nor bu'i 'phreng//
gzur gnas mkhas mang mgrin pa'i rgyan gcig bu//
legs bzhugs glegs bam rin chen za ma tog//
nor lha'i grangs ldan chos sna'i bzhugs tho dge//

ka pa la/

1. rje nyid kyi bstod pa mkhyen brtse ma gcig/
2. nyid kyi rnam thar zhus lan ma/
3. rnal 'byor dbang phyug la rnam 'gyur drug gi sgo nas bstod pa
4. bsam 'grub gling gzims khang gi logs ris kyi lha tshogs rnams la bstod pa
5. lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i rims pa grub mtha' shan 'byed cung zad dang bcas pa dge legs rol pa'i chu gter
6. yang lam 'bras kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rims pa mthong ba don ldan
7. rje btsun sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po la yon tan gyi khayd par bco lnga'i sgo nas bstod pa
8. rje btsun bsod nams rtse mo la thun mong gi yon tan gyi tshul 'ga' zhig mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa
9. yang rje btsun rtse mo la thun mong min pa'i yon tan gyi sgo nas bstod pa
10. rje btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa mtshan rin po che'i 'phreng ba
11. chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita la mtshan don gyi sgo nas bstod pa dam pa bzhi ldan
12. yang sa paṇ la bstod pa mtshan gyi 'phreng ba rnam par spel ba

13. yang de la bstod pa phan mdzad ma
14. chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che la bstod pa
15. rgyal ba kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa rin po che'i sgron ma
16. rje kun dga' dbang phyug la bstod pa dus gsum ma
17. yang de la gcig las 'phros pa'i bstod pa [2a]
18. yang de la bstod pa gsang ba'i sgo 'byed ma
19. yang de la bstod pa rab mdzes gser ri ma
20. yang de la bstod pa dpag yas ma
21. yang de nyid la bstod pa dge tshogs ma
22. 'jam dbyangs shes rab rgya mtsho la bstod pa dad pa'i shing rta
23. go bo rab 'byams pa la bstod pa dad ldan ma
24. chos rje dkon mchog 'phel la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rigs bdag ma
25. de'i rnam thar bstod tshig ngo mtshar 'phreng ba
26. chos rje paṇḍita grags pa rgyal mtshan la mtshan spel gyi sgo nas bstod pa dge legs rgya mtsho
27. yang de la bstod pa yon tan rgya chen ma
28. de la bstod pa dngos grub ma lus ma
29. rdo rje phur pa'i bdud rtsi mchod pa'i bla ma brgyud rims
30. byang chub sems dpa' yon tan chos rgyal la bstod pa phan bde kun 'byung ma
31. chos rje rwa ston yon tan dpal bzang po la bstod pa zab rgyas ma
32. yang de la gsol 'debs dge legs yon tan ma
33. chos rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rab dkar ma
34. yang de la bstod pa shin tu rnam dag ma
35. yang de la bstod pa bkra shis kyi grangs spel ma
36. rnal 'byor dbang phyug bde legs rgyal mtshan la bstod pa phan bde'i pad tshal
37. bla ma rab brtan bzang po la bstod pa mkhyen rab ma
38. mus pa chos rje thugs rje dpal bzang la bstod pa byams pa'i sprin phung ma
39. bla ma kun brtson pa la bstod pa
40. 'jam dbyangs kun dga' bsod nams la bstod pa zab yangs ma
41. chos rje dbang phyug grub pa la bstod pa gzhung lugs ma
42. chos rje lha mchog seng ge la bstod pa lhag pa'i lha mchog ma
43. dpon btsun dkon mchog grags pa la bstod pa
44. dbu mdzad dga' ba bzang po la bstod pa
45. bdag chen kun dga' rnam rgyal la bstod pa
46. bla ma kun dga' chos legs la bstod pa
47. bla ma tshul khrims dpal la bstod pa
48. mkhan chen dkon mchog chos skyabs la bstod pa
49. chos rje mgon po dbang phyug la bstod pa
50. rab 'byams pa rgyal mtshan rin chen la bstod pa

51. bla ma tshul rgyal la bstod pa
52. 'khor lo bde mchog gi lha tshogs la bstod pa nges don bcud kyi snying po che'i tshom
54. thub pa'i dbang po'i skyes rabs kyi 'phreng ba me tog gi phur ma tshigs su bcad pa
55. shes [2b] phyin dkar mo la bstod pa rgyan gyi 'phreng ba
56. skyid grong jo bo'i bstod pa
57. srid mtsho ma
58. lus can ma
59. dga' ba gdong gi byams pa la bstod pa
60. khro phu'i byams pa la bstod pa
61. 'phags ma sgrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa dngos grub kyi pho nya
62. rje btsun sgrol ma la bstod pa bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun
63. yang yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa 'dod pa'i 'bras stsol
64. yang de la bstod pa thugs rje rgyun ldan ma
65. yang sgrol ma la bstod pa dus gsum rgyal ba ma
66. yang de la bstod pa dus gsum sangs rgyas ma
67. yang de la bstod pa 'o mtsho ma
68. sgrol ma'i mtshan bbrgya rtsa brgyad kyi don mthun bstod pa
69. yang gsol ba 'debs pa 'dod don ma
70. yang gsol 'debs ngo mtshar ma
71. rgyud kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs me tog gi 'phreng ba
72. kye rdor mtshon cha can gtso 'khor rnams kyi bstod pa rgyud nas phyung bar mdzad pa
73. kye rdor bcu bdun ma'i sngags 'phreng bu ṭīk la mchan bu btab pa
74. gaṇḍi'i bstod pa slob dpon rta dbyangs kyis mdzad pa las tshig ldebs legs su mdzad pa gzhan gyi snyan ngag gi dpal rnam par 'phrog pa'i tshig don rnam par bkra ba
75. e waṃ gyi bkod pa la bstod pa theg chen sgra dbyangs
76. chos zom gyi gtsug lag khang gi logs ris kyi gtso bo rnams la bstod pa
77. dpal rdo rje nag po chen po la bstod pa dpal ldan srid gsum ma
78. yang de la bstod pa rab brjid ma
79. yang de la bstod pa dbang sngon lhun brtsegs ma
80. yang de la bstod pa rgyal ba'i rnam dag ma
81. dpal ldan lha mo la bstod pa
82. rnam sras la bstod pa
83. rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i thugs dam thang ka lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa dang bcas pa rnams kyi bris yig
84. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi thugs dam thang ka mgon po'i bris yig

85. rje btsun sa skya pa chen po'i yin thang dngos la zhib tu gzigs tshul
86. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba
87. rje btsun mkhas pa'i dbang po bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar nyi ma'i 'od zer
88. chos kyi rje tshul khrims rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar dgos 'dod 'byung ba mtshon byed dkar chag ste chos sna dgu bcu [sic] bzhugs/

mkhas dang grub pa'i zhabs sen 'od brgya'i zer//
blo chen khyod kyi cod pan la shar bas//
sdebs legs snyan tshig rtogs brjod utpal 'phreng//
kun nas rgod 'di dpyod ldan rna ba'i rgyan//

/kha pa la/
89. bla ma dmar chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar
90. grub thob yon tan dpal dang la ru pa bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar
91. skyid grong jo bo'i rnam thar dri med snang ba
92. chos rje shar pa'i gdung brgyud kyi rims pa ji ltar byon tshul
93. lam 'bras kyi gsung [3a] rgyun zin bris
94. yan lag lnga sbyong gi zin bris
95. lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor
96. dpal kye rdo rje'i mngon par rtog pa yan lag drug pa'i dka' gnas mdor bsdus
97. rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa'i gsal byed zab don nyin mor byed pa'i snang ba
98. mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing gi gsal byed zab don bcud kyi snying po
99. 'og min stug po bkod pa'i rgyan
100. rgyud kyi mngon par rdzogs pa'i tho yig bdud rtsi'i thigs pa
101. dag ldan gleng gzhi'i gnod sbyin kha pa ra'i lo rgyus kyi gsal byed
102. chos sna so dgu'i grangs 'dren tshul
103. rgyu dus kyi dbang gi sngon du gsungs pa'i gsung rgyun
104. rgyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron me
105. rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i dkyil 'khor gyi bkra shis ste chos sna bcu bdun bzhugs/

grangs yas rgyud sde'i them skas las 'ong pa'i//
gsang ba sngags kyi rin chen za ma tog//
gang gi rnam dpyod nor bu'i zer 'phreng gis//
skal bzang gdul bya'i blo gros gsal bar mdzad//

/ga pa la/

106. ku ru kulle'i sgrub thabs padmo'i snying po
107. dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga padma rā ga'i gter
108. rdo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs
109. grag po sgrol dbang gi tho
110. rnal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi 'chad thabs
111. dpal mngon par rtogs pa'i sa bcad
112. ma hā ma ya'i bsdus don
113. 'jigs byed gzhung rtogs bdun gyi bsdus don
114. rnam par rgyal ma'i rtogs pa che ba'i bsdus don
115. lā ba pa'i bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi tho
116. bong bu zhal gyi dbang gi tho
117. dgra gdong gi dbang gi tho
118. phyag rdor 'khor chen gyi dbang gi tho yig
119. gshin rje dgra nag gi dbang gi tho
120. gdong drug gi dbang gi tho yig
121. 'jigs byed bcu bdun ma'i dbang gi tho yig
122. sdom chen gyi tho yig
123. bsrung ba lnga'i tho
124. gdugs dkar mo can gyi tho
125. gdugs dkar gyi gtor chog bcud kyi snying po
126. gdugs dkar can gyi phyir bzlog
127. ma mo sha gos kyi gtor chog
128. 'od zer can gyi dbang gi tho
129. kye rdor nag po lugs kyi dbang gi tho yig
130. 'phags pa mi g.yo ba'i rjes gnang byed tshul
131. yang mi g.yo ba'i sgom thabs
132. sha ba ri'i rjes gnang bya tshul
133. tshe dbang dang gza' chog gi tho yig
134. 'jam dpal smra seng gi rjes gnang gi tho sgrub thabs dang bcas pa
135. gang blo ma'i rjes gnang byed tshul
136. rnam sras kyi rjes gnang byed tshul
137. rnam 'joms ma ni ba dzra gyi gtor chog
138. don zhags [3b] dpa' gcig gi rjes gnang byed tshul
139. chab gtor gyi tho
140. tshar gsum khug pa'i byin brlabs byed tshul
141. rnam 'joms kyi khrus chog
142. 'byung 'dul gyi rjes gnang byed tshul
143. 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyi sgom zlas

144. yang de'i sgom zlas
145. spyan ras gzigs bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs
146. 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung bzlog gi 'khor lo
147. 'jam dpal gyi sngags mchan dang bcas pa
148. shin tu spros med kyi 'khrid kyi tho yig mthong ba don ldan
149. gtsug gtor rnam rgyal ma'i rjes gnang gi tho
150. seng ge sgra'i gdon sgrol gyi phyag len gyi tho
151. sangs rgyas klu dbang gi sgrub thabs
152. mchod rten bsgrub pa'i tho
153. gnyan sgrol yan lag drug pa'i mngon rtogs
154. sgrol ma nyi mtshan zhi khro'i 'don thabs
155. sgrol ma gser mdog can gyi tshe bsgrub
156. sgrol ma dug sel ma'i sgrub thabs
157. 'phags ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bdag mdun bskyed pa'i mngon rtogs
158. dpyal ba'i phag mo bskor gsum gyi byin brlabs bya tshul
159. phag mo zhal gnyis ma'i bsrung 'khor shin tu zab pa
160. phyag rdor u tsarya'i mngon rtogs
161. yang phyag rdor gyi rjes gnang dang sgom don
162. phyag rdor 'gro bzang gi sgrub thabs
163. phyag rdor gtum chung gi mngon rtogs
164. phyag rdor 'khor chen gyi sgrub thabs
165. gshin rje gshed dgra nag dpa' gcig gi mngon rtogs
166. gur nas gsungs pa'i khro bcu'i gtor 'bul 'khor lo'i bris tshul dang bcas pa
167. rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin bsreg
168. dpal gur gyi mgon po'i mngon rtogs
169. gtor 'bul brgya rtsa 'bul tshul
170. dpon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gnang ba'i mgon po'i bsnyen thabs
171. pu ṭa ming sring gsum gyi rjes gnang gi tho yig
172. re ma ti'i mchod gtor
173. rta mgrin gyi gtor chog
174. kye rdor gyi sbyin sreg gi tho
175. 'dod rgyal gyi sgom bzlas byed tshul
176. kun rig gi bsnyen pa byed tshul
177. 'phags pa za ma tog bkod pa'i snying po las bsdus pa theg chen lam gyi snying po
178. sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dris lan lung gi padma ste chos sna bdun cu don gsum bzhugs/

dri med bka' dang bstan bcos 'bum phrag gi//
dgongs don 'khrul pa'i dri bral legs bshad bcud//
ngom med gsol ba'i gtam bzang ro brgya'i zas//
bgrang yas gdul bya'i yid kyi shing rta'i dpal//

/nga pa la/
179. sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa zhib mo rnam 'thag
180. gnas gsum gsal byar byed pa nor bu'i chu shel
181. yul chen so bdun gyi ngos 'dzin 'khrul med gsal ba
182. tsa ri dang de wi ko ta'i yul gyi dgag sgrub [4a]
183. rma bya chen mo nas gsung ba'i ri'i sdom
184. sdom gsum gyi skabs kyi bde gshegs snying po'i gsal byed
185. sngon pa bsgrag zung gi thad kyi gsung brgyun
186. dbu ma lugs kyi sems skyed kyi cho ga
187. nā ro pa nas brgyud pa'i dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi phyag len
188. chos dbyings bstod pa'i rnam bshad don dam snying po
189. rdo rje 'dzin dbyangs las bsdus pa
190. 'jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i bsrung bzlog bsdus pa
191. bde mchog nag po rims bzhi'i khrid kyi brjed tho
192. yang gtor bsgrub kyi phyag len gyi tho
193. yas gtam rin po che rnam par spel ba dngos grub kyi gter
194. gsan yig rin po che'i 'phreng ba mkhas pa'i mgul rgyan
195. chos rje lha mchog seng ge phebs dus kyi 'bul ba'i mchod brjos de
chos sna bdun cu bzhugs/

rang bzo'i pho tshad sdom pa gtsor byed pa'i//
mkhas rlom legs bshad sbang zan chang bu'i tshogs//
khyod kyi rnam dpyod sor mos reg pa'i tshe//
sbyor po de dag glen chen nyid du bstan//

/ca pa la/
196. tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel bshad rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo
197. rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal ba ste
chos sna gnyis bzhugs/

rig[s] pa'i gzhung lugs rnam mang sprin gyi 'phreng//
gcig car 'dus las tshad ma'i chos char 'bebs//
lhan gcig gnam lcags rig[s] pa'i thog zer gyis//

log rtog brag ri'i dpung kun phye mar bshig//

/cha pa la/

198. thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter
199. chos rje rnam rgyal ba'i rtsa brgyud kyi dka' ba'i gnas kyi dris lan
200. yang de'i dris lan zab don nor bu'i gter
201. slob dpon yon 'byung gis gnas gsum gsal byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan
202. yang dris lan don gsum gsal byed
203. mi'i dbang po rgyal mtshan gyis dris lan rgyal sras bzhad pa'i me tog
204. yang de'i dris lan padma'i snying po
205. yang de nyid kyis dris lan sngon rab gsal ba'i me long
206. 'tsho byed chos skyong dpal bzang gis dris lan
207. dpon btsun kun dga' dpal bzang la gdams pa
208. zha lu lo tstsha ba la dri ba mdzad pa
209. byang pa mchod gnas kyis lan nges don snying po
210. nang so rgyal ba'i dbang po'i dris lan
211. sa skya nas bdag chen chos rje'i dris lan
212. rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyis dris lan
213. bka' bcu dpal 'byor gyis dris lan
214. bla ma [4b] dpal skyabs la gdams pa theg mchog gnad kyi snying po
215. rin po che'i bstan bcos dgos 'dod 'byung gnas
216. bslab btud kyi le 'grel bslab pa'i rgyan
217. sgom rims bar ma'i sa bcad 'phags lam snying po
218. yum gyi 'gres rkang
219. mdo kun las btus kyi sa bcad
220. sa skya paṇḍita la 'phrin du gsol ba pdmo'i snying po'i 'phreng ba
221. skal ldan snying gi mun sel lha dbang rdo rje
222. rje btsun mi las mthar thug gi lta ba ji ltar bzhed tshul bkod pa 'khrul med snang ba
223. rang la bskul ba'i tshig zur brgyad pa
224. yang lta bsgom spyod 'bras kyi mgur
225. bdag chen chos rgyal nor bu la thog mar gnang ba'i gsung 'phrin
226. bla ma'i rnam thar chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa
227. yang chos rgyal nor bu la gdams pa
228. mi dbang bkra shis mgon pa phul ba
229. ngam rings bdag chen la gnang ba
230. khang gsar drung chen la gnang ba
231-237. a seng rdo rje brtan pa la phul ba'i gsung shog tshan bdun

238. mnga' bdag grags pa rgyal mtshan la phul ba
239. sne shangs lo tstsha ba la springs pa
240. yang de la gnang ba
241. bdag chen chos rje la phul ba
242. bla ma dpal skyabs la gnang ba
243. lha bla ma ye shes 'od kyi gdung brgyud thar po la phul ba
244. chos rje she'u ri pa la gnang ba
245-246. rdzong kha bdag chen la phul ba tshan pa gnyis
247-250. yang thar po la phul ba tshan pa bzhi
251. rwa nag pa la gdams pa
252. dpon po rma bya ba la gdams pa
253. dge slong dar bzang ba gnyis la gnang ba
254. bla ma sho ma phug pa la gdams pa
255-258. drung blo pa gdams pa tshan pa bzhi
259. bla ma bzang po la gdams pa
260. dbang phyug rgyal mtshan pa gdams pa
261. rje btsun kun dga' dbang phyug gi dgongs rdzogs kyi mdzad 'phrin gyi mchod brjod
262. yang dgongs rdzogs bar ma'i dus kyi mjug gi shis brjod
263. rjes kyi dgongs rdzogs kyi shis brjod
264. chos rgyal bkra shis mgon gyi sa skya'i dgongs rdzogs kyi mchos brjod
265. chos rje nor bu ba la phul ba
266. khrig rtse mkhan po rab brtan bzang po la gnang ba
267. gzhis khar gnang ba'i phyag gdam zhal bshus
268. bdag chen kun dga' bsod nams la phul ba'i gsung 'phrin
269. khams yul zil gnon pa'i dge 'dun bzhi la gdams pa
270. chos rje lha dbang blo gros la springs pa
271. 'tsho byed phyag rdor la gdams pa
272. 'phags yul gyi shākya'i rigs kyi rgyal rabs mdor bsdus te
chos sna drug cu re gsum bzhugs//

gur gum gzhon nu'i mdangs kyis [5a] rab mdzes shing//
nyan tshig ngag gi 'dod 'jo mi zad slad//
ngag dbang lha der nges pa rnyed mod kyis [sic]//
glegs bam ral gris khyod las khyad par byas//

/ja pa la/
273. tshig don mun sel
274. pha rol tu phyin pa'i lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa

275. snying po'i don gsal bar byed pa lung gi 'phreng ba
276. blo'i rnam bzhag sde bdun gyi snying po
277. rtags kyi rnam bzhag rigs lam gsal ba'i sgron me
278. rgyal sras lam bzang gi skabs kyi gtam brgyud nyer 'kho
279. yid dbyung ba'i tshigs bcad
280. tshigs bcad bcu bdun pa
281. stod phyogs su gsung shog tshigs bcad ma phul ba
282. a seng rdo rje brtan pas bzhengs pa'i mdo mang gser gyi glegs bam gyi mtshon byed mkhas mang yid kyi shing rta
283. chos rgyal bkra shis mgon gyis bzhengs pa'i rgyud kyi glegs shing gi dkar chag
284. rin po che bde legs rgya mtsho'i brgyad stong pa'i dkar chag
285. dbu dum brtag gnyis kyi dkar chag
286. lo gsar dus kyi shis brjod mdzad pa
287. bdag mo sangs rgyas sgron gyi gdung chos brgyad stong pa'i mtshon byed
288. thub chen gyi phan la btab pa'i tshigs bcad
289. bde legs gling pa'i gtsug lag khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
290. ngam rings kyi byams pa'i phan gyi tshigs bcad
291. bsam 'grub gling gi lam 'bras bla ma rnams la phul ba'i gos phan gyi tshigs su bcad pa
292. bdag mo thugs rje sri gnon gyis ngam rings su phul ba'i phan gyi dkar chag
293. khro phu byams pa'i phan gyi sho lo ka
294. bsam 'grub gling gser khang gi bkod pa
295. phun tshogs bsam gtan gling gi gtsug [lag] khang bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
296. rgyal ba'i gtsug lag khang rin po che gser gyi ta la ltar 'bar zhing tshes gsal ba 'di gtso bor byas pa'i lha khang so so'i lha'i grangs
297. dkar chag rin po che'i sgron ma zhes bya ba
298. 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mtshon byed
299. bdag chen gur gum rgyal mo'i rin po che gser gyi glegs bam bzhengs pa'i dkar chag gi snyan ngag
300. dpon po tshe bzang ba'i shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa rin po che las bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
301. skyes rtsa bla mas sa skya bka' 'bum bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
302. sa skya bka' 'bum lam 'bras spros med lam zab bla ma brgyud pa sogs bzhengs pa'i mtshon byed
303. dpon slob kun bzang chos [5b] dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa
304. dpon slob kun bzang chos dpal gyi rtogs brjod mdzad pa
305. 'tsho byed sangs rgyas skyabs pa'i mdo mangs kyi dkar chag
306. brgya rtog gser gsum nang so dpal srungs kyis bzhengs pa'i dkar chag

307. bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag gsal ba'i sgron ma
308. lo gsar dus kyi bkra shis kyi tshigs bcad
309. thub pa dgongs gsal gyi 'chad thabs lam bzang snang ba
310. thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i gzhung gi bshad thabs rgyal sras lam bzang gi mdzes rgyan ste
chos sna sum cu so bdun bzhugs so//

long spyod 'khor lo grol ba'i bang mdzod nas//
legs bshad sde bzhi'i dga' ston 'bum bkye yang//
mgrin med rab tu 'phel ba'i ngo mtshar gyis//
yid bzhin nor dang chu gter chen po bzhin//

/nya pa la/
311. mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo'i rnam bshad rig gnas gsal byed bzhugs/

rang gzhan grub mtha' yid bzhin rgya mtsho che//
pha mthar son pa'i ded dpon bla na med//
sna tshogs rig gnas nor bu'i do shal ni//
mchog dman skye bo kun gyi mgrin par bzhag//

sras bcas rgyal ba'i dgongs don nor bu'i gter//
dri med lung rigs chu klung kun 'du'i mtsho//
legs pa'i 'byung gnas gsung rab chu gter che//
bshad grub rlabs 'phreng phyogs bcur 'phro gyur cig//

gcig zhus/

Appendix L

A List of Sa-paṇ's Works
Found in the KhJ Commentary of Glo-bo mkhan-chen

[See KhJNSh, pp. 40-41 (=20b-21a). Cf. the similar list of Lho-pa kun-mkhyen in Appendix G.]

1. Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter (TB no. 2)
2. Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (TB no. 6)
3. [Sgra'i bstan bcos] Shes rab 'phro ba [lost]
4. Shes rab [i.e. Sgra] la 'jug pa (TB no. 7)
5. Sgra nyer bsdu (TB no. 13)

6-7. Rigs pa'i gter, 'Grel pa dang bcas pa (TB nos. 19-20)

8. Sku gzugs kyi bstan bcos [lost]
9. Sa brtag pa [lost]
10. Bstan pa rin po che'i rtsis
11. Sman dpyad kyi bstan bcos yan lag brgyad pa'i don bsdus
12. Sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig (TB no. 29)
13. Grub mtha' rnam 'byed [lost]
14. Pha rol tu phyin pa'i gzhung lugs spyi'i tshogs chos chen mo (=ThGS, TB no. 1?)
15. Bdag med ma'i bstod pa'i 'grel pa (TB no. 65)
16. Rten 'brel lna'i yi ge (TB no. 45)
17. Lam sbas bshad (TB no. 46)
18. Bla ma'i rnal 'byor (TB no. 41)
19. Khrid kyi dkar chag (TB no. 54)
20. Sdeb sbyor me tog gi chun po (TB no. 15)
21. Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba (TB no. 16)
22. Snyan ngag mkhas pa'i kha rgyan [lost]
23. Tshig gi gter (TB no. 14)
24. Zlos gar rab dga'i 'jug pa [lost]
25. Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4)
26. Zhang [lo tsā ba'i] zhus lan (TB no. 34)
27. Chag [lo tsā ba'i] zhus lan (TB no. 94)
28. Blo [bo lo tsā ba'i] zhus lan (TB no. 95)
29. Bka' gdams pa rdo rje seng ge['i zhus lan] (?)

30. Snye mo sgom chen [gyis zhus lan] (TB no. 98)
31. Thub pa la bstod pa (TB no. 70?)
32. 'Jam dbyangs la bstod pa (TB no. 25? Cf. TB no. 74)

Appendix M

A List of Sa-paṇ's Works Found in Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal's Record of Teachings Recieved

Gong-dkar 'Phrin-las-rnam-rgyal [?], Thob yig bum pa bzang po, fascicle da, p. 4aff. This is also a description of one manuscript set of Sa-paṇ's works, complete with the foliation of each substantial work. The number after each title indicates the number of folios. The annotation (ka) indicates a Lam 'bras work.

Sa skya paṇḍi ta'i bka' 'bum dza pa la

1. Bla ma dam pa la thun mong ma yin pa'i sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa'i rab byed gnyis 2 (TB no. 68)
2. Gdung rgyud rnam par dag pa'i dge bsnyen grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa 2 (TB no. 26)
3. Rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar 11 (TB no. 17)
4. Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug birwa pa la gsol ba gdab pa 2 (TB no. 27?)
5. 'Khor lo bde mchog gi bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba gdab pa 3 (TB no. 28)
6. Bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi cho ga ling chu rtse khab ma 8 (ka) (TB no. 41)
7. Bla ma'i rnal 'byor gu shri jo 'bum ma 4 (ka) (TB no. 42)
8. Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi maṇḍal 'bul tshul 2 (TB no. 49)
9. Khyad par 'phags pa bstod pa rgya cher 'grel pa'i kha skong 5
10. Bcom ldan 'das shākya'i rgyal po la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa 2 (TB no. 70)
11. Bde bar gshegs pa khams gsum gyi mgon po la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa dgu pa 2 (TB no. 71)
12. Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba 3 (TB no. 16)
13. Sangs rgyas la bstod pa tshig gi phreng ba zhes bya ba 2
14. 'Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug thugs rje chen po la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa 2 (TB no. 72)
15. Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa thams cad la bstod pa 2 (TB no. 73)
16. Rta na ri khud rnga bo che la bstod pa [no separate foliation] (TB no. 82)
17. Dpal gdong bzhi pa la bstod pa 2 (TB no. 84)
18. 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad rgyud gsum 'khor lo yi ge nyung ngu zhes bya ba 6 (TB no. 74)
19. 'Jam dbyang a ra pa tsa na lha lnga'i mngon par rtogs pa 3

20. A ra pa tsa na lha gcig gi mngon rtogs 2 (TB no. 55)
21. Mtshan brjod 'don thabs 3
22. Sdud pa la sogs sher phyin 'don pa'i man ngag [no separate foliation] (TB no. 89)
23. Phung po gsum pa 'don thabs [no separate foliation] (TB no. 90)
24. Bcom ldan 'das 'jam pa'i rdo rje la mchod par brjod pa'i tshul gyi bstod pa 3
25. Rgyal po lo paṇ la bstod pa [no separate foliation] [=26?] (TB no. 75?)
26. Bsam yas su 'jam dbyangs phyag mtshan ri mor gyis pa'i tshul [no separate foliation] (TB no. 75)
27. Chos gsung tshul 3
28. Byang chub sems bskyed 15 (TB no. 21)
29. Sems bskyed lung sbyor 9 (TB no. 22)
30. Theg chen rnam gzhag [no separate foliation] (TB no. 85)
31. 'Chi kha ma'i gdams ngag 2 (TB no. 88)
32. Snang ba mtha' yas gyi sgom don 2 (TB no. 87)
33. Chos la 'jug tshul go bde bar sbyar ba 2 (Phyag chen bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba zer) (TB no. 113)
34. Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rtsa ba 2 (TB no. 24?)
35. Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba 39 (TB no. 24)
36. Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos 83 (TB no. 1)
37. Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i phrin yig 12 (TB no. 29)
38. Zhen pa bzhi bral 1 (TB no. 86)
39. Skye bu dam pa rnams la spring yig 6 (TB no. 30)
40. Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnams la spring yig 2 (TB no. 35)
41. Grwa pa rnams la spring yig 2
42. Rtse mdo'i dge 'dun dang
43. Nyi ma la spring ba 3 (TB no. 38)
44. Blo gsal don gnyer ba'i dris lan 2 (TB no. 5? but see GK no. 105)
45. Glo bo lo tsā ba la spring yig 3 (TB no. 95)
46. Chos rje dpal gyi dris lan 10 (TB no. 94)
47. Zhang lo tsā ba la gdams pa 2 (TB no. 34)
48. Thos bsam sgom gsum gyi dris lan 3
49. Bka' gdams pa do bskor ba'i dris lan 3 (TB no. 79)
50. Snye mo sgom chen gyi zhus lan 4 (TB no. 98)
51. Rtogs ldan gyi dris lan 4 (mchan: Snye mo sgom chen)
52. Chos rje sa skya paṇḍitas bod 'bangs spyi la gdams pa 4 (TB no. 77) rnams so// byon 288

dzha pa la

53. Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi dkar chag 5 (ka) (TB no. 54)
54. Sgrub pa rlung 'byin 4 (TB no. 44)
55. Rten 'brel lnga rdzogs 4 (ka) (TB no. 45)
56. Rdo rje'i lus kyi 'khrul 'khor (ka)
([ka]-- 'di lam 'bras kho na yin pas lung mi gnang)
57. Lam sbas bshad 5 (ka) (TB no. 46)
58. Brda don gsal ba 2 (ka)
59. Tho yig rin chen sgron me 4 (ka)
60. Khrid kyi lung sbyor 4 (ka)
61. Lho pa'i zin bris 2 (ka)
62. Yang zin bris gcig 5 (ka)
63. Phyag rgya chen po'i dbye ba 2
64-65. Spyod pa rnam dag (TB no. 91) Rang sems rang ngos bzung ba gnyis 2 (TB no. 92?)
66. Dpal sa skya pa'i gces pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa 31
67. 'Khor bzhi'i rgya'i yi ge 1 (ka)
68. Rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig bshad pa 4 (TB no. 64)
69. Dri ma med pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa 21 (TB no. 65)
70. Aṣṭa gzhi bshad 7 (TB no. 50)
71. Rigs kyi dbye ba'i bshad sbyar 4 (TB no. 62)
72-73. Ni dha na'i sgra bshad (TB no. 63) dang/ Ye shes sre ba'i bshad pa 2 (TB no. 61)
74. Kye rdor bsdus don 13 (TB no. 112)
75. Tshul bzhi'i bsdus don snying po 18
76. Sgra can 'dzin gyis mdzad pa'i zung du 'jug pa gsal ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga bsdus don 3 (TB no. 66)
77. Rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i lag tu blangs pa'i rim pa 12 (TB no. 51)
78. Khro bo sme rtsegs kyi bsgrubs las tshogs dang bcas pa 2 (TB no. 105)
79. 'Dod rgyal gyi rjes gnang 3
80. Rnam 'joms rnam bshad bdud rtsi spel ba 3 (TB no. 53)
81. Rje btsun ma sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs 2 (TB no. 56)
82. Gza' thams cad kyi [yum gyi] mchod pa'i man ngag gi rim pa 6 (TB no. 60)
83. Dug sel thabs 4 (TB no. 108)
84. (mchan: Thod pa brtag thabs la shog bu 2)
85. Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo 51 (TB no. 6)
86. Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa 29 (TB no. 3)
87. Nga brgyad rang 'grel dang bcas pa 11 (TB no. 18)

88. 'Phrog byed dga' bo btul tshe 'phags pa wa ti'i gtsug lag khang dang nye ba'i tshong 'dus su gsungs pa dang [no separate foliation] (TB no. 80)
89. Ba gor zhes bya ba'i sgra las drangs pa'i bstod pa 2 (TB no. 81)
90. Chos spyod bcu pa [no separate foliation]
91. Smras pa gnyis pa [no separate foliation] (TB no. 36?)
92. Rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum gyi nyams len 2 rnams so// byon 273

nya pa la
93. Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter 21 (TB no. 19)
94. Rigs gter rang 'grel 168 (TB no. 20)
95. Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter 20 (TB no. 2)
96. Tshig gter 11 (TB no. 14)
97. Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po 18 (TB no. 15)
98. Yi ge'i sbyor ba 3 (TB no. 10)
99. Sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha rgyan 4 (TB no. 109)
100. Sgra nye bar bsdus pa 2 (TB no. 13)
101. Sgra la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad dang/ [no separate foliation] (TB no. 7)
102. Smra sgo'i gnad kyi gnas bsdus pa 10 (TB no. 8)
103. Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa 11 (TB no. 9)
104. Rol mo'i bstan bcos [no separate foliation] (TB no. 4)
105. Ji ltar dri ba'i tshul 7 (TB no. 5)
106. Thun mong dang bye brag gi bsngo ba (TB no. 100) 6 rnams so// byon 282

Appendix N

The Works of Sa-skya Paṇḍita Listed in the Record of Teachings Received of Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub

Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub, _Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos thos pa'i tshul gsal bar bshad pa'i yi ge thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed_, f. 120a.1:

Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita chen po'i gsung rab thob pa la

1. Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter (TB no. 2)
2. Rol mo'i bstan bcos (TB no. 4)
3. Dri ba'i tshul 'ga' zhig (TB no. 5)
4. Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (TB no. 6)
5. Sgra la 'jug pa (TB no. 7)
6. Sgra'i gnad bsdus pa (TB no. 8)
7. Byis pa bde 'jug gi rnam bshad (TB no. 9)
8. Yi ge'i sbyor ba (TB no. 10)
9. Sgra nyer bsdu (TB no. 13)
10. Tshig gi gter (TB no. 14)
11. Sdeb sbyor me tog gi chun po (TB no. 15)
12. Bde bar bshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba (TB no. 16)
13. Rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar (TB no. 17)
14. Nga brgyad rtsa 'grel (TB no. 18)
15. Dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed (TB no. 21)
16. De'i lung sbyor (TB no. 22)
17. Thub pa dgongs gsal rnams dang (TB no. 1)

18-19. Rigs gter rtsa 'grel (TB no. 19-20)

20. Rje btsun chen po'i bstod pa (TB no. 26)
21. Sdom gsum rab dbye (TB no. 24)
22. 'Jam dbyangs kyi bstod pa (TB no. 25)
23. Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la zhu phrin (TB no. 29)
24. Skyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge (TB no. 30)
25. Lung rigs rnam dag dang mthun par 'chad dgos tshul (TB no. 31)
26. Rtogs ldan zhig gi dris lan (TB no. 32?)
27. Zhang lo tsā ba la gdams pa (TB no. 34)
28. Bstan pa la dga' ba'i lha la springs pa (TB no. 35)

29-30. Yang tshigs su bcad pa gong 'og 2 (TB no. 36)

31. Mi nyag gi rgyal khams su gnang ba'i yi ge (TB no. 37)

32. Nyi ma 'bum la springs pa (TB no. 38)

33. Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor (TB no. 41)

34. Sgrub pa lung sbyin (TB no. 44)

35. Rten 'brel lnga (TB no. 45)

36. Lam sbas bshad (TB no. 46)

37. Aṣṭa'i bzhi bshad (TB no. 50)

38. Tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga (TB no. 51)

39. De la dgos pa'i lung sbyor (TB no. 52)

40. Rnam 'joms kyi [120b] rgyud kyi bshad pa (TB no. 53)

41. A ra pa tsa na'i mngon rtogs (TB no. 55)

42. Sgrol ma'i mngon rtogs (TB no. 56)

43. Bza' yum gyi mchod chog (TB no. 60)

44. Rigs kyi rab dbye'i bshad sbyar (TB no. 62)

45. Sgra sgrub dum bu dgu pa (TB no. 63)

46. Rtsa ltung bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa (TB no. 64)

47. Bdag med bstod 'grel (TB no. 65)

48. Brtag gnyis kyi sa bcad sna bsrings pa (TB no. 112?)

49. Zung 'jug gsal ba'i sa bcad (TB no. 66)

50-51. Bla ma la thun mong dang thun mong ma yin pa'i sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa 2 (TB no. 67-68)

52. Bde mchog bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs (TB no. 28)

53. Bi ru pa'i bstod pa (TB no. 27)

54. Bod yul la bsngags pa (TB no. 69)

55. Shākya'i rgyal po la gsol ba 'debs pa (TB no. 70)

56. Thub pa'i bstod pa lhug pa

57. Bde bar gshegs pa khams gsum gyi mgon po la bstod pa (TB no. 71)

58. 'Jig rten dbang phyug la bstod pa (TB no. 72)

59. Lha sa'i bde bar gshegs pa rnams la bsngags pa (TB no. 73)

60. 'Jam dbyangs kyi bstod pa'i rnam bshad (TB no. 74)

61. Phyag mtshan ri mo'i yi ge (TB no. 75)

62. Gangs ri'i khrod kyi sgom chen rnams la springs pa (TB no. 76)

63. Bu slob rnams la springs pa (TB no. 77)

64. Do bskor ba'i dris lan (TB no. 79)

65. Mu stegs btul ba'i tshigs bcad (TB no. 80)

66. Yon tan sgrogs pa'i tshal la bstod pa (TB no. 81)

67. Rnga bo che la bsngags pa (TB no. 82)

68. Gdong bzhi pa la bstod pa (TB no. 84)

69. Theg chen lam gyi rnam gzhag (TB no. 85)
70. Zhen pa bzhi bral (TB no. 86)
71. Snang ba mtha' yas kyi bsgom don (TB no. 87)
72. [Added in dbu-chen script:] Spyod pa rnam dag gi tshigs su bcad pa (TB no. 91)
73. Sems kyi gnas lugs rnal du mtshon pa'i man ngag gi tshigs su bcad pa (TB no. 92)
74. 'Chi kha ma'i gdams ngag ngo mtshar can (TB no. 88) [p. 121a]
75. Chag lo'i dris lan (TB no. 94)
76. Glo bo lo tsā ba la springs pa (TB no. 95)
77. Bka' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan (TB no. 96)
78. Yang dris lan mdor bsdus pa gcig (TB no. 97?)
79. Snyi mo sgom chen gyi dris lan (TB no. 98)
80. Yan lag bdun ldan gyi rtsa ba (TB no. 113)
81. Bsngo ba yon bshad dang bcas pa (TB no. 100) rnams so//

Appendix O

The Contents of One Volume from a Sa-skya Manuscript of Sa-paṇ's Collected Works

The contents of one volume from an dbu med manuscript preserved in Sa-skya, black ink on white paper, vol. pa, 429 ff:

1. Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter (32 ff.) (TB no. 2)
2. Rol mo'i bstan bcos (9 ff.) (TB no. 4)
3. Blo gsal don myur [sic] gyi skyes bu dam pa rnams la dri ba'i tshul gyi phrin yig rtsom 'phro (3 ff.) (TB no. 5)
4. Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo (78 ff.) (TB no. 6)
5. Sgra la 'jug pa (11 ff.) (TB no. 7)
6. Smra sgo'i gnad bsdus (4 ff.) (TB no. 8)
7. Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa'i rnam par bshad pa (17 ff.) (TB no. 9)
8. Sgra'i bstan bcos mkhas pa'i kha brgyan [sic] (5 ff.) (TB no. 109)
9. Yi ge'i sbyor ba (5 ff.) (TB no. 10)
10. Sgra nye bar bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (3 ff.) (TB no. 13)
11. Ming gi mngon brjod ston pa'i bstan bcos tshig gi gter (21 ff.) (TB no. 14)
12. Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos (28 ff.) (TB no. 15)
13. Bde bar gshegs pa'i thugs rje la bskul ba (4 ff.) (TB no. 16)
14. Rje btsun grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa (16 ff.) (TB no. 17)
15. Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor ling chu rtser khab ma (10 ff.) (final mchan bu: dpal ling chu rtser khab kyi gtsug lag khang du sbyar ba'o//) (TB no. 41?)
16. Nga brgyad rang 'grel dang bcas pa (17 ff.) (mchan: nga brgyad rtsa 'grel kyang zer) (TB no. 18)
17. Byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed pa'i cho ga (22 ff.) (mchan: dbu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed kyang zer) (TB no. 21)
18. Byang chub kyi mchog tu sems bskyed pa lung dang sbyar ba (14 ff.) (TB no. 22)
19. Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba (130 ff.) (TB no. 1)

INDEX

This is a selective index of technical terms and proper nouns, arranged in the order of the Roman alphabet. For finding other subjects, see the detailed table of contents, pp. v-x, and the outline of KhJ III, pp. 200-203.